APARTHEID
IN SOUTH AFRICA
1960-1994

by Ken Webb

Here it is: the factual detail, the historiography, revision exercises and advice on how to respond to examination questions on Apartheid in South Africa 1960-1994.

eBook

"Everything you wanted to know about Apartheid in South Africa 1960-1994, but were afraid to ask."

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About the author

Ken Webb was educated in the United Kingdom and graduated from the University of Oxford. He taught in several state schools before moving to Pymble Ladies' College where he taught Modern, Ancient and Extension History. He later moved to Ravenswood School for Girls where he also taught the International Baccalaureate course in History. He is a member of the Independent Schools Examination Committee for Modern History. He frequently lectures and runs workshops for Year 12 and teacher groups in Sydney and Regional NSW. In addition to his own work, Ken Webb has contributed to colleagues' work and to newspapers and periodicals. He has also been a consultant on various history video documentaries. Ken Webb is a past NSW winner of the "National Excellence in Teaching" award.

Over the years, Ken Webb has written a wide range of study guides and textbooks for NSW, Victoria and Australia wide, including "Power and Authority in the Modern World" (Nelson Cengage Learning), "Discovering Australian History" (CUP), "The Augustan Age 44 BC – AD 14" (Get Smart Education), "World War 1: From Sarajevo to Versailles" (Nelson Cengage Learning), "Extension History: The Historians" (HTA of NSW), "Russia and the Soviet Union 1917-1941" (Nelson Cengage Learning), "Spartan Society to the Battle of Leuctra 371 BC" (Get Smart Education)

"Apartheid in South Africa 1960-1994" is one of eighteen titles in the "Everything you wanted to know about… but were afraid to ask" series *written specifically* for the NSW Modern and Ancient History syllabuses. Other titles in this series include:

- *The Decline and Fall of the Romanov Dynasty*
- *The French Revolution of 1789*
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- *Power and Authority in the Modern World 1919-1946*
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Author's note

The purpose of this book – as with all titles in the *"Everything you wanted to know about… but were afraid to ask"* series – is to make life easy for students and teachers working their way through the 'Change in the Modern World' topic: *Apartheid in South Africa 1960-1994.* It is not intended to be the final word on *Apartheid in South Africa 1960-1994*; nothing beats wide-reading and going back to the primary sources!

However, neither teachers nor students always have the time for such luxuries. Teachers have several other classes to worry about, not to mention a growing multitude of administrative and bureaucratic tasks to fulfill! Students have other subjects to study, and may also be burdened with a series of major works. Thus, *"Everything you want to know…"* steps in to make life easy.

The principal aims of this book are to:

- provide the essential factual detail needed to understand the topic;
- provide references to written and visual sources;
- provide an introduction to the essence of historiographical debate;
- provide ideas for approaching the types of questions that might appear when examined on *Apartheid in South Africa 1960-1994.*

Rationale for the structure of this book

"Apartheid in South Africa" is one of six topics in the 'Change in the Modern World' section of the Modern History syllabus, introduced in 2018 and examined for the first time in 2019. The syllabus divides the topic as follows:

- Survey: The nature of the apartheid system
- Focus of study:
  - National resistance to apartheid
  - Repression and control by South African governments
  - End of apartheid

These broad headings have been used to structure the book and have been broken down into sections closely based on the structure of the syllabus to make the topic more accessible to students. The first two bullet points in the Repression section of the syllabus have been combined into one chapter (ten). [1] The nature of the syllabus structure means that there is some overlap between chapters and that some points will be mentioned more than once. An additional section has been included on approaching the types of questions that could be set on this topic in the HSC examination.

Think as historians

Key problems historians have in explaining Apartheid in South Africa 1960-94 – or indeed any major historical issue – are that we know what happened and attitudes we share today were not always accepted. Hindsight allows us to look back and isolate those developments which we can now see, from our current perspective, as the key issues. We can isolate the mistakes, criticise the leaders of the time and ask in incredulous tones:

- How could white South Africans have supported the principles of apartheid?
- How could South African governments have so rigorously promoted and implemented such violent repression during the Apartheid period?
- How could other governments have supported such a regime as South Africa?

However, when one is living in the middle of events there is no hindsight.

1 Chapter Twelve also deals with the security forces.

Introduction

Definition of apartheid

In the Afrikaans [1] and Dutch languages, the word 'apartheid' essentially means separateness or apartness. Apartheid came to mean the policy adopted by white South African governments after 1948: the policy systematically sought to separate the population on the basis of race.

This racial separation would come to affect all aspects of life of South Africans:

- the races would live in separate areas;
- children would attend different schools;
- the sick would be treated in different hospitals;
- they would work in different jobs and in different areas, though economics often intervened to modify this separation;
- they would be forced to use separate facilities;
- they would be buried in different areas….and so on.

Segregation and racial discrimination were not new to South Africa. They existed as far back as the 17th century following the arrival of Dutch settlers and were consolidated as slaves were imported into the country throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. The British continued the practices in South Africa even after the abolition of the slave trade. Few British people in the 19th century would have challenged the idea that white Europeans were superior to Africans, and that they had a duty to 'civlilise' and 'Christianise' the peoples of Africa and Asia that they had taken over.

Notions of racial superiority, discrimination and the resultant segregation were also not unique to South Africa. Such ideas and practices were accepted throughout the British Empire, including Australia, in all European overseas possessions, and of course throughout the United States.

By the mid-twentieth century the injustice and unacceptability of these practices had become apparent, especially as African and Asian nations gradually gained their independence. Progress towards racial equality and the removal of racist practices were occurring across the world, though that rate of progress was often snail-like, and often faced strong opposition from white groups. [2]

However, in South Africa after 1948, the opposite happened.

- Discrimination and segregation did not only continue; they became official government policy:
  - the separation of the races was enshrined in law;
  - and the resources of the state were mobilised to enforce and sustain 'the apartheid system'.

1 Afrikaans is the language spoken by many white South Africans of Dutch descent. It is derived from the Dutch brought to the country in the 17th century.

2 Civil Rights activists in 1960s USA often faced violent attacks. Even Australia's 1965 Freedom Riders, led by Charles Perkins, were attacked in rural NSW.

- The word apartheid began to be used in the 1930s as Afrikaners sought to differentiate themselves from English-speaking whites in the country.
- After World War II, it came to be used to mean absolute separation from black South Africans.

Historiographical overview

Early writings on South African history appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century and were produced from the context of British imperial rule. White racial superiority was taken for granted and the need to civilise and Christianise the indigenous population were seen as noble goals. Such writing came from a purely Eurocentric point of view.

Later in the 19th century, the Dutch-speaking settlers of South Africa were producing their own versions of the past. Their focus was on the suffering and achievements of the Dutch settlers. These settlers were presented as victims of British imperialism. They often identified with the American colonists who has successfully rebelled against British rule in the late 18th century.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, black writers began to produce works which avoided the Eurocentric-white perspective. They, not unsurprisingly, focussed on the poor treatment suffered by black South Africans. From the 1920s, some black writers began to focus more on the class basis of imperial rule, highlighting the economic exploitation of working-class blacks by white capitalists.

Interpretations of the origins of apartheid

As was explained above, racism was not unique to South Africa. Discrimination against black people and attempts to segregate whites and blacks was common in the 19th century, most notably in the southern states of the USA after the Civil War. [3] However, only in South Africa was the entire socio-economic system organised to systematically bring about a permanent separation of the races. And it should be remembered that this was occurring during a time when, on paper at least, such thinking was beginning to be seen around the world as unacceptable.

What follows is a summary of the four main schools of thought that try to explain why apartheid was brought into existence.

1. The Afrikaner nationalist school
2. The Liberal school
3. The Radical school
4. The Social History school

3 Southern state governments in the US, such as Alabama and Mississippi, introduced what were called “Jim Crow” laws to bring about segregation. In 1896, the US Supreme Court upheld such laws and it was not until the 1950s that such legislation was seriously challenged in the courts and by the US Congress.

Summary of the main interpretations on the origins of apartheid

The Afrikaner Nationalist School

- belief that Afrikaners were racially superior to the black population
- motivated by the idea that the Afrikaner identity was bestowed by god
- fear there was an existential threat to the very existence of Afrikaners, ie they could be destroyed by the much larger African population if the races mixed
- historians of this school argue that the apartheid system was absolutely necessary to preserve the Afrikaner identity which had been granted by god

The Liberal School

- historians of the liberal persuasion support basic freedoms and human rights
- economically, they support free markets with minimum government interference
- the liberal historians see apartheid as purely a matter of racism and the idea of white racial superiority
- they reject the argument that apartheid was brought about because of the economic benefits that would follow
- rather it was the National Party's racism in 1948 that led to apartheid

The Radical school

- the focus is on class difference and struggle
- segregationist policies had developed due to the gold mines' need for cheap labour
- apartheid was put in place to maintain the supply of cheap labour
- black workers could not be allowed to have an education or develop skills or to be allowed to live in the towns
- they certainly could not be given citizen rights and a chance to challenge the system

The Social History school

- the focus is on ordinary people and the impact of their actions rather than on the rich and powerful
- this is "history constructed from below"
- ordinary people were resisting the various restrictions placed on them
- this necessitated the imposition of ever stricter laws to maintain control which would culminate in apartheid
- this school posits that urban racial mixing was common early on and was a more natural development than racial separation

Exercise 0.1

Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	Who were the first Europeans to establish significant settlements in South Africa? When did they arrive?	
2	What was the attitude of the British who arrived in South Africa to the policies of segregation that already existed?	
3	Were white South Africans unique in holding notions of racial superiority and in the practice of discrimination?	
4	What are the two principal languages spoken by white South Africans?	
5	What were Jim Crow laws?	
6	Writings about South Africa in the 19th century were often Eurocentric. What does this mean?	
7	Some Afrikaners believed that they faced an existential threat and that this justified apartheid. Explain this point.	
8	How does the radical school of thought explain the introduction of the apartheid system?	
9	What does the phrase 'history constructed from below' mean?	
10	When did the National Party take power and begin to implement its apartheid policies?	

Chapter One
Background: From 1910 to the 1940s

The Union of South Africa

South Africa had been at war between 1899 and 1902. [1] This is not the place to go into great detail about the conflict but after three years of bitter fighting, many Britons felt pangs of guilt about what had happened. Arguably, it was in South Africa that the world first saw the use of concentration camps. The camps had been established by the British to intern Boer civilians. Thousands died in the terrible conditions, many of them women and children.

As a result, Britain sought not to punish the Boers or to extract gains from them. Rather it wanted to win over the defeated enemy. The eventual result was the creation of the Union of South Africa, established on 31 May 1910. The 'Union' comprised the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony (formerly the Orange Free State) and the Natal Colony.

- A Westminster-style system was put in place which meant that any party which could gain a simple majority would be able to pass any laws it wished.
- In an effort to convince the people of each colony that their interests were being respected, the main legislative, judicial and administrative parts of the state were shared between the capitals of the former colonies: Cape Town (Cape Colony), Bloemfontein (Orange River Colony) and Pretoria (the Transvaal).
- The 1909 South Africa Act stipulated that in the new parliament, only British male subjects of European descent would be eligible to vote in elections.
  - Various economic qualifications were also introduced to ensure non-whites were all but totally excluded from the political process.
  - As there were three Afrikaners for every two English-speaking whites, the result was that between 1910 and 1994, all South African governments would be led by Afrikaners.

Louis Botha was appointed as the Union's first prime minister, with Jan Smuts as his deputy. [2] Both had been Boer generals fighting against the British in the Boer War. The English monarch was represented by a governor-general. Both men believed that their prime goal had to be to 'bind the wounds' and reconcile the Afrikaner and English South Africans.

"…both Botha and Smuts believed that fusion of the white race was essential if they were to survive in a country where they were outnumbered by black people by almost five to one…" [3]

Though reconciliation was important, it was accompanied by a rise in Afrikaner nationalism after the creation of the Union.

- Afrikaner writers and poets produced works which lauded Afrikaner suffering.

1 This was the Boer War fought between the British and the Boers, descendants of the Dutch settlers. The British eventually gained victory after three years of bloody conflict in which the Boers had the British army 'on the run' for much of the time.
2 Botha was prime minister from 1910 till his death in 1919. Smuts was prime minister from 1919-24 and again from 1939-48.
3 Nattrass, G, A Short History of South Africa, Biteback publishing, London, 2017, p 138

- The Voortrekkers were glorified.
  - The Voortrekkers were the Boers who had trekked north from British-run Cape Colony to establish themselves in new territories and fought off African opposition between 1835 and 1845.
  - These events became a key part of Afrikaner nationalist and racist myth, and 'proved' that the Afrikaners were 'god's people'.
- In 1914, the (Afrikaner) National Party was formed by James Hertzog. [4]
  - In the 1930s, the more radical Purified National Party was formed.

Segregation as official policy

The apartheid system which came into existence after 1948, did not come out of nowhere. It was built upon the widespread policies of segregation which had grown up in the 19th century and which were rigidly enforced after 1910. The post-1910 segregation policies were not as all-embracing as apartheid was to become, but it would be a mistake to view pre-apartheid segregation laws as soft.

The population of South Africa in 1911 was just under six million. The racial distribution of the population at the time is illustrated in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 Racial distribution of South Africa's population in 1911.

From the time of the Union, whites in South Africa comprised only about 20% of the population of the country, as shown in Figure 1.1. However, they controlled most of the country's resources and wealth. A key element in this monopoly of wealth was the use of African labour. Black workers were kept under control and their wages were kept low.

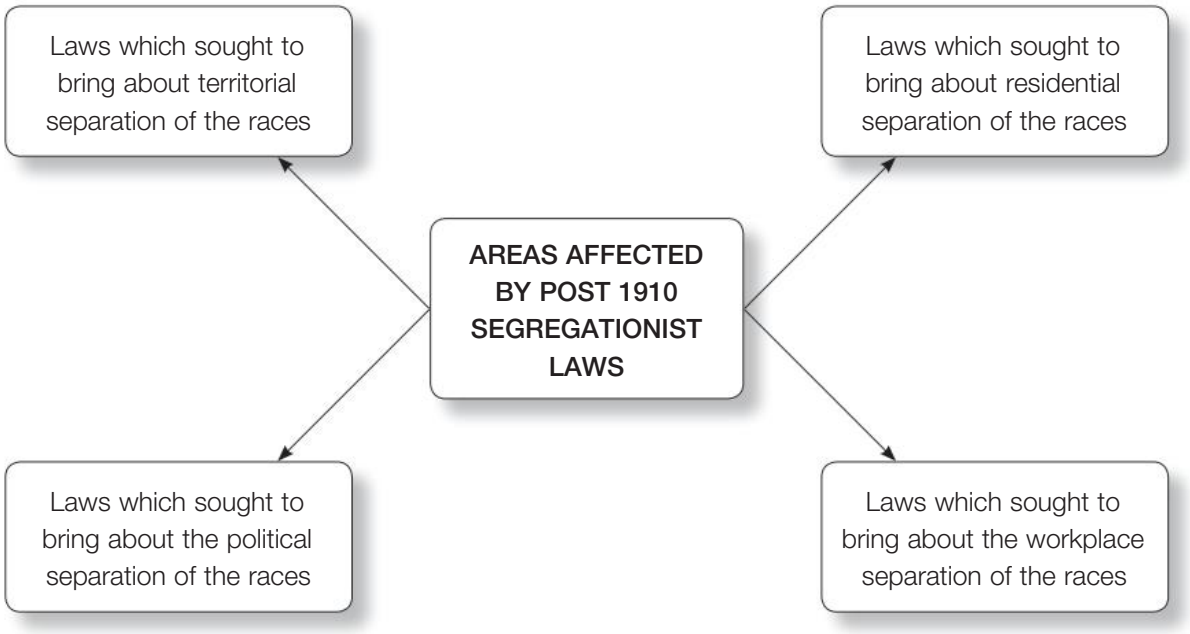
The segregation policies implemented after 1910 had several aims:

1. they sought to protect white economic interests and make use of cheap African labour;
2. they sought to maintain white political control of the country;
3. they sought to maintain white supremacy in all aspects of life;
4. they sought to sustain Afrikaner nationalism as it continued to grow.

4 Hertzog would be South Africa's prime minister from 1924 to 1939.

To these ends, a series of sweeping segregationist policies were gradually introduced after 1910. Figure 1.2 summarises the areas of life that these laws were intended to control.

Figure 1.2 Areas affected by post-1910 segregationist laws



1. Workplace laws

In 1911, the Mines and Works Act was passed:

- Africans were excluded from the most skilled types of mine work;
- such work was to be reserved for white workers.

Also, in 1911 came the Natives' Labour Regulation Act which established the rules under which Africans could work:

- such workers were to be recruited from the rural areas;
- they were to be fingerprinted and issued with a pass;
- the pass would allow them to enter the cities;
- staying too long in an urban area could lead to arrest and being sentenced to two months hard labour.

Africans did not sit idly by but protested against such regulations. This led in 1924 to the Industrial Conciliation Act:

- African workers were not allowed to organise into unions;
- they were not allowed to negotiate wages and working conditions;
- any African who had a pass (and no pass effectively meant no job), was not considered under the legal term 'employee'; this regulation denied African workers access to mediation in any disputes.

Pre-1910 British laws were continued to force Africans off their own farms into the mines or onto white-owned farms:

- heavy taxes were placed on everything from dogs to huts;
- there were even taxes on 'heads'.

In 1925 the Wages Act was passed:

- minimum wage levels were set for white workers in unskilled jobs;
- this did not apply to African workers;
- the system of paying unskilled white workers more than unskilled African workers was known as the 'civilised labour policy', ie white workers were to be paid a 'civilised wage'.

The Mines and Works Amendment Act was passed in 1926: [5]

- this formally denied entry into skilled work for Africans and Indians;
- certificates of trade competency could only be given to whites and some coloureds in certain occupations.

2. Territorial laws

In 1913, the government passed the Natives' Land Act:

- Africans were to be restricted to only about 8% of the country's land;
- it was now illegal for African farmers to work as share-croppers;
- they were no longer allowed to be rent-paying tenants;

Africans living on white farms had to work for wages or provide 90 days of free labour in exchange for the use of a piece of land.

The 1936 Natives' Trust and Land Act modified the 1913 law:

- land available for Africans was increased to 13%;
- this was done to keep Africans in their 'reserves' and so that they did not need to move to urban areas.

Exercise 1.1 Indicate whether the following statements are true or false.

1	The aim of the creation of the Union of South Africa was to keep Afrikaners under English domination.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Prime Ministers Louis Botha and Jan Smuts had both previously fought against Britain in the Boer War.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Afrikaner nationalism grew in strength in the years following the creation of the Union of South Africa.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	The white population of South Africa after 1910 was almost equal that of the African population.	TRUE/ FALSE

5 This law was also known as the Colour Bar Act.

5	The purpose of the 1911 Mines and Works Act was to ensure Africans entry into skilled occupations.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	The 1925 Wages Act stipulated minimum wages for white workers but this did not extend to African workers.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	Following the 1911 Natives' Regulation Act, passes became compulsory for both white and African workers.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	The 1913 Natives' Land Act limited Africans to only about eight per cent of South Africa's land.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	South African governments were keen for Africans to move into residential urban areas.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Post-1910 segregationist policies had both a racial and an economic purpose.	TRUE/ FALSE

3. Residential laws

By the early 1920s, the white population was becoming concerned about the number of Africans moving into the larger towns. By 1923, over 126 000 Africans were living in the 'Rand' [6], of whom 38 000 were women and children. The white population feared being overwhelmed by the number of Africans. South Africa's prime minister from 1919, Jan Smuts, shared these concerns, and he was keen to enforce residential segregation. Government policy was to ensure different locations for whites only and Africans only.

The 1909 Urban Areas Native Pass Act:

- even before the Union, laws had been passed to restrict African movement into urban areas;
- the 1909 Act gave Africans a six-day permit to seek work but if they had failed to find work after this time, they were forced back to the rural area.

The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923:

- In 1922, the Stallard Commission had been set up to examine the African presence in towns. It led to the Native Act of 1923.
- Local governments could now clear slums and force Africans to live on the edges of towns.
- This law was strengthened with the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act.

To enforce these laws, the police carried frequent 'pass raids'. Blacks could remain in a city *"to minister to the needs of the white population"*. Having a pass that was not in order, or not having one at all, meant immediate police ejection and a return to the reserves. So frequent were pass raids, the majority of Africans had at some time been arrested for pass violations.

4. Political laws

When Hertzog became prime minister in 1924, he was keen to complete the system of white domination by extending segregation into the political area. After 1910, most Africans did not have the vote. However, in the Cape region, some African and coloured men could vote provided they had a certain level of education and property. This was the 'qualified franchise'.

6 The 'Rand' was the area surrounding Johannesburg.

The Native Representation Act of 1936.

- In 1926, Hertzog introduced the Hertzog Native Representation Bill. Its aim was to remove Africans from the Cape electoral roll.
- It did not become law until 1936. Smuts' South Africa Party had opposed the bill, but once Smuts and Hertzog established a new political party together – the United Party – Hertzog's bill passed.
- Africans now had a separate institution – the Native Representation Council (NRC) – which could offer suggestions to parliament regarding issues that affected them.

Under Hertzog, there were other moves to favour the position of whites in the country. Whites were given preference for the 'better' mining jobs. A Land Bank was set up for white farmers. In 1928, the ISCOR was established. [7] This gave jobs to Afrikaners and protected them from African competition. Afrikaners also replaced black workers on the country's rail system.

Impact of the Great Depression and the Second World War

Following the crash of the New York stock exchange (Wall St) in October 1929, the world became engulfed in the Great Depression. From the US to Germany to Australia and to South Africa, mass unemployment, homelessness and hunger became the realities of life for many. Suffering does not discriminate on the basis of colour, but Africans were particularly hard hit. African workers were always the first to be sacked. African farmers could not sell their produce, and the situation was made worse at the time because of a prolonged drought. Thousands of Africans now moved into the cities. Many African women also made the move, hoping to find jobs as domestic servants or washerwomen. Afrikaner bywoners also moved to the cities joining the mass of unemployed seeking work. [8]

Many poor whites and poor Africans ended up living side by side in city slum areas. This caused the government great concern. Though everyone was suffering, for the government Africans represented a problem that had to be dealt with. Consequently, the pass laws were now enforced with greater diligence and force, and unemployed African workers were driven back into the rural areas.

From 1934, the economy began to recover, partly helped by the rise in the international price of gold, one of the country's main products. The extra income allowed the government to assist white farmers. As the economy continued to improve, the demand for labour increased which saw more Africans moving to the cities. In 1913, 13% of the black population lived in cities; by 1946 it was 23%.

World War II (1939-45) was to have a significant impact on the South African economy, the policy of segregation and political life.

- The war boosted the economy. Mining and manufacturing underwent a boom and this in turn increased the demand for labour. This plus a deterioration of conditions in rural areas led to an increased movement of blacks towards the cities.
- As more and more Africans moved to the cities, it became increasingly difficult for the government to maintain its segregationist policies. Smuts, prime minister again since 1939, acknowledged this. In 1917, he had told the Imperial Institute in London:

7 Iron and Steel Corporation.
8 'Bywoner' was an Afrikaans word which referred to a poor white farmer who rented land from a better off white farmer.

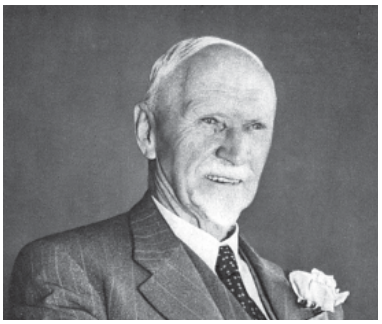
"…in land ownership and forms of government we are trying to keep them (blacks and whites) apart… (this) in the end may be the solution to our native problem…"

However, by 1942, he was saying:

"…The high hopes of which we had of 'segregation' as a policy have been sadly disappointed…"

Politically, a more racist and extreme form of politics began to appear within the Afrikaner community. Hertzog's National Party split in 1934 when Daniel Malan and nineteen other MPs left to form the Purified National Party.

- Malan's vision was of the Afrikaner people who were united by their history of the Great Trek, their opposition to Britain and the threat to their 'race'.
- He gained the support of the Dutch Reformed Church and the secret society known as the Broederbond which contained many powerful Afrikaner men.
- The political position of Smuts (pictured) was weakening. At the end of the war he was 75, and some felt he was losing his 'political touch'.
  - Black opposition to government policies was increasing.
  - Smuts had some sympathy for their position but as a white political figure could never allow this to be seen.
  - Instead he maintained the government's hard line against protests. In 1946, he was forced to use police and the army to defeat a miners' strike. Six Africans were killed, and hundreds were injured.



It was this situation that existed as the fateful election of 1948 approached.

Exercise 1.2 Place the following events in the correct chronological order.

1st event		Wall Street Crash
2nd event		The Stallard Commission
3rd event		James Hertzog becomes PM
4th event		Outbreak of WWII
5th event		Native Urban Areas Act
6th event		Creation of the Purified National party
7th event		The Colour Bar Act
8th event		Native Representation Act

What do the historians have to say about 'Background: From 1910 to the 1940s'?

1. Nancy Clark and William Worger

Clark and Worger make the point that the nationwide system of segregation had become so widespread it necessitated the 1927 Native Administration Act. The Department of Native Affairs now had control over all aspects of life as they affected the African population.

"…In effect, this Act separated all policies concerning Africans from the rest of the government. Under this Act the government ruled by decree rather than by law in the African rural areas…" [9]

2. Philip Bonner

Bonner makes the point that though the 1913 Land Act was the foundational piece of legislation that provided the framework for segregation, the policy became confused, indeed chaotic. A central feature of segregation was the aim of maintaining traditional customs and structures in the reserves. However, as he points out, conquest and dispossession had transformed such things and they bore little relation to the past. Segregation lacked a clear purpose, beyond the idea of keeping the races apart. Different forms of native administration had grown up across the country, and across time, as the colonial frontier expanded and came into contact with different African societies. It became impossible to generalise about segregation after 1910.

"…In consequence, local voices and practices filled in the silences and gaps in the empty vessel of segregation, so that life in the segregated reserves was bewilderingly diverse…" [10]

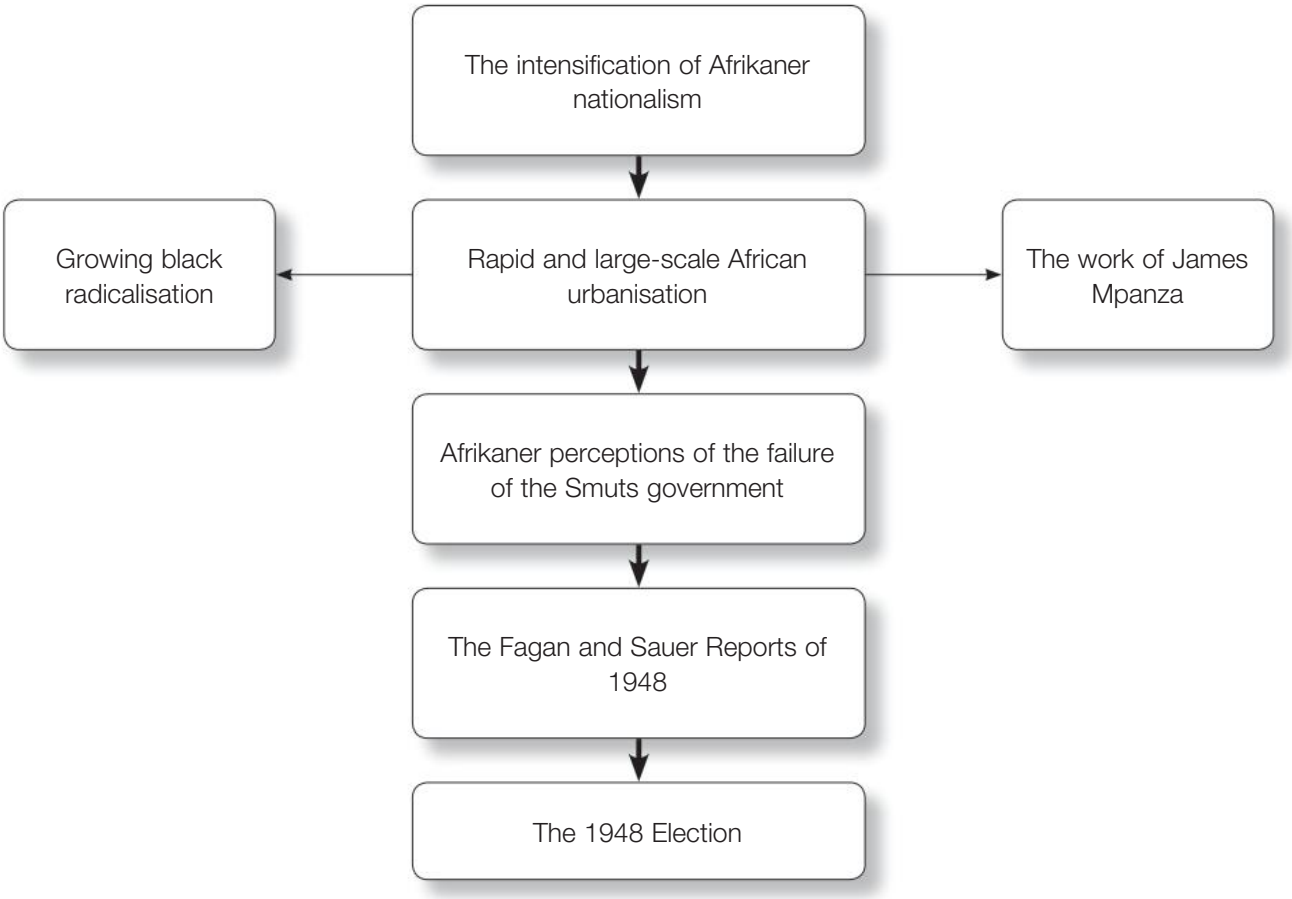
9 Clark, N L, and Worger, W H, South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid, Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 2004, p 22
10 Bonner, P, South African Society and Culture 1910-1948, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Vol II, 1885-1994, CUP, 2011

Chapter Two
Apartheid: Ideology, policy and practice

Background to apartheid: Towards the 1948 Election

As was explained in Chapter One, since the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, South African governments had endeavoured to enforce a series of restrictive segregationist policies. These policies provided the basis for the imposition of apartheid after the 1948 election. Figure 2.1 outlines the stages that led to this development. Each will be dealt with in more detail below.

Figure 2.1 The road to apartheid



The intensification of Afrikaner nationalism

During the 1930s, there was an intensification of the feeling of Afrikaner nationalism. Afrikaners believed that they were a unique people who had been chosen by god to rule the land of South Africa. Such thinking melded easily with notions of white racial superiority. Though such racist thinking would eventually evolve into the extremes of apartheid, at the time such views were not limited to South Africa. The Afrikaner was special, South Africa was a white man's land and so it was necessary to protect the Afrikaner identity and maintain a fully-fledged racial separation.

Several factors account for this growth of Afrikaner nationalism:

- In 1918 a secret organisation called the Broederbond was established. Its purpose was to develop and maintain pride in the Afrikaans language, culture and history.
- In 1929, the Broederbond set up the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organisations (FAK) to promote Afrikaner poetry, music and art.
- The Broederbond organised 'Great Trek' celebrations in 1938. This was a major event that even saw some people re-enact the 'trek' from the Cape inland. Its purpose was to promote Afrikaner pride and Afrikaner triumph over the British and the Africans.
  - The voortrekkers'defeat of the Zulu King, Dingane, at the 1838 Battle of Blood River was celebrated. To some Afrikaners, that victory was evidence of god's support for his chosen people.
- Afrikaners began to set up purely 'Afrikaner' institutions. These included financial bodies, eg 'The South African National Trust Company' (SANTAM) and the South African Life Assurance Company (SANLAM)in 1918.
- When prime minister Hertzog combined with Smuts in 1934 to form the United Party, Daniel Malan led a breakaway group to form the Purified National Party. They opposed Smuts' pro-British feelings.
- Other developments included:
  - Some Afrikaners were admirers of Hitler and set up their own 'Grey Shirts' and 'Black Shirts' groups to oppose communism.
  - A separate boy scout movement for Afrikaner youth was set up.
  - Trade unions for Afrikaner only speakers were established.

African urbanisation

The growth of Afrikaner nationalist feeling was occurring at a time when black urbanisation was gathering pace. The depression and the drought in the 1930s led to many rural Africans seeking work in the towns. However, it was the rapid expansion of industry during the war years which was mainly responsible for the number of urban Africans.

- Between 1939 and 1945, the number of African males working in industry has increased by 70%; white employment in industry had grown by only 30%.
- By 1945, outside of mining, Africans now made up over 50% of the industrial workforce. This was the first time this had happened in South African history!
- Black workers were pouring into urban areas:
  - Johannesburg had four African-specific municipal housing schemes by 1940: Pimville, Orlando, Western Native Township and Eastern Native Township.
  - Other African townships were growing around Johannesburg in Sophiatown, Alexandra, Martindale and Newclare.

These townships were experiencing overcrowding, housing shortages and massive strains on municipal facilities. This development was accompanied by the revival of a reinvigorated African National Congress (ANC). [1] Popular African leaders, like James Mpanza, were organising squatter movements for homeless blacks.

1 See Chapter Four.

Afrikaner perceptions of the failure of the Smuts government

Jan Smuts was seen within much of the Afrikaner movement as being too 'liberal', too pro-British during the war and unwilling or unable to take decisive action to stem the tide of black urbanisation. White Afrikaners feared being swamped in 'their own' towns. When the war broke out in 1939, Smuts was deputy prime minister and wanted South Africa to support Britain; prime minister Hertzog sought neutrality, while many of Malan's supporters wanted to enter the war on Germany's side. Smuts won out. However, Hertzog then resigned and joined Malan in the Herenigde (Reunited) National Party. During the war, some extreme Afrikaners were even arrested for sabotage against Smuts government. [2]

Smuts believed that segregation was failing.

- In 1942, when addressing the Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town, he said that trying to stop the movement of Africans into the towns was like sweeping the ocean back with a broom.
- On the surface at least, Smuts was taking a hard line with African dissent, as seen in his crushing of the 1946 miners' strike.
- However, for many Afrikaners, it was time for a more radical solution to the 'race issue'.

The Fagan and the Sauer Reports of 1948

The main parties, Smuts United Party (UP) and Malan's Herenigde National Party (HNP) both accepted that African labour was essential for South African industry and that African migration to the towns had become a serious issue. However, they disagreed on how to deal with these issues.

In 1946, the Smuts governments established the Fagan Committee to investigate these issues and to suggest solutions. It reported in 1948. Malan's HRP then appointed its own Committee – the Sauer Committee – to do the same. Each reported about eight weeks before the 1948 election. Their proposals were very different from each other.

The UP's Fagan Report	The HRP's Sauer Report
■ Fagan argued that total segregation was impossible.	■ Sauer argued that Africans belonged only in the reserves.
■ Industry needed black workers to be permanently settled.	■ Permanent black settlement was a dangerous development.
■ It was simply not possible to return black workers to the reserves.	■ Urban Africans must only ever be considered as 'visitors' with no rights.
■ The migrant system of labour should gradually be brought to an end.	■ The migrant system of labour was the only way and must continue.
■ African workers and their families had to be encouraged to settle in locations though under strict controls.	■ There had to be a strict policy of separating black locations from white towns.

The two parties took their respective proposals to the 1948 election.

2 Future prime minister John Vorster was one of those arrested.

The election of 1948

The HRP renamed itself 'The National Party' (NP). The choice between the two parties was stark. Malan's NP offered white voters an extremely repressive set of policies which were quite different to the equivocal proposals of Smuts' UP. To the great surprise of Smuts, the country and indeed the world, the NP won a momentous victory. Was this a turning point in South African history? Some would argue no, suggesting that apartheid was inevitable whoever would have controlled the country in the future. Others suggest yes, as the NP now proceeded to implement a series of rigid apartheid measures. It should be remembered that the National Party was to remain in power for the next 46 years!

The victory of Malan's National Party was not decisive but the electoral system worked in his party's favour.

- The NP won 79 seats compared to the UP's 71.
- However, the NP won only 40% of the vote, compared to the UP's 50%.
- The NP was stronger in the rural areas. It won the majority of the small rural seats. The UP won large majorities in the smaller number of urban seats.

Why had the NP been successful? It had successfully played on the economic and racial fears of whites who feared the surge of black workers into the towns. It argued that civilised town life was endangered, that Smuts and his deputy, Hofmeyr were too soft when dealing with African issues. Afrikaners outnumbered English voters by three to two. Generally, their economic position was weaker than English voters and so many believed they had more to lose from the threat of black labour.

Exercise 2.1 Use the terms in the box below to complete the following passage.

_____ nationalism was steadily increasing after 1918. In 1919, a secret organisation called the _____ was set up to promote Afrikaner culture. In 1938, it organised a celebration of the _____ that happened a century earlier. When Prime Minister _____ joined _____ to form the _____, Daniel Malan and his supporters broke away to form the _____ National Party, as they opposed Smuts' _____ stance. By the mid-1940s, black workers were moving into _____ around cities such as _____ in large numbers. This was causing _____ shortages and _____ on urban facilities. White South Africans were becoming deeply concerned about this development. Smuts' party set up the _____ committee to investigate the issue. Malan's party established the _____ committee. Malan's committee proposed a far _____ set of measures to deal with what was happening. These would provide the basis for _____. The election of 1948 was won by the _____ Party which gained ____ seats to the United Party's ____ seats, even though it won only ____% of the popular vote compared to its opponents' ____ %.

HOUSING – NATIONAL – HERTZOG – FAGAN – AFRIKANER – SMUTS – PRO-BRITISH – SAUER – 50 – 71 – 40 – 79 – STRAINS – BROEDERBOND – APARTHEID – JOHANNESBURG – UNITED PARTY – PURIFIED – STRICTER – GREAT TREK – TOWNSHIPS

Apartheid becomes reality

When the National Party took power in 1948, it was committed to the ideas of the Sauer Committee and the implementation of apartheid. However, this does not mean the party had a clearly workout-out blueprint ready for implementation. In fact, though the bases of the apartheid state were put in place during the 1950s, the system would be in a state of constant evolution throughout the next four decades. As time went on, the National Party faced a triple challenge:

1. to ensure economic growth and stability;
2. to ensure the continuation of white privilege and power;
3. to ensure the suppression of black protest.

To deal with these challenges, between 1948 and the 1980s, the scope of the National Party's apartheid legislative program was almost without limits.

- From now on, it was one's race that was to determine every aspect of a person's life.
- However, the aim of apartheid was not merely the separation of the races; the law existed to ensure that whites were to be treated more favourably than blacks. Never was there even the façade of separate but equal. [3]
- Apartheid not only separated the races, not only separated them on the basis of open inequality, it also operated to deny blacks any opportunity to legally oppose the system or to protest against its obvious injustice:
  - as time went on, state repression steadily increased in its complexity, its severity and its arbitrariness;
  - denial of free speech, harassment, persecution, imprisonment and torture would steadily become key features of South Africa's apartheid system.

"…By the end of the apartheid era, the South African legal system vested so many powers of surveillance and enforcement of the police – as opposed to the courts – that the country operated for most of its inhabitants as a police state…" [4]

Figure 2.2 outlines the key pieces of legislation of the 1950s that provided the basis of the apartheid system. This phase is sometimes called the "baaskap" or "white supremacy.

3 The US Supreme Court would uphold the South's Jim Crow laws and segregationist policies for many years on the basis (fiction) of 'separate but equal'.
4 Clark, N L, and Worger, W H, South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid, Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 2004, p 45

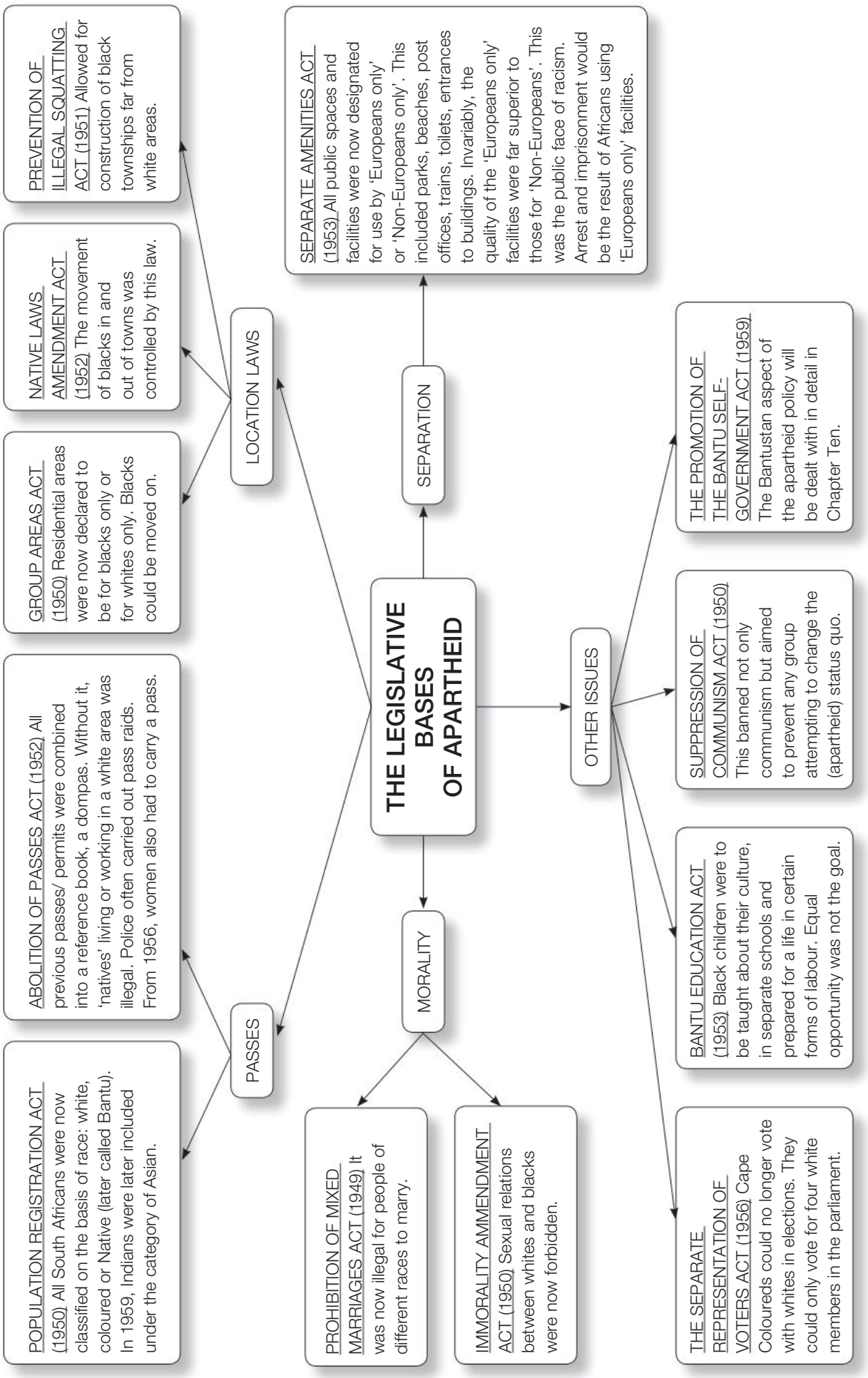


Figure 2.2 The legislative bases of apartheid

The (white) politics of the 1950s

The National Party's election victory in 1948 was narrow. However, it was to win re-election in 1953 and again in 1958. Each time, its majority in parliament increased. The United Party tried in vain to counter the National Party by supporting white supremacy but arguing against the high levels of expenditure needed to maintain apartheid. In 1959, eleven members of the United Party broke away to form the Progressive Party.

However, the actions of these two parties were fruitless. Nearly all Afrikaners and increasing numbers of English-speaking South Africans turned out to vote for the National Party. The results of the 1961 election clearly illustrate this development:

- The National Party: 105 seats
- The United Party: 45 seats
- The Progressive Federal Party: one seat

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd

Daniel Malan retired in 1954 and he was followed as prime minister by J G Strijdom from the Transvaal branch of the party. Strijdom died in 1958. His successor was Hendrik F Verwoerd. Verwoerd had been the Minister of Native Affairs, and had earlier had a career as a Professor of Applied Psychology. Verwoerd is widely regarded as the chief ideologue of apartheid, to the extent that he is frequently referred to as "the father of apartheid".

As international attacks on apartheid increased, especially from the newly independent Asian and African nations of the British Commonwealth Verwoerd offered the (white) South African people a proposal for the country to become a republic. The majority of white voters supported the idea and this was followed by South Africa's departure from the British Commonwealth. [5]

5 The international responses to apartheid will be dealt with more fully in Chapters 11, 12 and 14.

Exercise 2.2 Match the policy on the left with the law listed on the right.

1	All South Africans were classified on the basis of race.		Suppression Of Communism Act 1950
2	'Natives' were from now on forced to always have with them their 'dompas'.		Separate Amenities Act 1953
3	Residential areas were now specifically designated as being black or white.		Abolition Of Passes Act 1952
4	Marriage between the different races was no prohibited.		Bantu Education Act 1953
5	Public amenities were now designated for 'Europeans' or 'Non-Europeans'.		Separate Representation of Voters Act 1956
6	Protests against the status quo of apartheid was banned.		Group Areas Act 1950
7	African children were to be educated separately and primed for certain labour.		Immorality Amendment Act 1950
8	Cape Coloured were no longer allowed to vote with whites in elections.		Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 1953
9	Sexual relations between whites and blacks was now forbidden.		Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949
10	Black townships could be built but were sited far from white areas.		Population Registration Act 1950

Comments on 'Apartheid: Ideology, policy and practice'

1. Hendrik Verwoerd explaining the purpose of 'Bantu' education, 1954:

"…The school must equip him (the Bantu pupil) to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him… There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour…" [6]

2. A statement from the Dutch Reformed Church in 1954:

"…God divided humanity into races, languages and nations. Differences are not only willed by God but are perpetuated by him… Far from the word of God encouraging equality… those who are culturally and spiritually advanced have a mission to leadership and protection of the less advanced…" [7]

3. The 1950 Population Registration Act:

The definition of race under apartheid was quite different to what it was in other racist societies.

- In the southern states of the US, race was defined very much in terms of ancestry.
- In Nazi Germany, race had a clear biological basis which determined the regime's laws.
- Apartheid determined race on the basis of 'cultural and civilisational difference' in everyday life; it did not rely on ancestry or physiology.
  - Under apartheid, ordinary people, with no particular qualifications, were considered capable of determining a person's race.
  - This was done on the basis of everyday experience.
  - Did a person act and look like a member of a particular race?
  - Race was thus decided on the basis of bodily appearance and social judgment.

The 1950 Population Registration Act characterised:

"…a white person (as) one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person…" [8]

"…(A native was a person defined as) a person who is in fact or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa…" [9]

"…(A coloured person was defined as) a person who is not a white person or a native…" [10]

6 Statement of the Minister for Native Affairs, Dr H Verwoerd, in the Senate of the South African Parliament, 7 June 1954
7 Huddleston, T, Naught for Your Comfort, Collins, London, 1956, p 57
8 Population Registration Act, no 30 of 1950, section 1 (xv)
9 Section 1 (x)
10 Section 1 (iii)

4. Deborah Posel

Deborah Posel highlights the importance that the apartheid regime gave to issues of gender, sexuality and the family, and how this affected both legislation and more general social policy. If race was to be a key determinant of 'who one was', then ensuring racial purity was important. Hence, the quick introduction of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act. Connected to this was the importance given to strong Christian and patriarchal values that were strongly opposed to the 'liberal' attitudes spreading in the west. There was no "swinging sixties" in apartheid South Africa. Posel comments:

"…Strict media censorship restricted the circulation of images and text deemed immoral; the introduction of television was delayed by fears that this would contaminate the nation's morality with decadent and /or subversive programmes from abroad…" [11]

11 Posel, D, The Apartheid Project 1949-1970, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 335

Chapter Three
Impact of apartheid on rural and urban communities

Apartheid had a major impact on both urban and rural communities. Some of this impact has already been discussed in Chapter Two where the bases of apartheid were outlined. The direct impact of apartheid will be further examined in Chapters Nine and Ten. This chapter will attempt to differentiate how urban and rural communities were affected. Obviously, some of the points that are raised as relating to urban communities, might equally apply to rural communities. Inevitably, there will be some overlap with information that appears in Chapters Two, Nine and Ten. This overlapping has been employed so that the book's chapter headings can match the syllabus points as closely as possible.

Life for most non-whites was never easy under the apartheid system, and as time went on it steadily deteriorated. Inequality, injustice, poverty, humiliation and ever-present state-sanctioned violence were to be the lot of non-whites whether they attempted to live in urban communities or were forced to reside in rural areas.

The impact on urban communities

The post-1948 Afrikaner governments had as their fundamental aim the separation of the races which was the essence of apartheid. Most whites lived in towns and cities. As the South African economy continued to develop, there was a growing demand for black labour in the mines and the factories. However, this meant that increasing numbers of Africans were living in urban areas. The government thus had to balance the desire for economic growth with the imperative of racial separation.

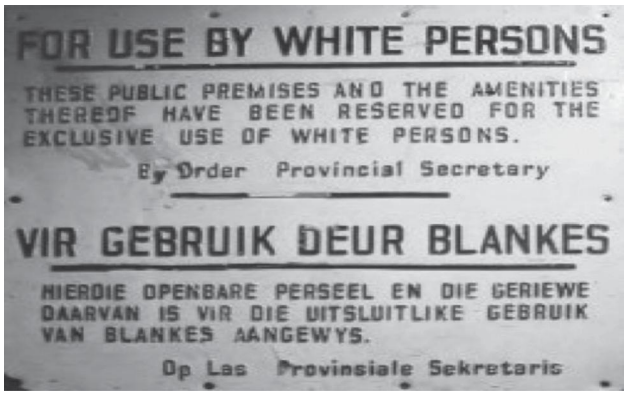
- As explained in Chapter Two, perhaps the most significant piece of apartheid legislation of the 1950s was the 1952 Native Abolition of Passes Act.
  - Soon every African had to carry a reference book, a dompas.
  - From 1956, African women were also forced to carry one.
  - There were frequent and often violent pass checks carried out by the police. Failure to have a properly stamped dompas could lead to prison or being immediately forced back to a rural area.
  - One's pass book proved one's race and became the crucial weapon in enforcing racial separation.
- The purpose of the Group Areas Act of 1950 was to enforce residential segregation. Large numbers of blacks would be forcibly moved to areas set aside for black occupation.
  - This often resulted in people being forced to live in areas with which they had no connection.
  - The government pursued a policy of "influx control". To achieve this, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was passed and was rigorously enforced by the police.

- Townships were set up far from white areas to prevent those white suburbs from being "swamped".
- One example of this was Soweto which was established outside of Johannesburg. The townships were crowded, suffered from a lack of decent facilities and so living conditions there were terrible.

- Sometimes black townships would be completely destroyed.
  - One example was Sophiatown in the 1950s.
  - Africans were piled onto trucks and driven away.
  - Sophiatown was reoccupied by white Afrikaners who renamed it Triomf (Triumph).
  - A similar event occurred in District Six in Cape Town. The government drove the coloured community out and whites were then able to move in.
- The Bantu Education Act ensured that African children received a far inferior education to white children. The situation was even worse in rural areas.

There was more chance of interaction between blacks and whites in urban communities than in rural areas. This meant that some of the apartheid legislation had a greater impact in urban communities than in rural communities.

- The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950) sought to prevent marital and sexual relations between the different races.
  - This saw apartheid affect people at the truly personal level.
- Early on there was the well-known case of the relationship between Professor John Blacking (white) and Dr Zarina Desai (Indian).
  - They narrowly missed prison and fled to Britain.
  - Highlighting the absurdity of such laws there was a celebrated photo relating to this case of the magistrate Mr de Wet peering through Blackwood's bedroom window to ascertain whether police could have seen the two of them in bed together!
- The Separate Amenities Act (1953) affected the whole country but had most impact in urban areas where there was more chance of blacks and whites coming into contact with each other.



In the 1960s and 1970s, the South African economy grew strongly with many foreign businesses willing to invest in the country to take advantage of the incredibly low African wages. By the early 1980s, there were about 2500 foreign businesses operating in South Africa, investing over $30 billion.

- South Africa's white urban community began to enjoy a standard of living higher than most western industrialised countries.
- However, African wages did not rise. The real value of an African mine-worker's wage in 1971 was less than it had been in 1911.
- Urban African factory workers were often earning only about 20% of their white co-workers.
- By the early 1980s, South Africa had become one of the most unequal societies in the industrialised world with the bottom 40% of the population earning 6% of the national income.

Urban inequality affected not only the living standards of Africans but also had a direct impact on health.

- Infant mortality for Africans and Coloured was thirteen times that of whites.
  - 25% of African and Coloured children died before their first birthday.
- In Pretoria between 1967 and 1976, not a single house was built for African families.
  - A typical four room house in Soweto would have fourteen or more people living in it.

In the urban communities, the police controlled the boundaries between the races. Legal and political constraints in the past had limited police actions but these were now lifted. The scope and intensity of police violence against Africans steadily expanded.

The impact on rural communities [1]

The Population Regulation Act of 1950 that classified people along racial lines could have a devastating impact on families. Parents might be declared African while their children could be declared coloured. The parents could then be sent off to live in a distant rural area.

Only 13% of the country's land was given over to Africans, more formerly organised into the Bantustans later (see Chapter Eleven). Large numbers of Africans would be systematically removed from urban areas to the 'homelands'.

- Forced removals might be preceded by Africans' land being sold to whites at very low prices.
- The rural areas to which Africans were sent often had inadequate (occasionally no) housing, poor employment opportunities and of course lacked the basic facilities that whites demanded in the towns.
  - The result was poverty, homelessness and poor health.
  - Educational facilities in the rural areas for Africans were far inferior to elsewhere.

1 Life in rural communities will be more fully examined in Chapter Eleven.

As time went on, forced removals became more common and were often carried out in an inhumane manner.

- In 1968, 7000 Africans in the township of Schmidtsdrift near Kimberley – in the middle of a European area – were driven out.
  - The people were loaded into trucks by police and they were driven to an African reserve near Kuruman, on the edge of the Kalahari Desert.
  - This area was no good for crops or for grazing.
  - The people were soon close to starvation.
- The Bantu Resettlement Act (1954) started destroying western Johannesburg townships such as Newclare and Martindale.
  - Black residents had been here since 1900 and had even gained freehold rights over some of the land. This meant nothing.
  - In the name of 'slum clearance', the townships were destroyed and the residents moved to rural 'homeland' areas, *"for the benefit of natives"*.

The 'homelands' were always isolated and only one, Qwaqwa, had a contiguous border with the rest. Sometimes these 'homelands' comprised just scattered bits of land. *KwaZulu* was made up of 70 separate segments.

Overcrowding in such inhospitable regions became a major problem.

- The homelands population rose from 39% in 1960 to 53% by 1980.
  - The black population of the homelands rose from 4.4 million to 11 million.
- Population density was vastly different for blacks and whites.
  - The population density in white areas in the Cape was two people per square kilometre.
  - In the homeland of KwaNdebele the density was 193 people per square kilometre.
  - In the Qwaqwa homeland, the density was 298 per square kilometre.
- Agricultural cultivation became close to impossible under such crowded conditions with deforestation and soil erosion often resulting.

What do the historians have to say about the 'Impact of apartheid on rural and urban communities'?

1. Gail Nattrass

Nattrass highlights the point that forced urban racial separation, and the forced removals of Africans to distant rural areas, meant that white people in South Africa never saw a black home and never had any social interaction with black people.

"…White children grew up in isolation from their black peers, and few whites ever learnt an African language. Black and coloured people did not come into contact with white people except in the workplace, and then in generally subordinate positions…" [2]

2 Nattrass, G, A Short History of South Africa, Biteback publishing, London, 2017, p 176

2. Deborah Posel

Posel illustrates how South Africa under apartheid became an extremely violent society, in both urban and rural communities.

- This violence sometimes occurred on an official level.
  - The police and the security forces were systematically and brutally employed to enforce the separation of the races.
  - They were used to maintain the apartheid system and continue the state of white privilege, authority and advantage.
- However, violence was widespread at another level. Large parts of the country experienced total lawlessness and high levels of everyday violence.
  - Posel makes the point white areas experienced high levels of law and order, and were fully policed.
  - However, the townships and informal settlements with hundreds of thousands of people were policed to a very limited extent.
  - Posel suggests that this was a symptom of the state's lack of interest in *"attending to the problems of assault, murder, sexual violence and child abuse that were known to be the product of a brutalised life."* [3]
  - Posel further makes the point that paradoxically the violence in the townships acted to strengthen apartheid.

"…The figure of the unscrupulously violent black criminal kept white fears of black menace alive, which sustained support for the rigid racial segregation that the apartheid state promised to sustain…" [4]

3. Anne Kelk Mager and Maanda Mulaudzi

Mager and Mulaudzi go further than Posel and comment on another form of violence during the apartheid, namely inter-racial violence. They illustrate this with the example of a major clash that occurred in 1949 between African shack dwellers at Cato Manor Farm, on the outskirts of Durban, and the Indian community. Following the assault by an Indian shopkeeper of an African, Indian property in the area was looted. In the ensuing violence, 123 people were killed. Mager and Mulaudzi suggest the underlying issue behind the violence was a combination of:

"…African resentment of the entrepreneurial power of the Indian-owned businesses… (frustration at) economic contraction as the Second World War came to an end…(and) was exacerbated by a desperate need for space in the city…" [5]

3 Posel, D, The Apartheid Project 1949-1970, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 348
4 Posel, D, The Apartheid Project 1949-1970, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 348
5 Mager, A K, and Mulaudzi, M, Popular Responses to Apartheid 1948-c1975, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 371

Exercise 3.1

Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	South African governments were keen to integrate black and white communities in urban areas.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	The 1952 Native Abolition of Passes Act meant that from now on, South Africans were no longer expected to carry around pass identification papers.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	"Influx control" was a government policy that was implemented under apartheid to prevent 'white towns' from being 'swamped'.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	Sophiatown's black population was forcibly removed and the town was taken over by whites who renamed it Triomf.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	In the 1960s and 1970s, foreign businesses proved to be very unwilling to invest in the South African economy.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Despite significant economic growth, the wages of black workers failed to ever match those of white workers.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	The health standards of black South Africans in the rural areas was significantly worse than for white South Africans in urban areas.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	The population density in the black homelands was roughly the same as in white designated regions of the country.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	Despite the system of apartheid, there continued to be significant interaction at an educational and social level between whites and blacks.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Under apartheid, in both urban and rural communities, violence became a significant feature of South African life.	TRUE/ FALSE

Chapter Four
Nature, growth and impact of the ANC and the PAC [1]

Early resistance

Soon after the creation of the Union of South Africa (1910), some middle-class, educated blacks began to organise for fear that the new parliament would be white-dominated and opposed to any reform measures. These men accepted what they saw as the benefits of British rule such as Christianity, education and the law, but they were frustrated by the limitations caused by discrimination against Africans.

- A black association called the "South African Native National Congress" (SANNC) was formed in 1912 when several hundred of the African elite met at Bloemfontein:
  - its first president was J I Dube
  - the treasurer was P K Seme
  - the secretary was Sol Plaatje
- Dube said at the time that they wanted to work with the British. He said that the Congress would pursue a policy of:

"…hopeful reliance on the sense of common justice and love of freedom, so innate in the British character…"

The first campaign of the SANNC was against the Natives' Land Act (1913) [2] Having failed to have any impact on the South African parliament, the SANNC sent a delegation to London to campaign with the British parliament. The British government said that it could do nothing as it was an internal South African issue.

Despite similar setbacks, black leaders continued pursuing a moderate course.

- In 1918, a petition was sent to King George V seeking his intervention, reminding him of the enormous efforts black South Africans had made during the war for the Empire.
  - This was ignored.
- In 1919, a black South African delegation went to the Paris Peace Conference in an attempt to present an argument for 'black self-determination'. [3]
- Black South Africans now began to pursue the non-violent protest methods that Indian nationalist leader, Gandhi, was employing in India against British control of his country.

1 ANC (African National Congress); PAC (Pan African Congress)
2 See Chapter One.
3 At the Paris Peace Conference that followed World War I, US President Wilson argued that peoples should be allowed to rule themselves. This was national self-determination.

Black resistance developed in various ways in the 1920s. Many blacks decided to leave white Christian churches, preferring more African forms of Christianity. Workers began to organise and strike, actions which often brought on police violence. Clements Kadalie became the leader of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU).

- By the late 1920s, it had become a major protest movement with up to 200 000 members, both urban and rural.
- In February 1920, 70 000 black workers in 21 separate mines went on strike. Subsequent police action against the strikers led to the deaths of 11 miners.

In May 1921, 1000 followers of a religious prophet called Enoch Mgijima refused police orders to dismantle their settlement. Police opened fire, resulting in the deaths of 190 people. When a group of Nama people in South West Africa protested against land loss, police action led to 100 deaths.

In 1921, the Communist Party of South Africa (CP) was formed.

- It would have a difficult relationship with the ICU, and Kadalie eventually expelled from the union any who were also party members.
- The CP became increasingly involved in trade unions, eg the African Mineworkers Union which had 25 000 members by 1943.

From the SANNC to the ANC

In 1923, the SANNC changed its name to the African National Congress – the ANC. It was still moderate, educated middle-class dominated and remained unwilling to engage in mass demonstrations. The ANC was also wary of socialist and communist ideas which were beginning to take hold with some sections of the black population.

By the mid-1930s, black opposition to the unjust white rule was struggling. In 1935, 400 delegates representing all African political organisations met to form the All-Africa Convention (AAC). Its purpose was of course to oppose the country's unfair laws but it also stated its loyalty to South Africa and the British crown.

By the late 1930s, the ANC seemed to be failing. There were divisions within it (and within other black groups) about the type of tactics that should be followed:

- should the ANC engage in only peaceful protest or mass actions?
- should protest be only 'black' or should it link up with other races?
- should the CP be shunned?

From 1940, there was a revival within the ANC under the leadership of its new president, Dr A B Xuma. The organisation's finances were put on a better footing and new, able, younger members were becoming involved, as outlined in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Younger members joining the ANC in the 1940s

Born in 1914, **Anton Lembede** was the founding president of the ANC Youth League. He has been credited with providing an ideology of African nationalism, providing many of the ideas for the ANC 'Programme of Action', adopted in 1949. He died in 1947, aged 33.

Born in 1912, **Walter Sisulu** joined the ANC in 1941. In 1943, he became a member of the ANC Youth League. Sisulu was self-educated, had worked in the mines and was a trade unionist. His organisational skills saw him become secretary general of the ANC from 1949 to 1954. He was also a member of the CP.

Oliver Tambo was born in 1917. He was well-educated, having spent some time at Fort Hare University with Nelson Mandela. He helped form the ANC Youth League. After some time teaching, he studied law and eventually set up a legal practice with Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg. He became a leading ANC figure in the 1950s.

Nelson Mandela was born in 1918. The son of a chief, Mandela was educated at a mission school and attended Fort Hare University. He became a lawyer, setting up a practice in Johannesburg. He joined the ANC in 1943 and co-founded the ANC's Youth League. He became president of the ANC's Transvaal's branch and was to play a major role in the 1952 Defiance Campaign (see below).

Xuma was against taking mass actions and this caused impatience amongst the younger ANC members. He was forced to resign and was replaced by Dr Moroka, Sisulu became secretary-general, while Mandela and Tambo joined the national executive.

- The young ANC members realised that the nationalist government would simply ignore moderate protest.
- This led to the ANC adopting a Programme of Action involving strikes, demonstrations and non-cooperation.
  - Mandela would later explain that the ANC had become too docile.
- In June 1950, a National Day of Protest was held.

Exercise 4.1 Match the name given below with the description.

1	I was the key person behind the Programme of Action adopted by the ANC.	
2	I established the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.	
3	I set up a legal practice in Johannesburg with Nelson Mandela.	
4	I became ANC president in the late 1940s and was willing to consider mass actions.	
5	I was the first president of the SANNC.	
6	I joined the ANC in 1943, played a key role in the Youth League. I was also in the CP.	
7	I became president of the ANC in 1940.	
8	I was the son of a chief and became a lawyer, practising in Johannesburg.	
9	I was an Indian nationalist who provided an example of non-violent mass action.	
10	I was considered to be a religious prophet by some South Africans.	

J I Dube – Clements Kadalie – Dr A B Xuma – Anton Lembede – Nelson Mandela – Oliver Tambo – Walter Sisulu – Dr Moroka – Gandhi – Enoch Mgijima

From the Defiance Campaign (1952) to the Freedom Charter (1955)

On 26 June 1952, the Afrikaner government was planning to celebrate the 300th anniversary of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape.[4] The ANC planned to counter these celebrations with a 'Defiance Campaign' involving counter-demonstrations aimed at bringing the world's attentions to the evils of apartheid. The aim of the Defiance Campaign was to invite arrest by visiting locations set aside for Europeans only and using their facilities. Up to 8000 people were arrested by police. In October there was rioting which resulted in the deaths of blacks and whites.

4 Van Riebeeck was a Dutch navigator, and later administrator. His arrival would eventually lead to the establishment of the Dutch Cape Colony of the Dutch East India Company.

- The government responded with more repression and by introducing ever stricter laws. Terms of imprisonment were greatly increased.
- The government introduced the Suppression of Communism Act. Any criticism of the system was labelled communist and so justified harsh suppression.

By the end of the year, the campaign had run its course but ANC membership had grown from 7000 to 100 000. Now growing in confidence, the ANC realised that it needed a manifesto outlining its principles. This would be 'The Freedom Charter'. In June 1955, a major meeting at Kliptown near Johannesburg was called. The meeting began with prizes being awarded to anti-apartheid campaigners. These included Father Trevor Huddlestone (a white priest), Yusuf Dadoo (an Indian campaigner) and Chief Albert Luthuli (who had just succeeded Moroka). Dadoo and Luthuli did not appear as they were banned from attending meetings. Mandela and Sisulu were also banned, and stayed on the edge of the crowd to avoid police.

After the prizes had been given out, the Freedom Charter was read out. Figure 4.2 lists the different sections of the Freedom Charter. [5]

Figure 4.2 The Freedom Charter

THE FREEDOM CHARTER 1955	The people shall govern
	All national groups shall have equal rights
	The people shall share in the country's wealth
	The land shall be shared among those who work it
	All shall be equal before the law
	All shall enjoy equal human rights
	There shall be work and security
	The doors of learning and culture shall be opened
	There shall be houses, security and comfort
	There shall be peace and friendship

The Charter ended with these words:

"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."

The December 1956 Treason Trial

The regime placed 156 people on trial for treason following the publication of the Freedom Charter, including most of the leadership of the ANC and the Indian community. The government accused them of planning violent revolution and tried to argue that the Charter was nothing more than a communist plan of action. The government failed in its case and those arrested were eventually released. However, the ANC leadership was ineffective for

5 The complete charter can be found at: http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AD1137/AD1137-Ea6-1-001-jpeg.pdf

almost five years as the case dragged on. Meanwhile the government continued to introduce more laws to stifle black action, including one that outlawed any gathering that could *'cause any feelings of hostility between blacks and white'* (The Riotous Assemblies Act). [6] However, protests continued, and included bus boycotts on the Rand, where blacks insisted that they would rather walk than pay high fares on substandard vehicles. [7]

Female resistance to apartheid

In 1913, the government had attempted to introduce passes for women but female resistance was so strong that the authorities backed down. Women hated the pass laws as it allowed the police to control movement in and out of the towns which could lead to the break-up of families. In 1955, the government announced that the following year women would be forced to have a pass. Major protests ensued. One of the leading figures in these protests was Albertina Sisulu (see the box below).

ALBERTINA SISULU: Albertina Sisulu, the wife of Walter Sisulu, was a major anti-apartheid campaigner in her own right. She led demonstrations against the pass laws. Arrested on several occasions, she continued to protest. She was eventually banned for 17 years and so not allowed to attend political meetings. In 1963, she became the first woman held under the 90 Day Law which allowed a person to be held in solitary confinement for 90 days without trial.

Another black female who would become prominent in the protest movement was the second wife of Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela. When her husband was in prison, she kept the flame of resistance alive and proved popular amongst the youth of Soweto.. She was often arrested and spent time in prison, eventually being moved to distant Brandfort in Orange Free State with her daughters. [8]

In 1955, the Black Sash Organisation was formed by white women trying to prevent coloured losing the vote. In their protests they wore 'black sashes of mourning'. Members later offered legal advice to those affected by Section 10 of the Pass Laws which could lead to forced removal.

In1956 the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) was formed. It had a black president, Lilian Ngoyi, and a white secretary, Helen Joseph. It organised a women's march of 20 000 on the Union Buildings in Pretoria, the heart of the Afrikaner government.

Other white female opponents included Margaret Ballinger, Ruth First and Helen Suzman. Helen Suzman (1917-2009) sat in parliament for thirty-six years and for much of that time was the only person in parliament who provided consistent opposition to apartheid. She worked to improve prison conditions for ANC members and often used her 'parliamentary privilege' to highlight various abuses of apartheid.[9]

6 The issue of government repression will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter Nine.
7 Black civil rights activists in the United States were employing similar tactics at this time.
8 Winnie Mandela's reputation would suffer later in life due to her association in violence and scandal.
9 Parliamentary privilege refers to the right of a Member of Parliament to say anything within the parliamentary chamber and not be liable to any prosecution for doing so.

The creation of the PAC

By the late 1950s, the ANC seemed to be failing. Many of its leaders were on trial for treason or in prison. Critics argued that it made too many compromises and that its effectiveness was blunted because of its willingness to work with non-black groups, especially the Congress of White Democrats. Figures like Robert Sobukwe now began to argue that:

- the ANC should be concerned only with black interests;
- it should avoid compromises which were inevitable if the ANC worked with non-black groups;
- that the ANC had become too cautious and too multi-racial;
- it should be far more assertive in taking actions against the white government.

In 1959, Sobukwe broke away from the ANC and formed the Pan-African Congress – the PAC. In 1960, Sobukwe initiated a major campaign against the pass laws. This campaign would result in the 'Sharpeville Massacre' [10]. Due to his role in Sharpeville, Sobukwe was sentenced to three years in prison. At the end of his sentence, the government brought in the General Law Amendment Act which allowed a person to be detained for 90 without trial. Eventually, Sobukwe would be kept in detention; he was moved to Robben Island where he stayed for six years. Sobukwe was kept in solitary confinement but allowed civilian clothes and books. He eventually gained a degree in Economics from the University of London. After his release from prison, he was placed under house arrest in Kimberley. He died in 1978, aged 54. [11]

Exercise 4.2 Place the events on the right in the correct chronological order.

1st event		The Freedom Charter
2nd event		Creation of the ANC Youth League
3rd event		Detention of Robert Sobukwe
4th event		The Defiance Campaign
5th event		The 1956 Treason Trial
6th event		Creation of the SAANC
7th event		The Sharpeville Massacre
8th event		The SAANC becomes the ANC
9th event		Creation of the PAC
10th event		The ANC adopts the Programme of Action

10 See Chapter Five for details on 'The Sharpeville Massacre' and its impact on the ANC and the PAC.
11 While Sobukwe was in prison, the PAC set up its own terrorist arm (Poqo – We go it alone).

What do the historians have to say about the 'Nature, growth and impact of the ANC and the PAC'?

1. Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela would eventually endorse the use of force but this was not his position in 1952 at the time of the Defiance Campaign. His argument then was that non-violence was a matter of tactics not principle. If a particular tactic worked, it should be used. In 1952, the state was far more powerful, and any attempt at violent resistance would be crushed. Thus, non-violent protest, argued Mandela, was a matter of practical necessity.

"…I saw non-violence on the Gandhian model not as an inviolable principle but as a tactic to be used as the situation demanded. The principle was not so important that the strategy should be used even when it was self-defeating…" [12]

2. Anna Kelk Mager and Maanda Mulaudzi

Mager and Mulaudzi comment on the role of women in the resistance during the 1950s. They make the point that many African women were becoming disillusioned with their male counterparts. African women were not only subject to the controls of apartheid but also had to put up with *"patriarchal impositions of customary law and the men who implemented it".* These controls did not stop many moving to the towns. Their position in the towns was sometimes precarious but in taking on new responsibilities, they were beginning to exercise more independence and judgment. It should then have been of little surprise that women were quick to act against the imposition of passes for women in 1956. On 9 August 1956, 20 000 women walked to the government building in Pretoria and each delivered a personal letter challenging the pass laws. [13]

"…The… protest was a powerful symbolic moment and a spectacular piece of political theatre…(before leaving, the women sang)…you have stuck the women, you have struck a rock, you will be crushed…" [14]

3. Nelson Mandela

It is sometimes stated that it is the young who are the radical, liberal ones, while as one ages, so one becomes more conservative. Mandela alludes to this idea when he is discussing the formation of the PAC. He claims that he was never a conservative but that as he got older, he realised that some of his youthful ideas were *"undeveloped and callow".* Though he sympathised with some of the views of Robert Sobukwe and the PAC, he saw the PAC's programme as unrealistically ambitious and that it was promising quick solutions which could not be fulfilled. His criticism of the PAC is gentle but effective.

"…I believed that the freedom struggle required one to make compromises and accept the kind of discipline that one resisted as a younger, more impulsive man.." [15]

12 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 119
13 FSAW president, Lilian Ngoyi, later said that the only reason the ANC men bailed out the women arrested during the anti-pass demonstration was so they could get them home to cook!
14 Mager, A K, and Mulaudzi, M, Popular Responses to Apartheid 1948-c1975, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 381
15 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 215

Chapter Five
The Sharpeville Massacre

Where is Sharpeville?

Sharpeville is a black township situated just over 50 kms south west of Johannesburg, near Vereeniging. [1] It was built in 1943, replacing the settlement of Topville, an overcrowded township, from which about 10 000 Africans were forcibly removed in 1958. Sharpeville had all the usual problems of other black townships (outlined in Chapter Three). These included high unemployment, crowded housing conditions and generally poor living standards.

What happened at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960?

The Pan African Congress (the PAC) planned a major demonstration against the hated pass laws at Sharpeville in March 1960. [2] The plan was for a large group of Africans to march on Sharpeville police station and burn their passes.

It was believed that if a large enough group did this, there would have to be far too many arrests and that their action would in effect make the pass system unworkable.

- Early on 21 March, PAC leader Robert Sobukwe led a small group on an eight kilometre march from his home in Mofolo, Soweto to Orlando police station.
  - His intention was to give himself up for arrest. [3]
- As the march proceeded, Sobukwe was joined by others from other nearby areas like Dube and Orlando West.
  - Once the crowd reached the station, they were arrested and charged with sedition.
- While this was happening, a crowd of 5000 had made it to Sharpeville Police Station. Sobukwe had warned the police in advance what was going to happen.
  - Most of the demonstrators were peaceful but some witnesses said that the mood 'turned ugly', always a possibility when a large crowd gathers to protest.
  - The crowd continued to grow. Estimates of the size of the crowd vary from 7000 upwards to 20 000.
  - There was only a small police group of inexperienced officers at the station. Police reinforcements were brought in plus several armoured personnel carriers.
- What happened next is clouded in some mystery though whatever the cause, the results were tragic.
  - Police reports stated that stones were thrown at them and that a policeman had been knocked over and then panic set in.
  - Another report suggested that a protestor had fired a gun into the air and that this created panic.

1 Sharpeville was named after an immigrant from Glasgow in Scotland, John Lillie Sharp.
2 For background on the creation of the PAC and its leader, Robert Sobukwe, see Chapter Four.
3 It would appear that Sobukwe organised the anti-pass protests on the 21st to pre-empt a similar march planned by the PAC's rival, the ANC, for 31 March.

- A young inexperienced policeman, says one report, lost his nerve and fired into the crowd. Other police then also fired.
- Black protestors claimed that the shooting was not an accident but a deliberate and calculated act.
- Ikabot Makiti, who at the time was a seventeen year old member of the PAC, commented on Sharpeville at the time of the 50th anniversary. (He spent five years in prison on Robben Island).

"…There was jubilation around, not anything that suggested people were angry or wanting to fight. They were waiting for the answer and the answer came with the bullet. I think the police just panicked because of the mob..." [4]

- The South African *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC) which reported in 1998, said the police actions amounted to:

"…gross human rights violations in that excessive force was unnecessarily used to stop a gathering of unarmed people…"

The massacre resulted in the deaths of 69 people and left 180 wounded. 70% of those who were shot, had been shot in the back as they were fleeing. At the same time there another incident at Langa in the Cape, where, following a police baton charge against demonstrators, two people were killed and 49 wounded.

Figure 5.1 The Sharpeville Massacre, 21 March 1960

The significance of the Sharpeville Massacre

The Sharpeville Massacre was a major moment in the story of apartheid. Figure 5.2 summarises the key points of its significance.

4 The Guardian, 19 March 2010

Figure 5.2 The significance of the Sharpeville Massacre.

Following the Sharpeville Massacre, there was international outrage and anger. The United Nations passed a resolution (No 134) regarding Sharpeville. It expressed anger at the South African government, offered the victims' families sympathy and called upon the South African government to seek racial equality and end apartheid. In the wake of the Sharpeville massacre, South Africa began to experience growing international isolation. Economically, South Africa began to suffer as some companies became reluctant to invest, though this was a short-term effect (see below). Opposition to the apartheid regime, especially from African and Asian members of the Commonwealth stimulated South Africa's decision to leave the Commonwealth. Sportsmen and entertainers began to boycott South Africa.

THE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT

The violence of the apartheid regime was no secret but the scale of the carnage at Sharpeville sent shock waves throughout the country. Marches and work stoppages by black workers occurred throughout 1960. There was a march by 30 000 Africans on parliament. The Verwoerd government declared a state of emergency. 18 000 demonstrators, including ANC and PAC leaders were arrested.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

ANC AND PAC RESPONSE

The ANC and the PAC were forced 'to go underground'. Many of their leaders were now in exile. They established military wings: 'the spear of the nation' (MK) for the ANC, and Poqo (pure) for the PAC. Mandela argued that his people were left no alternative to a violent struggle. Between December 1961 and July 1963, the MK carried out over 200 acts of sabotage against government installations. (See Chapter Four for the ANC and PAC).

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT

In the immediate aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre, many foreign investors withdrew their funds and there was a dramatic drop off in the level of white immigration. However, the harsh measures introduced by the regime re-established a sense of economic security and stability. Within a short time, foreign investment and white immigrants returned. The rate of return on capital was often reaching levels of 15-20%, far higher than could be achieved in many other countries. Immigration in turn boosted the size of the white population. By 1970, the country was experiencing an impressive economic boom with growth rates averaging six per cent for the decade of the 1960s. To many white South Africans, and for the South African government, it was beginning to appear that in fact apartheid was a system that could work, challenging Smuts' predictions of its impracticality back in the 1940s.

Exercise 5.1

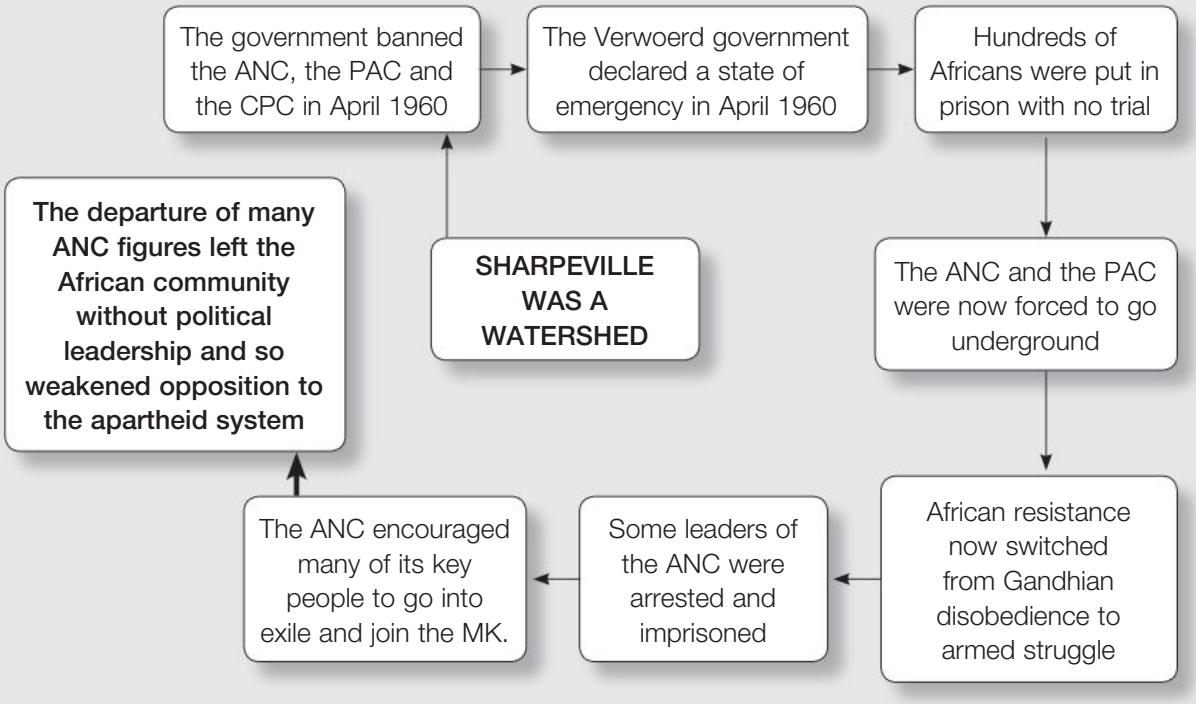
Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	Where is Sharpeville located?	
2	What was the alleged aim of the march on Sharpeville?	
3	What tragic events occurred at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960?	
4	What confusion existed at the time about the cause of the tragedy?	
5	What was the verdict of the 1998 Truth and Reconciliation Commission regarding the events at Sharpeville?	
6	What was United Nations resolution 134?	
7	What was the government's immediate reaction to the massacre and subsequent events?	
8	What were the ANC and the PAC forced to do after the massacre?	
9	Arguably, what did Sharpeville force the ANC to now pursue?	
10	What was the economic impact of the Sharpeville Massacre?	

What do the historians say about "The Sharpeville Massacre"?

1. Anne Kelk Mager and Maanda Mulaudzi

Mager and Mulaudzi argue that *"…Sharpeville was a watershed, for the events that followed the shootings irrevocably changed the character of African nationalist resistance…"* [5]



2. The Guardian, 19 March 2010

The Guardian newspaper reported on the fiftieth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. Its coverage included interviews with various eye-witnesses, and it concluded that the actions of the police at Sharpeville:

"…inadvertently provided a catalyst for decades of armed struggle and forced the rest of the world to confront the iniquity of apartheid…"

(Following the election of Nelson Mandela as President of South African in 1994, 21 March, 'Human Rights Day', was officially proclaimed a public holiday. In December 1996, President Mandela signed the new South African constitution in Sharpeville.)

3. Eyewitness accounts of the Sharpeville Massacre can be found at:

https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/eyewitness-accounts-sharpeville-massacre-1960

5 Mager, A K, and Mulaudzi, M, Popular Responses to Apartheid 1948-c1975, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 396

Notes

Chapter Six
Mandela as head of Umkhonto we Sizwe – The Spear of the Nation (MK)

Mandela: The Early Years

Nelson Mandela was born on 18 July 1918 into the Madiba clan in the village of Mvezo in the Eastern Cape. His birth name was Rolihlahla Mandela which means 'pulling the branch of a tree' in the Xhosa language. However, it is more usually translated as 'troublemaker'. Nelson Mandela's father was destined to be a chief and he served as a counsellor to tribal chiefs for several years. However, he lost his title and his fortune over a dispute with the local colonial magistrate.

Mandela received a varied education:

- Mandela attended primary school in Qunu, and it was here that his primary school teacher, Miss Mdingane, gave him the name Nelson;
- he completed his Junior Certificate at Clarkebury Boarding Institute;
- after Clarkebury he went to a Wesleyan secondary school called Healdtown;
- he commenced tertiary study at the University College of Fort Hare but he never finished his studies as he was expelled due to involvement in a student protest;

In 1934, aged sixteen, he underwent a traditional circumcision ceremony with other young men of his tribe. He would later relate how painful this was but in his society, it was an essential stepping stone on the road to manhood.

In 1941, Mandela moved to Johannesburg. For a while he worked as a mines security officer. At this time, he met a future ANC 'comrade-in-arms', Walter Sisulu. Sisulu introduced him to Lazar Sidelsky. This chance introduction resulted in Mandela completing 'his articles' with the law firm 'Witkin, Eidelman and Sidelsky'. He completed his BA through the University of South Africa. In 1943 he was returned to Fort Hare for his graduation.

Nelson Mandela was married three times:

- In 1944, he married Evelyn Mase, a nurse, who was the cousin of Walter Sisulu. They had four children, though one of their daughters died young. They would divorce in 1958.
- On 14 June 1958, he married Winnie Madikizela, a social worker. They would have two daughters. This marriage ended in divorce in 1996.
  - (Winnie Mandela's reputation would suffer in later years as she was tainted with allegations of scandal and violence).
- In 1998, Mandela married Graca Machel, the first Education Minister of Mozambique. They remained married until Mandela's death in 2013.

Mandela and the ANC

Mandela was becoming politically involved by the early 1940s and joined the ANC in 1942 along with Sisulu and others. He quickly proposed the creation of an ANC Youth League, and began to call for more forceful protests against white segregationist laws and the resultant discrimination. [1] The Congress Youth League (CYL) was formed in 1944 by Mandela and other young ANC members.

1949	■ Along with Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, Mandela joined the National Executive of the ANC. ■ They called for a Programme of Action. In Mandela's view, the ANC had become too docile in its protests against apartheid.
1950	■ There was major strike action in Pretoria. In Johannesburg, this led to the deaths of eighteen people. Following this, Mandela and the National Executive called for a 'Day of Action' for 26 June. ■ The ANC worked with the (coloured) African People's Organisation (APO) and the (Indian) South African Indian Congress (SAIC). In several cities, black businesses closed and black workers stayed at home.
1952	■ Mandela was chosen as the 'National Volunteer-in-Chief' of the Defiance Campaign, working with his deputy, Maulvi Cachalia. ■ Following the Defiance Campaign, Mandela and 19 others were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. ■ He was sentenced to nine months of hard labour, suspended for two years.
1953	■ The government issued a Banning Order against Mandela, which would be renewed each year until 1961.
1956	■ The ANC launched its Freedom Charter. ■ Due to the banning order, Mandela could not participate in the ceremony that introduced the Charter; he had to hide from the prying eyes of the police on the edge of the crowd.
1957-61	■ After the Freedom Charter, the government arrested over 150 black activists, including Mandela. ■ Charged with treason, their trial would drag on for four years, and sucked much energy from the ANC.
1961	■ Mandela and the others were finally acquitted on 29 March. ■ Shortly before the end of the treason trial, Mandela spoke at the All-in-Africa Conference in Pietermaritzburg. It resolved to write to PM Verwoerd demanding a national convention for a non-racial constitution. The government was warned to expect major strike action if it refused. The strike was planned for late March but called off in face of the massive mobilisation of the state security forces.

1 See Chapter One for an examination of pre-apartheid laws.

"Spear of the Nation"

After the events at Sharpeville, Langa and increasing police repression, [2] many ANC leaders, Mandela included, believed that the time of peaceful protest was over. At the time, Mandela used the phrase *Sebatana ha se bokwe ka diatia* – 'the attacks of the wild beast cannot be fought off with only bare hands'.

In 1961, Mandela went underground. He formed the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* or 'Spear of the Nation', known by the initials MK. Other key figures in the MK were Sisulu and the white communist, Joe Slovo. He would spend seventeen months underground. Mandela stated its purpose was to *"hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom"*. Mandela's sought to organise sabotage and resistance to the apartheid regime. Early MK actions in 1961 were aimed at targets such as power stations and government offices. Mandela was keen to avoid casualties in the campaign.

- On 11 January 1962, with the name 'David Motsamayi', Mandela left the country, travelling to various African countries to gain support for the ANC cause.
  - In Ethiopia and Morocco, he undertook guerrilla training. He was also in Britain briefly.
- Mandela was often only a step ahead of the security forces who were keen to capture him:
  - he used various disguises such as a chauffeur and a garden boy;
  - on one occasion he pulled up at a red traffic light next to the Chief of the Rand Security Police.
- Back in South Africa, Mandela and other leading MK figures established regional command units. MK forces were trained in bomb making techniques and clandestine operations.
- Over the next twenty years, MK was involved in numerous bombings. It proved impossible to secure Mandela's original aim of avoiding deaths and almost 600 people would be killed or injured.

Mandela returned to South Africa in July 1962. However, his luck ran out the following month. He visited KwaZulu-Natal where he briefed ANC President Chief Albert Luthuli about his trip. On 5 August, Mandela was arrested at a police roadblock outside Howick after his visit.

- He was charged on two counts: leaving the country without a permit and encouraging strike action.
- He was found guilty and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.
- He started his prison term in Pretoria local prison but was later moved to Robben Island. On 12 June he was brought back to Pretoria.

2 See Chapter Five.

Exercise 6.1 Use the terms in the box below to complete this passage.

Mandela was expelled from the University College of _____ due to his involvement in a student _____. However, his colleague, _____, introduced him to Lazar _____, and eventually he was able to complete his _____ with the legal firm Witkin, Eidelman and Sidelsky. In _____ he moved to Johannesburg and for a while worked in the _____. In _____ he returned to Fort Hare for his graduation. In _____, Mandela joined the ANC and in 1949 became part of its _____ along with Walter Sisulu and _____. Mandela believed the ANC had become too docile and so he called for a _____. Following the _____ of 1952, Mandela was sentenced to _____, a sentence that was suspended for two years. In 1953, he had a _____ placed on him. Following the announcement of the _____ in 1956, Mandela and about 150 others were put on trial for _____. He was eventually acquitted in _____. In 1961, Mandela went _____, forming the _____ or MK. He now supported _____ and resistance to the apartheid regime. In January _____, Mandela left South Africa and visited various African countries to raise support for the ANC. In Ethiopia he received training in _____ techniques. He returned in July. However, a month later he was _____ at a police roadblock. He was charged with leaving the country without a permit and for encouraging _____. He was sentenced to five years _____.

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN – ARTICLES – 1961 – 1941 – UNDERGROUND – FORT HARE – TREASON – SISULU – BANNING ORDER – 1962 – ARRESTED – SIDELSKY – 1943 – FREEDOM CHARTER – PROTEST – GUERRILLA – 1942 – STRIKES – NATIONAL EXECUTIVE – SABOTAGE – MINES – PROGRAMME OF ACTION – IMPRISONMENT – OLIVER TAMBO – NINE MONTHS HARD LABOUR – SPEAR OF THE NATION

Exercise 6.2 Match the description on the left with the person on the right.

1	Nelson Mandela's third wife		Evelyn Mase
2	Joined Mandela and Sisulu on the National Executive		Joe Slovo
3	Cousin of Nelson Mandela's first wife		Miss Mdingane
4	Nelson Mandela's first wife		Verwoerd
5	Nelson Mandela's white MK colleague		Oliver Tambo
6	South African Prime Minister		Winnie Madikizela
7	Nelson Mandela's second wife		Graca Machel
8	Nelson Mandela's primary school teacher		Walter Sisulu

What do the historians have to say about "Mandela as head of Umkhonto we Sizwe – The Spear of the Nation (MK)"?

1. Nelson Mandela

Mandela admits that when he went underground to organise the 'Spear of the Nation', he was a military novice, had never fought in battle or even fired a gun at an enemy. The Executive of the ANC had a policy of not allowing white members, but this rule did not apply to the MK. As a result, Mandela was able recruit men like Joe Slovo, who along with Mandela and Sisulu became part of the High Command. With Joe Slovo onboard, Mandela was able to use the efforts of white Communist Party members who had already accepted the need for violence and had carried out acts of sabotage such as cutting lines of communication. Mandela also recruited Jack Hodgson who had fought in the Second World War. Hodgson became the MK's first demolition expert. Mandela stated his goal:

"…Our mandate was to wage acts of violence against the state – precisely what form those acts would take was yet to be decided. Our intention was to begin with what was least violent to individuals but damaging to the state…" [3]

3 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 262

2. Tom Lodge

Lodge examines MK activities and shows that by the late 1970s and early 1980s, they had become far more extensive and elaborate than anything that occurred before Mandela went to Robben Island. Sometimes the MK was able to launch quite elaborate and dramatic attacks. These included a June 1980 attack on the Sasolburg synthetic fuel refinery. In December 1982, the MK was even able to stage a bombing of the Koeberg nuclear power station. However, Lodge argues that most MK operations were targeted at power and communications facilities. He also shows that MK guerrillas also carried out assassinations of police officers and state witnesses who had testified in trials for the security services. However:

"…compared to the bloodshed in civil unrest during this period, the guerrilla inflicted a small number of casualties…" [4]

3. Nelson Mandela

Mandela described what it was like to operate underground. He makes the point that you have to plan every action, no matter how seemingly insignificant. He says that you cannot be yourself, you live a shadowy existence between legality and illegality and you cannot trust anything. When describing this, he makes the point that this is not much different to living as a black man in South Africa. He explains how he operated as an underground figure:

"…I became a creature of the night. I would keep to my hideout during the day and emerge to do my work when it became dark…"

He states that the secret to being successful underground was to try and make oneself be invisible. He says that when he was underground:

"…I did not walk as tall or stand as straight. I spoke more softly, with less clarity and distinction. I was more passive…I did not shave or cut my hair…" [5]

Mandela relates a story about his ability to maintain a disguise. A well-known priest had arranged for him to stay with friends in Johannesburg before attending a meeting. So unkempt had he managed to keep himself, that when he arrived at the door, the elderly lady who lived there refused to have *"such a man as you here".*

4 Lodge, T, Resistance and Reform, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 435
5 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 255

Chapter Seven
Rivonia Trial, imprisonment on Robben Island, 'Free Mandela' campaign

The Rivonia Trial

In 1963, the South African security police raided the secret headquarters of the MK at Lilliesleaf Farm, on the edge of Johannesburg. How the police came across the location might have been due to some treachery or nothing more than careless talk by some MK members. Several leading MK members were arrested and the police found a mass of papers outlining MK operations. Significantly, they also found evidence that linked Mandela directly to MK.

From October 1963 to June 1964, South African news was dominated by what became known as 'the Rivonia Trial' of Nelson Mandela and ten of the arrested: Denis Goldberg, James Kantor, Rusty Bernstein, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Bob Hebble, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu. [1]

Figure 7.1 summarises the key charges which were brought against the defendants.

Figure 7.1 The charges against the Rivonia defendants

- "…recruiting people for training in sabotage and guerrilla warfare for the purpose of violent revolution…"
- "…seeking and accepting money to further these aims from countries such as Ethiopia, Tunisia, Nigeria, Algeria…"
- "…acting in a manner that helped in the promotion of communism…"
- "…conspiring to commit the acts mentioned above and planning to assist foreign forces when they invaded the republic…"

1 Before the trial, Harold Wolpe and Arthur Goldreich escaped. James Kantor and Rusty Bernstein were to be acquitted. Charges against Bob Hepple were dropped.

The trial created a major problem for those accused.

- Their goal was to destroy the apartheid regime which they considered to be unjust and illegitimate.
- However, if they participated in the trial, and tried to defend themselves, they were accepting the legal system of the regime, and thus acknowledging the regime which they rejected.
- Yet, they could not ignore what was happening.
- The solution was to use the trial as a place in which to carry on their struggle against apartheid. This was seen no better than in Mandela's four-hour speech from the dock (see below). [2]

The prosecution argued forcefully for the death penalty. However, the trial had gained massive international attention, and perhaps because of this, the judge decided against sentencing the accused to be hanged.

Eight leaders of the ANC were sentenced to life imprisonment. Seven of the accused, including Mandela and Sisulu were sent to Robben Island. As Denis Goldberg was white, he was sent to Pretoria Central Prison. [3]

Nelson Mandela's address from the dock

On 20 April 1964, Nelson Mandela rose to speak to the court 'from the dock'. His speech would last four hours.

- From the start he admitted that he was one of the people who had created Umkhonto we Sizwe and that he had played a major part in its activities since.
- In the strongest possible terms, he denied that the liberation struggle was under the control of foreigners or communists.
- He then recounted stories from his youth when he had heard tribal elders tell stories of their ancestors' struggle for freedom.
- He admitted that he had been planning acts of violence but not from any reckless spirit but only after a cold assessment of the situation in the country.
  - He made it clear that the movement sought to not harm human life.
  - Mandela explained to the court how the ANC had urged their people not to pursue the path of violence over a long period. However, by 1961, the ANC leadership was forced to conclude that:

"…it could not be denied that our policy to achieve a non-racial state by non-violence had achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy and were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism…"

- Civil war was a fear that Mandela had at the time, and creation of the MK was a means of averting this. He said that it would take a very long time to heal the scars of any civil war.

2 By speaking from the dock rather than the witness stand, Mandela was able to deliver a clear statement of his ideas and thinking. If he had done this in the witness box, he could have been interrupted with questions and cross-examination from the prosecutor.

3 The accused were defended by a team led by Abram (Bram) Fischer. During the trial, photos of Fischer were blacked out in the press. After the trial he underwent plastic surgery to avoid detection. Fischer was later arrested under the Suppression of Communism Act and sentenced to life imprisonment. Having been diagnosed with cancer, he was released in 1975 and died shortly after,

- If significant conflict was to come, Africans would have to be ready. For this purpose, it was necessary to train the people for long-term guerrilla warfare.
- He stated that he had gone abroad to receive training in guerrilla methods so that when the time came, he would be able to fight alongside his people.
- He reemphasised the difference between the ANC and MK, and the SACP.
  - The communists sought revolution and tried to highlight class distinctions. Mandela argued that his people sought to harmonise the different classes.
  - He had only admiration for democracy, and even made reference to Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights.

"…I have great respect for British political institutions, and for the country's system of justice… (America's) doctrine of separation of powers, as well as the independence of its judiciary, arouse in me similar sentiments…"

- Mandela then went into detail about the inequalities and indignities suffered by black South Africans in their own country, and how all his people were seeking was a fair share of the country's wealth.

After four hours of addressing the court, Mandela concluded with what were to be, for many decades, some of his most famous words:

"…I have cherished the idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. 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…"

The impact of the Rivonia Trial

The trial received wide international coverage, in part thanks to the efforts of ANC and MK members who had managed to escape the country, such as Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo and Jack Hodgson. In the aftermath of the trial, South Africa's international isolation continued to grow. International sporting and cultural boycotts steadily increased. [4]

However, though international sympathy for the anti-apartheid movement was growing abroad, the impact of the Rivonia Trial at home was devastating.

- In the short term, the government had succeeded in breaking the ANC and MK. Following the death of Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo became acting head of the ANC and headed its leadership outside of South Africa.
- In the late 1960s and early 1970s, MK established bases in neighbouring countries where it could train and from which it could launch operations.
- At the 1969 Morogoro (Tanzania) Conference the ANC opened up membership to all races.
- Opposition to apartheid inside the country did not die. New structures were slowly put in place to oppose the regime such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO) in 1968 and the Black People's Convention in 1972. [5]

4 The impact of international actions against the apartheid regime will be covered in Chapter Fifteen.
5 Such developments, including the student uprisings of the 1970s and the work of Steve Biko, will be covered in Chapter Nine.

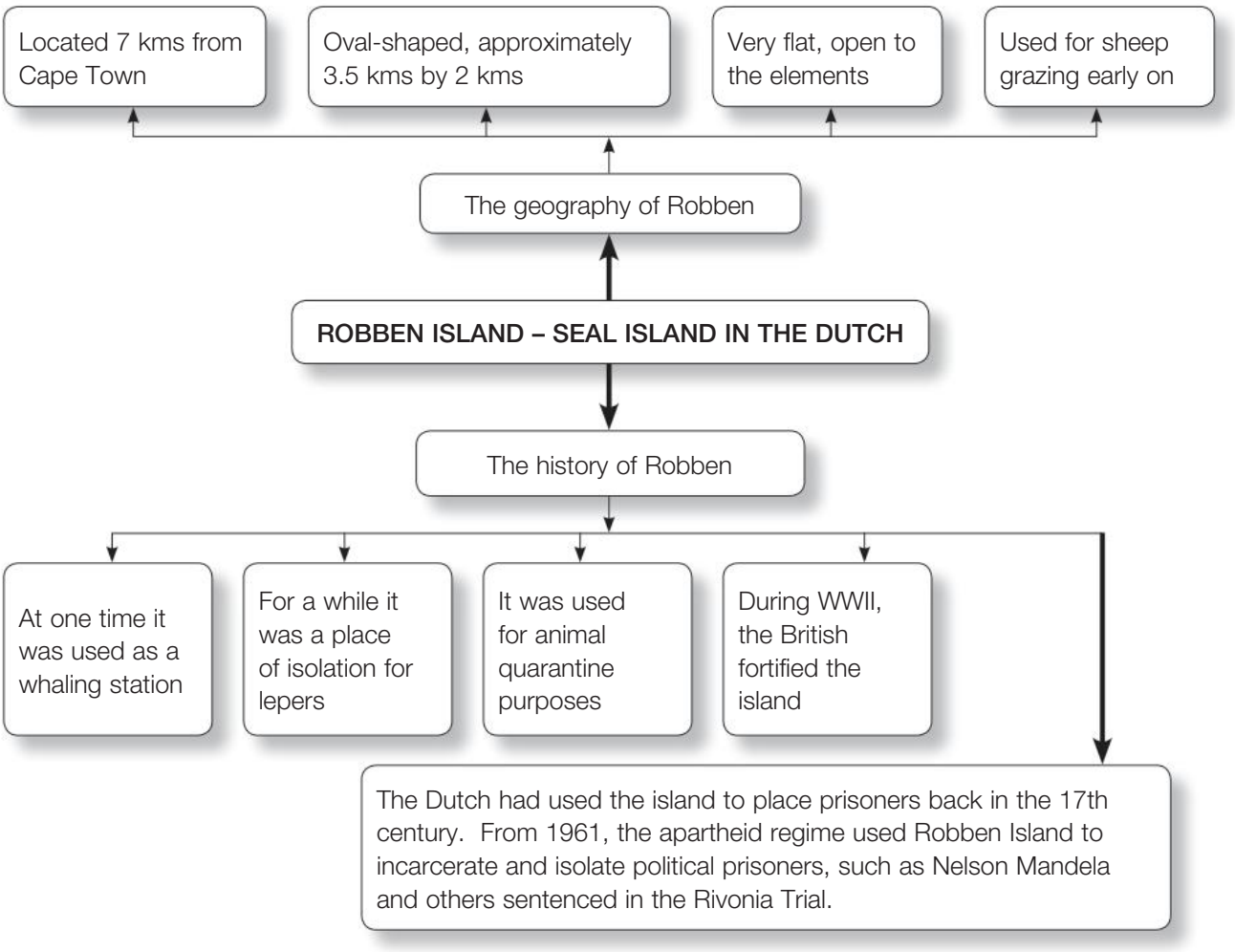
Exercise 7.1 Place the events listed on the right in the correct chronological order.

1st event		Mandela and others sentenced to life imprisonment
2nd event		The Morogoro Conference
3rd event		South African police raid Lilliesleaf Farm
4th event		Death of Chief Luthuli
5th event		Start of the Rivonia Trial
6th event		Oliver Tambo becomes acting head of the ANC
7th event		Mandela speaks from the dock at his trial
8th event		Creation of the South African Students Organisation
9th event		Arrest of leading MK members
10th event		Mandela, Sisulu and others sent to Robben Island

Robben Island

What is Robben Island? Figure 7.2 explains its history and geography.

Figure 7.2 The history and geography of Robben Island



Nelson Mandela spent just over 27 years in prison, November 1962 to February 1990. He spent 18 of those years on Robben Island. Conditions on Robben Island were tough and primitive.

- Mandela's cell was small. There was a metal bucket for a toilet, a narrow bed and a small table.
- Prisoners had to empty their own buckets. Mandela recounted that he sometimes emptied a fellow prisoner's bucket when that prisoner had to work early. A fellow prisoner had refused to do it but Mandela said that it meant nothing to him.
- There was hard labour on Robben Island involving breaking rocks in a lime quarry. Prisoners were not allowed to sing or play sports. Mandela said that the guards were trying to break their spirits.
- Some guards would make up charges against prisoners and then impose punishments such as solitary confinement or the denial of food.
- Yet politics continued. Mandela was able to write an autobiography, write letters and political announcements, and smuggle them out.

- As time went on, conditions did gradually improve. There was education. Educated prisoners would educate less-educated prisoners. Books were allowed. Mandela earned a Bachelor of Law through a University of London correspondence program, though for a time the authorities suspended his studies.

Physically, Robben Island was a hard existence for its inmates. However, Mandela often said that it was the mental and emotional pain that was the hardest to bear, such as being separated from family.

Nelson Mandela's prison 'career' from 1964

12 June 1964	Mandela entered Robben Island. His number was 466/64
September 1968	Mandela's mother, Nosekeni died. He was not allowed to attend her funeral.
July 1969	His son, Thembelkile, was killed in a car accident. Again, he was not allowed to attend the funeral.
March 1982	Along with Sisulu, Mhlaba and Mlangeni, and later Kathrada, Mandela was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison. His number was 220/82
February 1985	Prime Minister PW Botha offered Mandela the chance of release if he renounced the use of violence. Mandela rejected the offer.
November 1985	Mandela was taken to Volks Hospital in Cape Town for prostate surgery.
November 1985	Discharged from hospital, he returned to a single cell at Pollsmoor. Negotiations with the government began.
August 1988	Mandela was taken to Tygerberg Hospital where he was diagnosed with TB.
August 1988	He was taken to Constantinberg Mediclinic for further treatment.
December 1988	Mandela was transferred to Victor Verster Prison near Paarl, north east of Cape Town. His number was 1335/88.
February 1990	Nelson Mandela was released from Victor Verster Prison.

Today Robben Island is a must-see location for tourists visiting South Africa.

'Free Mandela' campaign [6]

The South African government did its best to erase the figure of Nelson Mandela from the consciousness of the nation. International pressure had probably saved his life in 1964 but that did not mean the government was willing to be lenient with him and for many years, conditions on Robben Island were grim. He was allowed only the most limited communication with the outside world; at one stage he was only permitted to write two letters a year.

Despite this, Mandela became the face of the international campaign against apartheid. In light of this, the government placed a ban on 'his image'. His picture was not allowed to be taken and carrying his image became a crime. Even being overheard uttering the name 'Nelson Mandela' could get a person into trouble.

However, the apartheid regime was to fail in its efforts to 'deny oxygen' to what was to become an overwhelming international "free Nelson Mandela campaign".

- In 1981, Glasgow City Council became the first municipal authority in Britain to make Nelson Mandela 'a freeman of the city'.
- Throughout the 1980s, all over the world streets, buildings and parks were named in his honour.
- A petition comprising the names of over 20 000 mayors across the world was raised demanding Mandela's release.
- In 1980, a black Johannesburg newspaper, the Sunday Post, started a campaign calling for Mandela's release. The ban on Mandela's name within the country was being broken.
- The campaign to free Mandela brought together a wide range of groups and individuals across South Africa who sought an end to white minority rule. These groups formed the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The nation and the world seemed to develop an insatiable interest in the person of Nelson Mandela. Prisoners who had been released from Robben Island were eagerly questioned. Anyone who had seen or actually spoken to Mandela was given special status by the many youth activists across the world who were working on the 'Free Mandela Campaign'. Lawyers who had spoken to Mandela were closely questioned by Mandela supporters.

By the late 1980s, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) was able to mobilise thousands in the campaign to free Mandela.

- In 1988, it organised the 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70' campaign with a major rock concert at Wembley Stadium in London. Performers included Dire Straits (with guest guitarist Eric Clapton), George Michael, Whitney Houston, Sting and Billy Conolly.
- Later in Hyde Park, London, up to 250 000 people gathered to hear South African Bishop Desmond Tutu call for Mandela's immediate release.
- On 18 July (Mandela's birthday) a special service was held in St James's Church in Piccadilly. South Africa House was inundated with thousands of 'birthday cards' to be passed on to Nelson Mandela.

6 The international responses to apartheid and the role of the wider world in leading to the demise of apartheid will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 13 and 15.

An eclectic range of protests seeking the release of Nelson Mandela occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. Apart from the major events mentioned above:

- world figures like Bertrand Russell and Simone de Beauvoir joined the cause;
- in the UK there was a "bicycle for Mandela" event;
- in the Netherlands, the treasury issued a "Mandela coin" in opposition to the Krugerrands that the South African treasury produced;
- in the USA, there was an "Unlock Apartheid's Jails" campaign, chaired by the actor and comedian Bill Cosby.

The movement to free Nelson Mandela even made it into the UK pop charts. In March 1984, the band "The Special A K A", featuring the lead vocal of Stan Campbell, released a single called "Free Nelson Mandela". [7] The opening verse referred to the condition Nelson Mandela had had to endure:

Free Nelson Mandela
Twenty-one years in captivity
Shoes too small to fit his feet
His body abused but his mind is still free
Are you so blind that you cannot see?
I said free Nelson Mandela
I'm begging you, free Nelson Mandela

The full lyrics can be found at: https://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/specials/freenelsonmandela.html

The video of the song can be found at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AgcTvoWjZJU

Exercise 7.2 Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	Robben Island had only ever been used as a place of imprisonment by the government of the day.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Mandela spent his entire period of imprisonment on Robben Island.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Mandela was always given a special and privileged status during his term of imprisonment.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	Mandela stated that he found the emotional toll of being on Robben Island harder to take than the physical.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Over time, Mandela was to suffer from significant ill-health during his imprisonment.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	The South African government tried hard to suppress any mention of Mandela's name or publicising of his image.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	The rest of the world outside of South Africa seemed to pay little attention to the plight of Nelson Mandela.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	The occasion of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday became a key moment in the anti-apartheid movement.	TRUE/ FALSE

7 The song was written by the British musician Jerry Dammers and is sometimes called just 'Nelson Mandela'.

What did Nelson Mandela have to say about his time on Robben Island?

In his book, *"Conversations with myself"*, Nelson Mandela commented several times about his incarceration on Robben Island. [8]

For several years, conditions on Robben Island were harsh to say the least. The food was of poor quality and the physical work inmates were forced to do was hard. In summer it was hot; in winter it was very cold. Wardens could be brutal, though there were exceptions. Contact with the outside world was deliberately, and cruelly, kept to a minimum. Each six months, Mandela was allowed one letter and one short visit. Letters would be read and censored by the prison authorities, and visits took place through a glass screen. Petty-mindedness on the part of the prison wardens was commonplace.

In his *Conversations*, Mandela explained to Richard Stengal what it was actually like to be imprisoned on Robben Island. [9]

- To make the work easier, prisoners would sing freedom songs, and sometimes even dance, Mandela explained. However, the guards did not approve of this. They sought to break the spirit of the prisoners and so there was a ban on singing. Mandela explains the reasoning behind this as follows:

"…Then the authorities realised that… These chaps are too militant. They're in high spirits and they say, 'No singing as you are working'. So you really felt the toughness of the work…"

- Mandela related that as punishment for 'trumped-up' charges, there would be a denial of food or a prisoner might be granted only the most basic rations. He said that it was fairly easy to deal with the hunger. He argued that the first day was tough but that gradually you get used to a lack of food, suggesting the body has a great capacity to adapt,

"…And if you are convinced that you are doing something right, that you are demonstrating to the authorities that you can defend your rights and fight back, you don't feel it at all…"

- Mandela believed that the toughest part of being on Robben Island was knowing what was happening to his wife, who was sometimes assaulted and often harassed by the authorities. Such things made him angry but also, he felt that sense of helplessness at not being able to defend his wife. To cope with this, Mandela said:

"…I tried to be cool about it, and remembered that this is the price we have to pay for being committed to the struggle…"

8 Mandela, N, Conversations with Myself, Macmillan, London, 2010
9 Richard Stengal was an editor of Time Magazine. He worked with Mandela on Long Walk to Freedom.

Notes

Chapter Eight
Role of Mandela's leadership of the ANC

Nelson Mandela was released from prison on 11 February 1990 and soon after became Deputy President of the ANC. In July 1991, he succeeded Oliver Tambo as ANC President. It was Mandela who would lead the ANC in negotiations with the apartheid government of F W De Klerk that would bring about the transition to democracy and the end of apartheid.

The events of this period will be covered in detail in Chapter Sixteen.

This chapter will focus on Mandela's role before this time.

Mandela and the High Organ

Today, Nelson Mandela is considered one of the giants of world history. He is revered and admired for his forbearance, his magnanimity and his willingness to forgive his former enemies. He is credited with being the key factor that prevented South Africa descending into a bloody civil war as apartheid crumbled. However, he was not always the unquestioned leader of the ANC, even during those times when he had become the "pin-up" boy of the 1980s anti-apartheid movement. [1]

Inside prison, Mandela had to fight hard to gain acceptance for his vision of what the ANC stood for. Leading ANC figures on Robben Island were worried that activists might lose faith in the anti-apartheid struggle in the face of long, harsh prison sentences.

- To combat this, a leadership structure was set up to support ANC members. It was called the "High Organ".
  - The High Organ comprised Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba and Govan Mbeki. [2]
  - Mandela was elected as its spokesperson.
- Members of the High Organ did their best to spread their ideas through the various prisons on Robben Island. This might be done during hard labour, when they had to be careful about the attentions of watchful guards. Sometimes toilet paper had to be used to spread messages. They also attempted to use code in letters to family and ANC members outside of the prison, a difficult thing to do as all correspondence was subject to censorship.
- Mandela realised that the High Organ comprised only people of Xhosa background. This did bother him, but he defended this by arguing that it just happened that the four most senior people on Robben were Xhosa. [3]

1 See Chapter Seven for the section on the "Free Mandela Campaign".
2 Govan Mbeki was the father of the future South African President, Thabo Mbeki (1999-2008).
3 The Xhosa are one of the main ethnic groups of South Africa. Mandela defended the composition of the High Organ by pointing out that there had been presidents of the ANC and members of the National Executive from other ethnic groups including the Zulus, Mosothos, Pedis and Tswanas.

Mandela explains in his autobiography that the High Organ did not attempt to influence external ANC policy, as it could not fully know the situation in the country at large. Instead, it focussed on the day-to-day issues relating to prison life. This would include such things as food, mail and prisoners' complaints. Mandela certainly did not dominate the High Organ.

- Mandela insisted that prisoners should not stand in the presence of a senior officer as they had not been recognised as political prisoners. His colleagues disagreed with him, arguing that this was a trivial matter and that *"the negative consequences of resistance would outweigh any benefits".*
- Mandela also felt that to be called "Nelson" or "Mandela" by guards was degrading; prisoners should be addressed as "Mr". He had no success in this. He dryly adds that as a touch of humour his own colleagues would sometimes call him *"Mr Mandela"*.

Within a few years, conditions had gradually improved. Prisoners were allowed their own uniforms and allowed to pool their food. At the quarry, talk was rarely interrupted. Mandela stated that the worst warders had been neutralised and the more reasonable ones befriended, though the authorities tried to overcome this by rotating the prison warders every few months.

"…We were able to meet among ourselves virtually whenever we wanted. Meetings of the High Organ… were generally not broken up unless they were too conspicuous…" [4]

Disagreements within the ANC on Robben Island

When he was released in 1987, Govan Mbeki (pictured) stated that few would have predicted that Nelson Mandela would become such an enormous international figure and rise to the heights that he did.

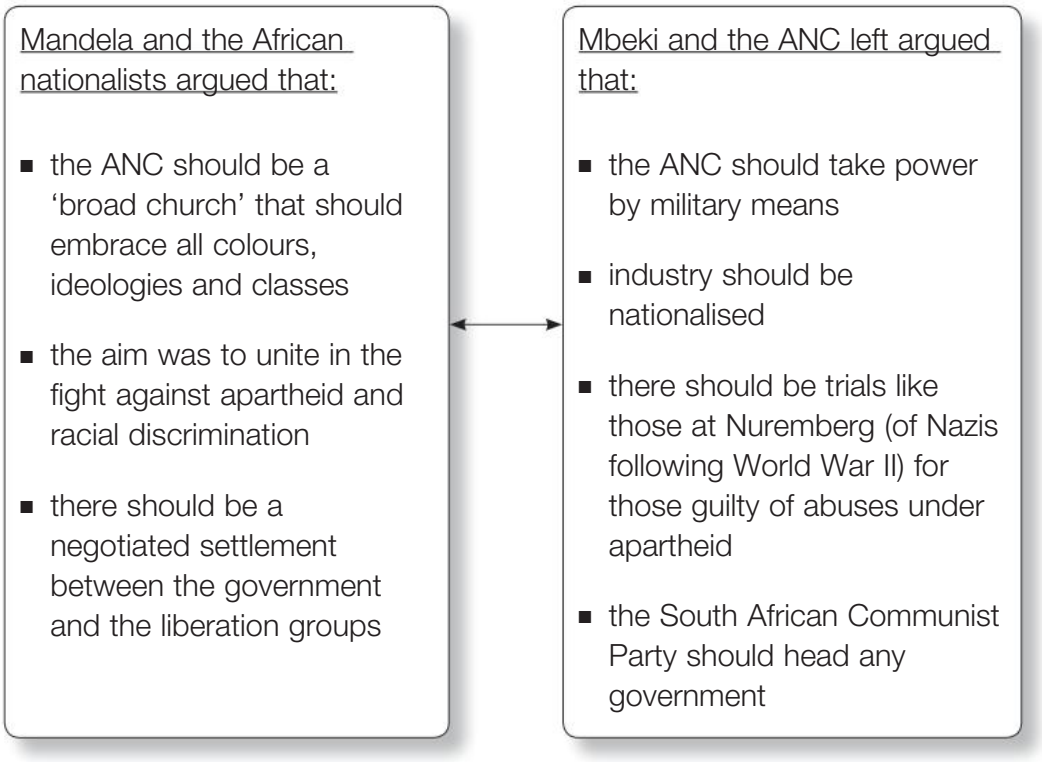
In fact, before his imprisonment, Mbeki would have been considered Mandela's senior, and he later admitted that he had some major disagreements with Mandela. Mbeki had contested the presidency of the ANC but had lost out to Chief Albert Luthuli.

For many years on Robben Island, there was a leadership battle within the ANC. The "African Nationalists" were led by Mandela while the ANC "left" was led by African communists like Mbeki.

Figure 8.1 summarises the different viewpoints of the rival ANC groups.

4 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 437

Figure 8.1 The African Nationalists versus the ANC left



Mbeki's fear was that Mandela might "sell out" to the apartheid government and work out a compromise for which he would gain his freedom. He managed to smuggle out messages expressing his fears. Mandela replied in a similar manner, assuring ANC members that he would never sell out and was working in the best interests of the organisation.

There remained some who believed that Mandela was going to seek a compromise with the apartheid rulers. Even at the time of his release, some had a lingering suspicion that this might happen. History was to prove, of course, that such fears and suspicions were unfounded.

Exercise 8.1 Rewrite the following passage so it follows on logically.

He wanted those guilty of crimes under apartheid to be put on trial after liberation. At first, the High Organ's concerns were predominantly to do with prisoners' conditions. When Nelson Mandela entered Robben Island in 1964, he was not seen as the great international figure that he would become. However, there was division within the High Organ. Early on, leading ANC figures on Robben Island formed a leadership structure called the High Organ. Following his release in 1990, Mandela was to prove such doubters wrong. Mandela sought a broad ANC membership in the first against apartheid and called for a negotiated settlement with the government. For a long time, there were lingering suspicions that Mandela might 'sell out'. Mbeki argued, instead, that the ANC should take power by military means. It comprised Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu and Mhlaba.

Chapter Nine
Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement [1]

Resistance to apartheid: post the Rivonia Trial

Following the Rivonia Trial of December 1963-June 1964, [2], the South African government proved to be very successful in crushing black resistance. The main ANC and PAC figures had been sent to Robben Island, while others were in ineffectual exile, at least in the short term. In succeeding years, the apartheid government became ever more adept at crushing protest and seeking out opposition. It was never reluctant to use the most violent methods to maintain its control.

In the face of government power, black resistance turned to industrial action and the Black Consciousness Movement (see below). In the early 1960s, only a few thousand black workers had been involved in strike action.

During the first three months of 1973, there were tens of thousands involved in over 160 strikes:

- strikers were effective, engaging in short, quick mass walkouts;
- they avoided electing leaders who could be targeted by management;
- political campaigning was avoided and the focus was placed on issues such as wages and conditions;
- such action added life to the trade union movement and perhaps also led some employers to question the consequences if apartheid did not change.

Steve Biko – background

Arguably the leading resistance figure inside South African in the late 1960s through to the mid-1970s, was Steve Biko.

- Steve (Bantu) Biko was born on 18 December 1946 in Tarkastad in the Eastern Province (now Eastern Cape). The family was typically poor.
  - Biko was his parents' third child.
  - His father, Mzingaye Biko, worked as a policeman and later a clerk in King William's Town Native Affairs office. He died in 1950.
  - His mother, Nokuzola Macethe, worked as a cook at Grey's Hospital
- Nokuzola worked hard to ensure her son had a good education.
  - Biko received his elementary and high school education in missionary schools.
  - In 1965, Biko entered the non-European section of the medical department at the otherwise all white Natal University.

1 Chapter Seventeen is a detailed study-guide of the film "Cry Freedom". The film tells the story of the relationship between Steve Biko and the news editor Donald Woods.
2 See Chapter Seven.

- In April 1962, Steve was arrested with his brother, Khaya. His brother received a sentence of two years but Biko was released.

Steve Biko and SASO

By the late 1960s, African university students were becoming increasingly unhappy with their situation. White students were receiving all the benefits of apartheid. It was in this context that Steve Biko was to become politically active.

- On 14 October 1968, Biko sent out invitations to the various black student groups inviting them to attend the launch of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) at Marianhill in December.
  - Up to then, all students were part of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).
  - NUSAS officially opposed apartheid but its white student members accepted apartheid rules such as segregated student dormitories.
  - A student union for black students was needed, argued Biko.

Steve Biko

He said at the time:

"What SASO objects to is the dichotomy between principle and practice so apparent among members of that organisation (NUSAS). While very few would like to criticise NUSAS policy and principles as they appear on paper, one tends to get worried at all the hypocrisy practised by the members of that organisation. This serves to make non-White members feel unaccepted and insulted in many instances."

- In July 1970, the first General Students Council of SASO was held. Barney Pityana was elected president.
  - Steve Biko became Chair of SASO Publications.
- He began to write articles in SASO newsletters on a range of issues relating to apartheid.
  - He used the pseudonym *Frank Talk*, under the heading *"I write what I like."*
- In August/ September 1970, he wrote an article entitled *Black Souls in White Skins*. His thinking on the notion of *Black Consciousness* was taking shape.
- In 1972, SASO organised university campus strikes. Following these actions, 600 students were arrested.
- In 1974, SASO and the Black People's Convention (see below) organised a series of rallies to celebrate the collapse of Portuguese colonial control in neighbouring Angola and Mozambique.
  - A clear connection was being made between the collapse of (white) Portuguese rule and the end of apartheid. [3]

3 The international perspective of apartheid will be covered in Chapters twelve, thirteen and fifteen.

Steve Biko and the Black People's Convention (BPC)

In the early 1970s, SASO leaders were beginning to realise that organisations confined to students were of limited effectiveness. The idea grew that a broader formation was needed. This would result in the Black People's Convention. Members of six organisations met in Bloemfontein in April 1971, such as the *Interdenominational Ministers' Association* and the *Association of African People of South Africa*. Throughout 1971 and 1972, other groups were approached and steering committees were established. The BPC was gradually taking shape. Opinions about the purpose of this proposed BPC varied:

- some members wanted the body to act as nothing more than an umbrella that could co-ordinate the various groups;
- others believed that it should be more proactive and should act as a vanguard organisation, with precise political aims, and which could ultimately take power.

Steve Biko found himself between these two positions. His concern at the time was that decisions were being made without talking to other members of the Black community, especially Coloured and Indian groups. Biko approached these groups. After a series of meetings, the BPC was formally launched at its first national conference at Hammanskraal, north of Pretoria in December 1972. The BPC's aim was to unite all South African Blacks into a political movement that would pursue their liberation, and free the people from *"both psychological and physical oppression".* Steve Biko was a keen participant in the affairs of the BPC right from the start. He was employed as the BPC's full-time youth coordinator.

The thinking of Steve Biko and the "Black Consciousness Movement"

Steve Biko's ideas of "black consciousness" were to gain great appeal, especially amongst the young. He had been influenced by the ideas of the earlier ANC activist, Anton Lembede [4], and the activities of the Black Power movement in the United States, though he was opposed to the violent policies practised by the ANC and the PAC from the early 1960s.

The apartheid government was at first happy with the idea of "Black Consciousness" as it believed that it complemented the racial separation ideas fundamental to the policy of apartheid. Even Donald Woods (see below), who would become a close friend and ally of Biko, at first condemned black consciousness as it seemed to conform to the ideas of apartheid and to solidify segregation. However, the government's liking of black consciousness soon evaporated when it became clear that Biko was not limiting the idea to the homelands. [5]

Figure 9.1 summarises some of the thinking behind "black consciousness".

4 See Chapter Four.
5 The issue of the homelands will be covered in Chapter Eleven.

Figure 9.1 Black Consciousness

Blacks must take matters into their own hands and have their own representative organisations:

"…Blacks should work themselves into a powerful group so as to go forth and stake their rightful claim in the open society rather than to exercise that power in some obscure part of the Kalahari…"

Most importantly, Biko argued, it was necessary for blacks to remake themselves "psychologically". He believed that South Africa's blacks had developed an inferiority complex and had lost confidence in their own abilities. This, he said, was the result of *"300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration and derision"*. Biko said that what his people needed was a grass-roots feeling of black consciousness, and the belief that they can, and should assert themselves and stake their claims to what was justly theirs.

There may be many white people who are very well-meaning. However, blacks must not rely on whites; they must be masters of their own destiny and in control.

In order to end dependence on whites, Biko and the BCM established Black Community Programs (BCP). The idea here was that blacks would help blacks without the assistance of whites. One of the most significant of the BCP was the Zanempilo Community Health Clinic near King William's Town. It was run by Dr Mamphela Ramphele. Biko had met her when he was at medical school.

The banning, arrest and death of Steve Biko

- 1973: Steve Biko was banned and later arrested for "encouraging terrorism" and organising pro-Frelimo rallies. Frelimo was the black resistance organisation in Mozambique, fighting against Portuguese control.
- 1975: The government banned SASO on all black campuses.
- 1975: Biko was arrested and detained for 137 days without charge.
- Biko was arrested four times and detained each time for several months without a trial. In August 1977, Biko was arrested again and held in Port Elizabeth:
  - he was kept in a Port Elizabeth police cell naked, for eighteen days;
  - a five man 'interrogation team' beat him into a coma;
  - he was driven to Pretoria, 1000kms away, in the back of a Land Rover, unconscious and just covered in a blanket;
  - on 12 September he died from a brain haemorrhage;
  - at the time police said that "there had been a scuffle and Biko had hit his head against the wall";
  - no police were charged with him murder;
  - in 1997, five former officers confessed to killing Biko.

There was a massive international reaction to Biko's death, and the South African government received censure from the United Nations and the US Congress. The South African Justice Minister said that Biko's death had "left him cold". The government did not let up on the pressure it was placing against the resistance:

- in October 1977, eighteen black organisations were declared illegal;
- seventy African leaders were arrested;
- Dr Ramphele was banished to the northern Transvaal, and her clinic and other projects were closed down.

Donald Woods and Steve Biko

Donald Woods was a white South African journalist who was to became a close friend and ally of Steve Biko. Early on, Woods supported apartheid but became critical of it and joined the Federal Party. He unsuccessfully tried to gain a seat in parliament in 1957. In 1965, he became editor of the East London Daily Dispatch. He was soon writing pieces critical of the government and was prosecuted on several occasions for this. Woods was at first critical of Steve Biko, arguing that the BCM was assisting apartheid in its pursuit of separate development. Eventually the two men met, Woods changed his views and the two became close friends. Woods allowed Biko to write a regular column for his paper, under a different name as Biko was banned. Woods' support of Biko and his criticisms of the government led to him being placed under house arrest. Following Biko's death at the hands of the police, Woods and his family escaped South Africa. He continued to campaign against apartheid from outside of the country. After the fall of apartheid, Woods visited South Africa often. He died of cancer in London in 2001.

The film *"Cry Freedom"* tells the story of the relationship of Biko and Woods (see Chapter Seventeen).

"Black Consciousness" in Steve Biko's own words

Steve Biko endeavoured to educate his fellow black South Africans as to what was really meant by the notion of "black consciousness". He emphasised that it did not mean hating white people.

In 1971, he spoke to members of SASO about the concept.

- He argued that black consciousness was really an inward-looking movement.
- He wanted his people to look at themselves, and to understand themselves, not based on the values of white society but through new eyes.
- He wanted black people to see the value of their traditional outlook, their traditional institutions and to understand their worth as people.

He explained to his fellow SASO members that black consciousness was a:

"…social slogan directed at each member of the black community calling on him to discard the false mantle that he had been forced to wear for so many years and to think in term of himself as he should…"

During his trial in 1975-76, he spoke to the court in a similar manner that Nelson Mandela had at the Rivonia Trial in 1964. [6]

- On this occasion, he argued that the black man was subjected to two forces in South Africa.
  - One force, he said, related to the external world, while the other related to the internal world.
  - Externally, the black man was subjected to things over which he had little control.
  - Such things included apartheid laws and regulations, poor wages and conditions and poor education.

However, Biko argued that more importantly, the black man had developed a certain state of alienation. He argued that the black man:

"…rejects himself, precisely because he attaches the meaning white to all that is good, in other words he associates good and he equates good with white…"

Exercise 9.1

Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	Like Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko was born into a prestigious family and pursued a legal education.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Steve Biko believed that the only way for the black man in South Africa to achieve his just rights was through a violent armed struggle.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	SASO was formed, not because black students opposed the principles of NUSAS, but rather they objected to the hypocritical behaviour of NUSAS' white members.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	The Apartheid government felt no threat from SASO and tended to ignore its protest actions.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	"Frank Talk" was a pseudonym that Steve Biko used when he was writing in SASO newsletters.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Steve Biko and other members of SASO were keen observers and supporters of the campaigns against Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique and Angola.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	"Black Consciousness" was as much concerned with the state of the mind of black South Africans, as with the physical conditions imposed on black South Africans.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Though the government disagreed with Biko's ideas, it always treated him with great respect and fairness.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	The white journalist/ editor, Donald Woods, always remained a strong opponent of Steve Biko and his ideas.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Steve Biko strongly believed that blacks should have their own organisations and run those organisations themselves without assistance from whites.	TRUE/ FALSE

6 See Chapter Seven.

Section Three – Focus of Study (2):
Repression and control by South Africa governments

Chapter Ten
Repression, oppression and the role of the security forces

Some of the information contained in this chapter has been referred to in earlier chapters. It is repeated here so that the chapter format of this book continues to mirror the format of the HSC syllabus.

From the early years of apartheid, the Nationalist government did not hold back from using the most forceful measures to maintain white supremacy. "Repression" was employed without a second thought. Police, and later a complex web of security forces, acted often with great brutality to crush any opposition which was deemed to place the system of apartheid under threat. A system of legislative "oppression" was developed from the 1950s to the 1980s. More and more laws were introduced to keep the black population under control. The laws became ever more draconian, their ambit ever wider, and the penalties that could be imposed on alleged wrongdoers ever harsher. In the late 1970s and into the 1980s, the government developed what became known as the "total national strategy" to deal with threats to the system, both from within and without South Africa.

The early years: 1948 into the 1950s

By the late 1940s, Mandela and other leading ANC figures believed that some form of mass action along the lines of the mass passive resistance that had been employed by Gandhi in India, was required to resist apartheid. Mandela believed that the ANC had become too docile. The ANC gradually put together a "Program of Action" which would involve a range of strategies such as strikes, black boycotts, civil disobedience and a national work stoppage day. [1]

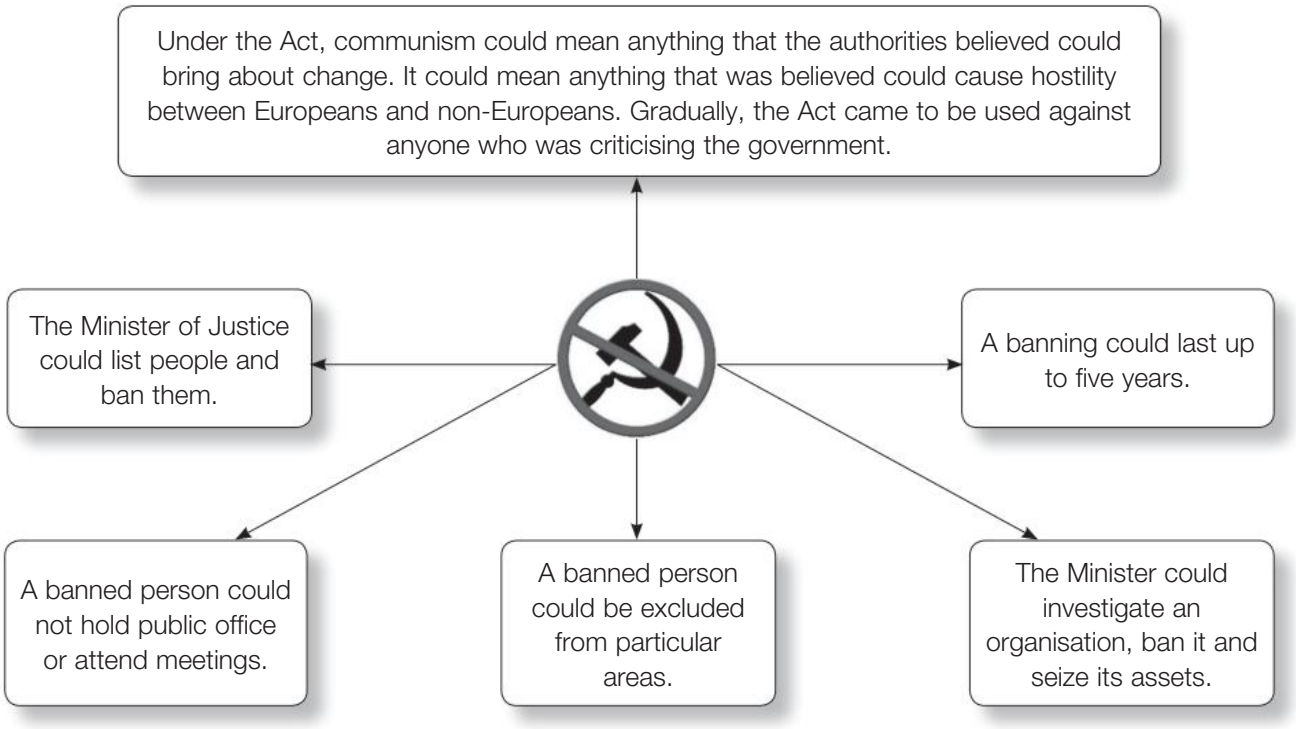
Even in these early days, the government's response was immediate and tough:

- just before the strike, police and troops made some workers sleep at their work places;
- on the strike day, other workers were forcibly marched to work or to bus stations where they were transported to work;
- there was no loss of life in Pretoria but in Alexandra (Johannesburg) police opened fire and many strikers were killed.

The government did not stop there. In 1950, it introduced the wide-ranging *Suppression of Communism Act*. Figure 10.1 outlines the main features of the act.

1 See Chapter Four.

Figure 10.1 The Suppression of Communism Act 1950



During the 1950s, the government continued its policy of repression and introduced further oppressive legislative acts: [2]

- after the Defiance Campaign of 1952, over 8000 blacks were arrested;
  - the government took the right to suspend all laws;
  - and now those accused had to prove their innocence, rather than the authorities having to prove their guilt;
- 1953 – *The Public Safety Act:* the government could declare a state of emergency if it believed there was a threat to public order;
  - such a declaration could last twelve months and be renewed;
- 1953 – *The Criminal Law Amendment Act*: if an individual happened to be with a person who was guilty of an offence, that person now had to prove innocence as he or she was automatically accused;
  - effectively, the government could arrest anyone it wanted;
- after the Freedom Charter was announced, the government rounded up 156 ANC figures, including Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu on suspicion of treason;
  - the Treason Trial kept these people busy for five years;
- 1955 – *The Customs and Excise Act*, and 1956 – *The Official Secrets Act*: these laws set up a Board of Censors and checked on books, films etc, produced in South Africa or imported from overseas.
  - similar controls were imposed on radio, and on television when it was eventually introduced in 1976.

2 See Chapter Four for more details on some of these actions.

During the 1950s, thanks to the raft of laws that had been introduced, up to 500 000 pass law arrests were made annually. 600 people had been listed as communists and over 350 people had been banned, while another 150 people were banished.

The 1960s and the early 1970s

The Sharpeville Massacre [3] led to an upsurge in black resistance and government counter-actions. In 1960, following a 30 000 strong march on the parliament in Cape Town, about 18 000 people were arrested. The *Unlawful Organisations Act* of 1960 outlawed the ANC and the PAC.

Following the Rivonia Trial of 1963-64, [4] which saw the leading ANC figures placed on Robben Island, while others had fled to exile, the government had succeeded in crushing any effective resistance.

- Government action in dealing with the resistance to apartheid was headed by the Minister of Justice, John Vorster, and General Hendrik J van den Bergh of the security branch of the police.
  - Van den Bergh would later become head of (BOSS), the Bureau of State Security (see below). [5]
- 1963 – *The General Laws Amendment Act*:
  - under this act, the police were given the power to hold a person for 90 days;
  - they did not have to charge that person or allow access to a lawyer;
  - after 90 days, the person could be rearrested for another 90 days, a process that could be repeatedly carried out;
  - the 90 days was later extended to 180 days'
  - only the Minister of Justice had the power to order a release, not a court;
  - the Sobukwe Clause was later added which allowed the Minister of Justice to lengthen a prison term that a court had handed out to any person convicted under the *Suppression of Communism Act*.
- 1967 – *The Terrorism Act*:
  - the activities that were deemed dangerous to public safety were widened;
  - it was similar to the *Suppression of Communism Act* but in this Act, there was no mention of ideology;
  - it also had provisions for the death penalty to be imposed.

The government set up a series of secret security bodies to deal with resistance:

- 1963 – *The State Security Committee;*
- 1969 – *The Bureau of State Security (BOSS):*
  - the purpose of BOSS was to coordinate the security sections of the police and military intelligence division of the Defence Force;

3 See Chapter Five.
4 See Chapter Seven.
5 Both Vorster and van den Bergh had been members of the Ossewabrandwag, and had been interned during World War II for pro-Nazi activities.

- 1972 – *The State Security Council (SSC):*
  - the SSC had the job of advising the Prime Minister on security matters;
  - the SSC comprised the Prime Minister, President, the Ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice and Police, and various intelligence officials.

After the Soweto Rising of 1976 (see below), the level of brutality on the part of the security organs, and the scope of their activities steadily increased.

Exercise 10.1

Place the events listed on the right in the correct chronological order.

1st event		The Unlawful Organisations Act
2nd event		The Rivonia Trial
3rd event		The Suppression of Communism Act
4th event		Setting up of BOSS
5th event		Criminal Law Amendment Act
6th event		ANC Program of Action
7th event		General Laws Amendment Act
8th event		Terrorism Act
9th event		Official Secrets Act
10th event		Setting up of SSC

The Soweto Rising 1976

The Hector Pieterson Memorial

Soweto is a collection of townships to the south west of Johannesburg. In 1976 there was large-scale rioting there by school children; the unrest soon spread across the country. Soweto experienced major social problems common to black communities at the time – poor housing, unemployment, police harassment.

The government announced that lessons would in future be given only in Afrikaans. Students rioted after this.

Afrikaans was only spoken in South Africa, students would be destined to a life of impoverishment at the hands of Afrikaaner bosses.

Thousands of students protested and as protest marches grew, slogans such as *Amandla* (power) and *Inkululeko ngoku* (freedom in our lifetime) were shouted out. Police called on the protestors to go home. Tear gas was used and then police opened fire killing some of the children. As news of the killings became known, rioting spread across the country and continued for months. The police response was predictably tough. Between June 1976 and February 1977, up to 14 000 school and university students fled the country; many joined the ANC. Hundreds of students received canings.

There was massive destruction, largely in black areas. Hundreds of blacks were killed, many by the police but some by fellow blacks believing that they were informers for the authorities.

After the Sharpeville Massacre, the government was fully in control; after Soweto, it could never be sure:

- black resistance grew;
- white businesses pressured the government for reform;
- television pictures that went around the world, increased the international campaigns against apartheid.

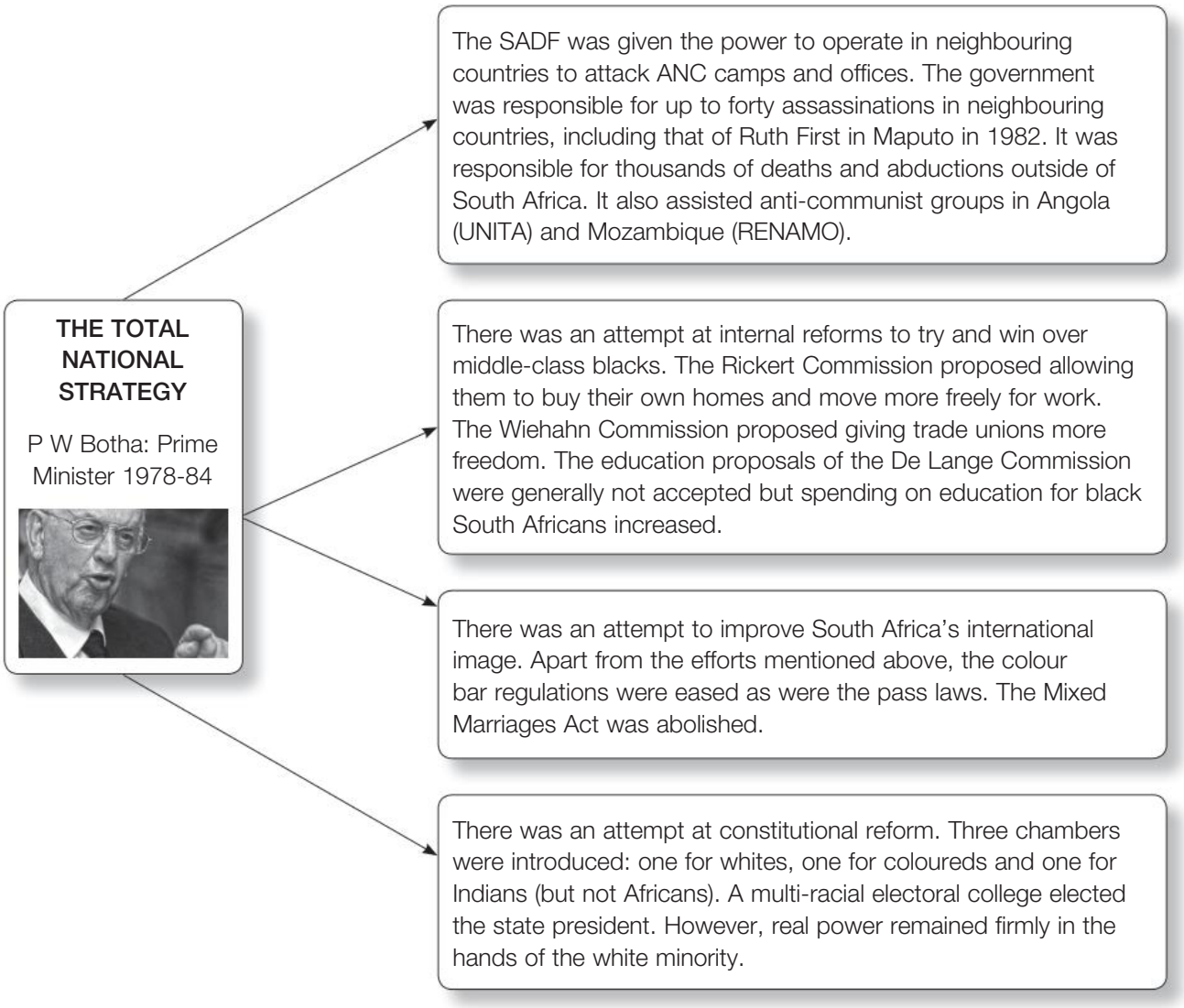
However, South African whites wanted ever stronger actions against protestors.

- The Vorster government was returned to power with an increased majority in the 1977 election, promising more firm actions.
- The Vorster government gained 134 seats; the opposition gained 30.

The "Total National Strategy"

In the late 1970s, the government instituted its *total national strategy* in response to what it saw as a coordinated attack on the apartheid system from within and without. The *total national strategy* would comprise various elements – military, social, economic, constitutional, international, as summarised in Figure 10.2.

Figure 10.2 The "total national strategy"



Despite some attempt at reform, the government's prime goal remained security and the use of force. In 1979, Prime Minister, P W Botha, with his Chief of the South African Defence Force, Magnus Malan, established the National Security Management System (NSMS). Cabinet committees were organised over the areas of constitutional affairs, economic affairs, social affairs and security; but it was clear that the last area had priority. In addition, over 500 regional district and local joint management centres were set up to coordinate security from the centre to the farthest reaches of the country.

The post-apartheid *Truth and Reconciliation Committee* (TRC) revealed the extent to which the government was willing to go to maintain its hold on power and white supremacy.

- A group called *Koevoet* (Crowbar) was set up, comprising 250 white officers. it had a reputation for brutality and torture;
  - it killed many suspected guerrillas, receiving bounty payments for doing so.
  - a farm, Vlakplaas, outside of Pretoria, became a base for assassination and abduction operations;
  - Vlakplaas was also a place where the security forces tried to "turn" former ANC and PAC members to work undercover for the government.
- The government also used vigilantes – *kitskonstabels* (instant constables):
  - in 1986, a group of *kitskonstabels* destroyed the Crossroads squatter camp, killing hundreds and leaving almost 70 000 homeless;
  - the police stood by.

In the 1980s more oppressive legislation was introduced:

- the *Inquest Act* stated the press was not allowed to report on deaths in custody;
- the *Police Act* made it illegal to make allegations of brutality against the police;
- the *Protection of Information Act* prevented the press from reporting an arrest unless it could prove that the report would not endanger state security.

In 1995, the post-apartheid government established the "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" to examine what happened under apartheid. An Act of 1995 created the Commission: *"... a commission is a necessary exercise to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally accepted basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation."*
Mr Dullah Omar, former Minister of Justice

The website of the TRC is a valuable place from which students can gain a deeper understanding of the repression and oppression of successive South African governments as they sought to preserve apartheid.

https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/

Exercise 10.2

Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	What was the issue that sparked the Soweto student riots of 1976?	
2	What was the international impact of Soweto?	
3	How did white South Africans respond to the violence they witnessed in 1976 and 1977?	
4	What additional power was the SADF given by the government in the late 1970s?	
5	How did the government attempt to soften its image with international opinion?	
6	What was the TRC?	
7	What was *Koevoet*?	
8	What did *Vlakplaas* become a centre of?	
9	Who were the *kitskonsstabels*?	
10	What action was made illegal by the *Inquest Act?*	

What do the historians have to say about "Repression, oppression and the role of the security forces"?

1. Tom Lodge

Lodge points out that the senior levels of the SADF were studying the ideas of the French military strategist, André Beaufre. Beaufre had been involved in the French-Algerian War. [6] Beaufre's argument was that in the modern age, the nature of warfare had changed. For a war to be waged successfully, all aspects of a nation's life had to be employed and coordinated in what he called a totalising process. War was thus not just a matter of military action, but involved, politics, economics, foreign affairs, financial policy and also had a strong psychological dimension.

"…Beaufre's stress on the political and even psychological dimensions of national security inspired the germination during the late 1960s in the SADF command of 'total onslaught' thinking…" [7]

2. Mamphela Ramphele [8]

Mamphela Ramphele was someone who had suffered under apartheid. Her activist colleague and one-time partner, Steve Biko, had been murdered by the police. Her medical clinic was closed down and she was banished to the Tzaneen region in Limpopo. Many years later, she commented on the impact of the 1976 Soweto riots and longer-term impact of the violent society that apartheid had created in South Africa. She argues that the apartheid regime was shaken by the uprising:

"…The irony of a powerful military regime being challenged by unarmed school children was not lost on us… it shook passive adults to mobilise for change…". However, she says that *"…human rights abuses, including the gruesome practice of necklacing* [9] *scarred our collective spirit… violence brutalises both victim and perpetrator…"* [10]

6 In the 1950s and early 1960s, Algerian nationalists had fought a bloody independence war against the French colonial power. Algeria eventually gained its independence.
7 Lodge, T, Resistance and Reform, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 468
8 See Chapter Nine.
9 Necklacing was the practice used by some blacks to punish collaborators with the white regime. A tyre would be filled with petrol, hung around a victim and set alight. The TRC states that the first case of necklacing was in 1985.
10 The Sunday Times, 12 July 2016

Notes

Chapter Eleven
The Bantustans and the independent black states

The purpose of the "Bantustans"

South Africa's Prime Minister (1958-66), Hendrik Verwoerd, was a complex individual. He was highly intelligent and respected for his academic prowess. He was a tough no-nonsense politician who would let nothing stand in the way of his political objectives. Verwoerd was also a devout Christian. He was convinced that he had a god-given mission to set up a white South Africa.

However, Verwoerd ambitions were clearly out of step with what was happening across Africa. British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, visited Africa in early 1960. On 3 February, he delivered his famous *"wind of change"* speech to the South African parliament in Cape Town. Macmillan said:

"…The wind of change is blowing through this continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact…"

Macmillan was accepting the reality of African nationalism, and made it clear that Britain had no intention of standing in the way of its African colonies' pursuit of national independence. Such views were diametrically opposite to those held by Verwoerd and his Nationalist government colleagues.

However, Verwoerd had a solution to the situation South Africa.

- Black South Africans would be given the chance to develop as they chose. However, this development would take place separately in specifically designated "homelands".
  - Verwoerd believed that the "Bantu" [1] had no place in South Africa's white cities. As the 'homelands' developed, Verwoerd assumed that blacks would depart the cities and move there.
  - Blacks would live in their separate homelands which could eventually seek their own 'national independence'.
  - The process would be complete, believed Verwoerd, by the late 1970s.
- Verwoerd's term for the homelands was "Bantu National Units". Critics of his policy used the term 'Bantustans'.

Verwoerd attempted to justify his policy when speaking to a London audience in 1961:

"…We do not only want to ensure white survival. We seek a solution which will ensure survival and full development – political and economic – to each of the other racial groups…"

1 The term "Bantu" was used by South African political figures during the period of apartheid. For black South Africans it is considered to be a derogatory term. However, the government used the term widely and enshrined it in legislation.

Though Verwoerd spoke in such terms, he was at heart a 'white supremacist'. His South Africa saw no place for the "Bantu" except for certain types of labour.

There were also political and economic motives in the homeland policy.

- It attempted to divide black people based on ethnic differences.
  - Zulu land was to be separate from that of the Xhosa which would be separate from that of the Besotho and so on:
  - the government claimed that by doing this, it was preserving cultural and ethnic difference and identity;
  - on a practical level, it of course aimed to hinder blacks maintaining a united front against whites.
- If the homelands policy was successful, there would be economic benefits for the white government:
  - the government would have to spend less money on services for the black population if they were now in their independent homelands;
  - fewer hospitals, schools and houses would be needed in 'white South Africa';
  - though the black population was steadily increasing, 'official' South African statistics in the census showed their numbers falling.

Verwoerd's vision was, of course, a fantasy.

- As the economy developed, as technology developed, and as industrial processes became more sophisticated, a skilled, educated black work force was essential for the country's development.
  - Separate development in the 'homelands' made this impossible.
- South Africa's factories and mines needed a local work force.
- Apart from the injustice of Verwoerd's policy, it simply did not make sense in demographic terms. South Africa's black population was growing strongly:
  - in 1961 it was 11 million; in 1980 it was 21 million.

When objections to his policy were raised, Verwoerd and his successors were immovable. Verwoerd once said that if the choice for South Africa was to be *"poor and white"* or *"rich and multi-racial"*, he would choose white!

The development of the Bantustans

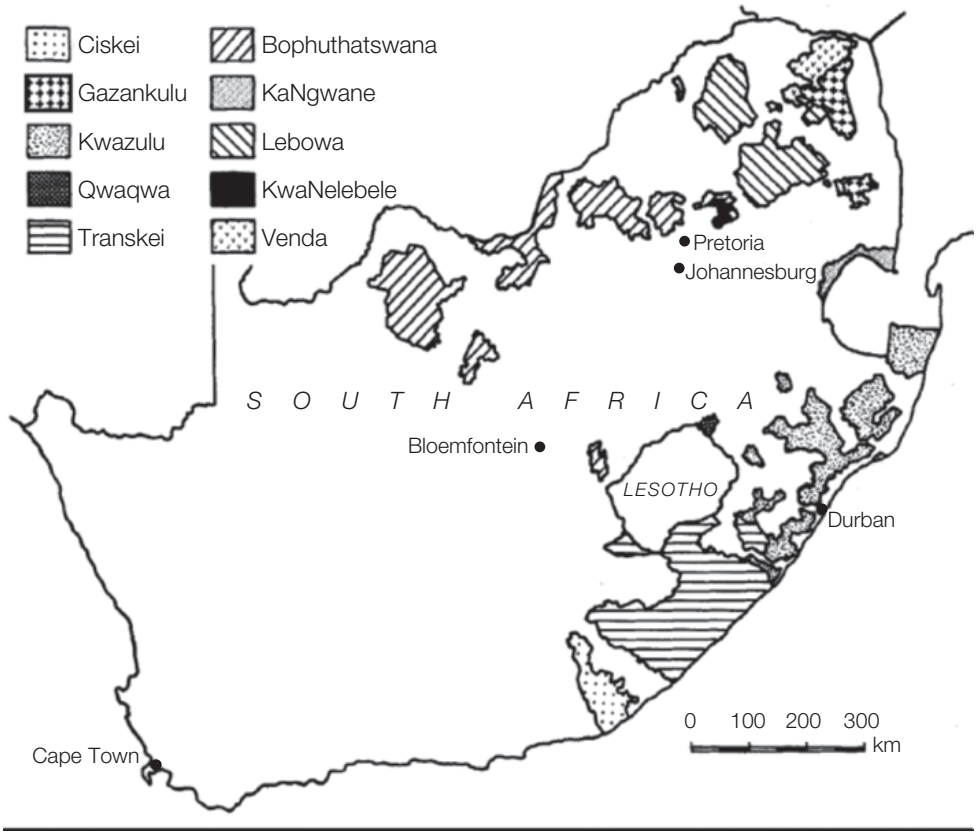
The so-called homelands had originally been defined by the colonial British government before the creation of the Union of South Africa. [2] The Natives' Land Act established reserves in the homelands, comprising about 13% of South Africa's territory; this was increased to 18.5% in 1936. Following its assumption of power in 1948, the Nationalist government argued that these reserves corresponded with traditional African kingdoms and landholdings.

2 See Chapter One.

- The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 established ten 'homelands', comprising about 13% of the territory of South Africa. The homelands were:

Transkei	Lebowa
Bophuthatswana	Gazankulu
Venda	Qwaqwa
Ciskei	KaNgwane
Kwazulu	KwaNelebele

Figure 11.1 Location of the 'homelands' in apartheid South Africa



- The 1959 Bantu Self-Government Act set out plans for their 'separate development':
  - each homeland was based on ethnic/ tribal lines (see below).
  - chiefs were encouraged to become politically active, and those that were not supportive of the plan were removed.
  - the ultimate goal was independence.
- In 1963, Transkei was granted self-government.
- The Black Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970 sought to provide a legal framework for the homelands. By this act, black South Africans:
  - were now deemed to be citizens of their homelands;
  - they had to identify with a homeland even if they had never lived there and even though the ethnicity of many had become blurred;

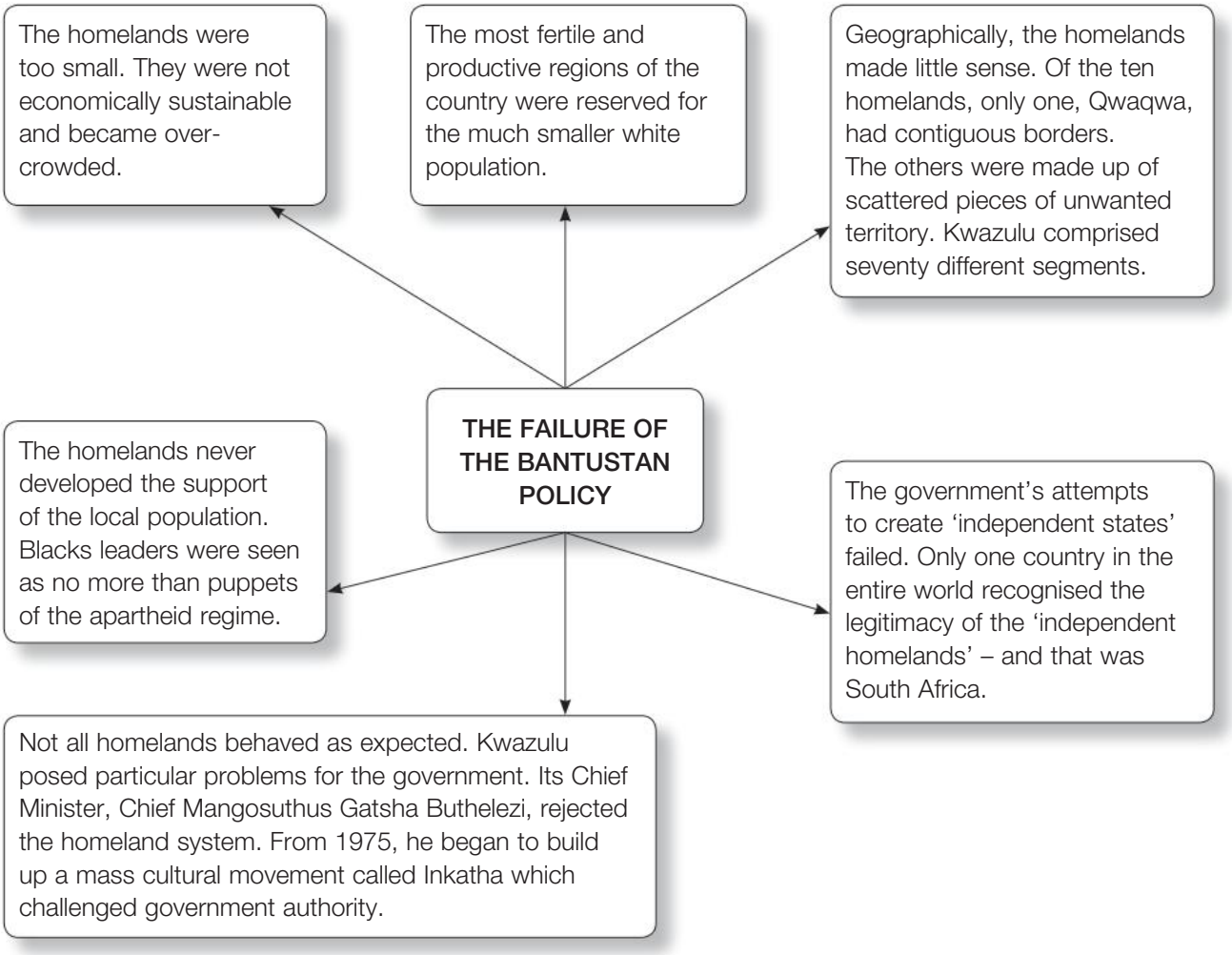
- this was the case even if they lived in white South Africa;
- they would lose their South African citizenship.

- In 1976, Transkei became 'independent':
  - Chief Sigeau became President; Mantanzima became Prime Minister.
- Independence soon followed for other homelands:
  - Bophuthatswana 1977; Venda 1979; Ciskei 1981.
- Strong measures were often enforced to implement the homelands policy. For example, in 1978, the 25 000 strong Unibel Squatter Camp, at Cape Flats near Cape Town, was destroyed. The government ordered residents to leave for their Ciskei Bantustan. A few obeyed the order but most disappeared into other squatter camps such as Crossroads.

The failure of the Bantustan policy

Apart from the injustice of the idea, and the racist basis of it, the Bantustan policy of the apartheid government was flawed from the start. Figure 11.1 outlines some aspects of the failure of the Bantustan policy.

Figure 11.1 The failure of the Bantustan policy



What do the historians have to say about "The Bantustans and the independent black states"?

1. Nelson Mandela

The government attempted to persuade Nelson Mandela to accept the Bantustan policy. In 1976, the Minister of Prisons, Jimmy Kruger – *a stout, blunt man, not nearly as polished as I would have expected from a cabinet minister* – visited Mandela on Robben Island.

- Kruger made Mandela an offer – accept the legitimacy of the Transkei government, move to the homeland and his prison sentence would be dramatically reduced.
- Mandela replied that he was from Johannesburg and that he would leave only for Johannesburg.

"…I said I wholly rejected the Bantustan policy and would do nothing to support it… (Kruger returned a month later with the same offer which Mandela again turned down)… It was an offer only a turncoat could accept…" [3]

2. Nancy L Clark and William H Worger

Clark and Worger conclude that the homelands policy failed on all counts. It failed to prevent black urbanisation as the movement of blacks into the cities continued at an ever-increasing rate. As the homelands received minimal expenditure from the government, they could never provide blacks workers with an alternative to seeking work in the cities. The governments of the homelands were never seen as legitimate by most blacks and so they had no alternative but to turn to the ANC, Black Consciousness and other groups which refused to accept apartheid.

"…Too poor to sustain the African population and ignominiously discredited as corrupt regimes, the homelands represented the largest and most expensive failure of apartheid policies…" [4]

3 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 469
4 Clark, N L, and Worger, W H, South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid, Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 2004, p 69

Exercise 11.1

Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	Hendrik Verwoerd was a keen believer in the development of a multi-racial South Africa.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	The ultimate goal for the Bantustans or homelands was the attainment of national independence.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	The homelands policy had as one its objectives the division of black South Africans on an ethnic basis.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	The white government of South Africa envisioned the creation of ten separate homelands.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Under the 1970 Black Homeland Citizenship Act, blacks in the homelands would retain their South African citizenship.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	By the early 1980s, each of the ten Bantustans had managed to achieve their independence.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	The homeland policy of the apartheid government was well-received by the African community who were generally eager to move their designated homeland.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	The various Bantustans were located in fertile and strong economic regions which assured them a successful future.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	The Inkatha movement, which challenged the homeland policy, was based in Kwazulu.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Nelson Mandela never gave his support to the homeland policy even when he was offered his freedom.	TRUE/ FALSE

Exercise 11.2

In this 'find-a-word', locate the ten Bantustans set by the government.

Q	T	R	A	N	S	K	E	I	V
G	T	H	J	Q	V	A	Z	E	B
H	B	X	Z	W	K	N	K	K	R
S	E	I	U	S	W	G	O	S	E
A	G	V	O	T	A	W	H	I	I
N	I	E	L	H	Z	A	J	C	Q
A	L	N	G	J	U	N	N	D	L
W	R	D	H	E	L	E	S	F	E
S	T	A	H	T	U	H	P	O	B
N	E	M	X	Z	A	Q	R	Y	O
P	W	G	K	W	L	K	Y	O	W
U	I	D	Q	V	M	A	D	C	A
K	W	A	N	E	L	E	B	E	L
A	W	E	G	K	Z	Y	M	C	E
Q	U	L	U	K	N	A	Z	A	G

Notes

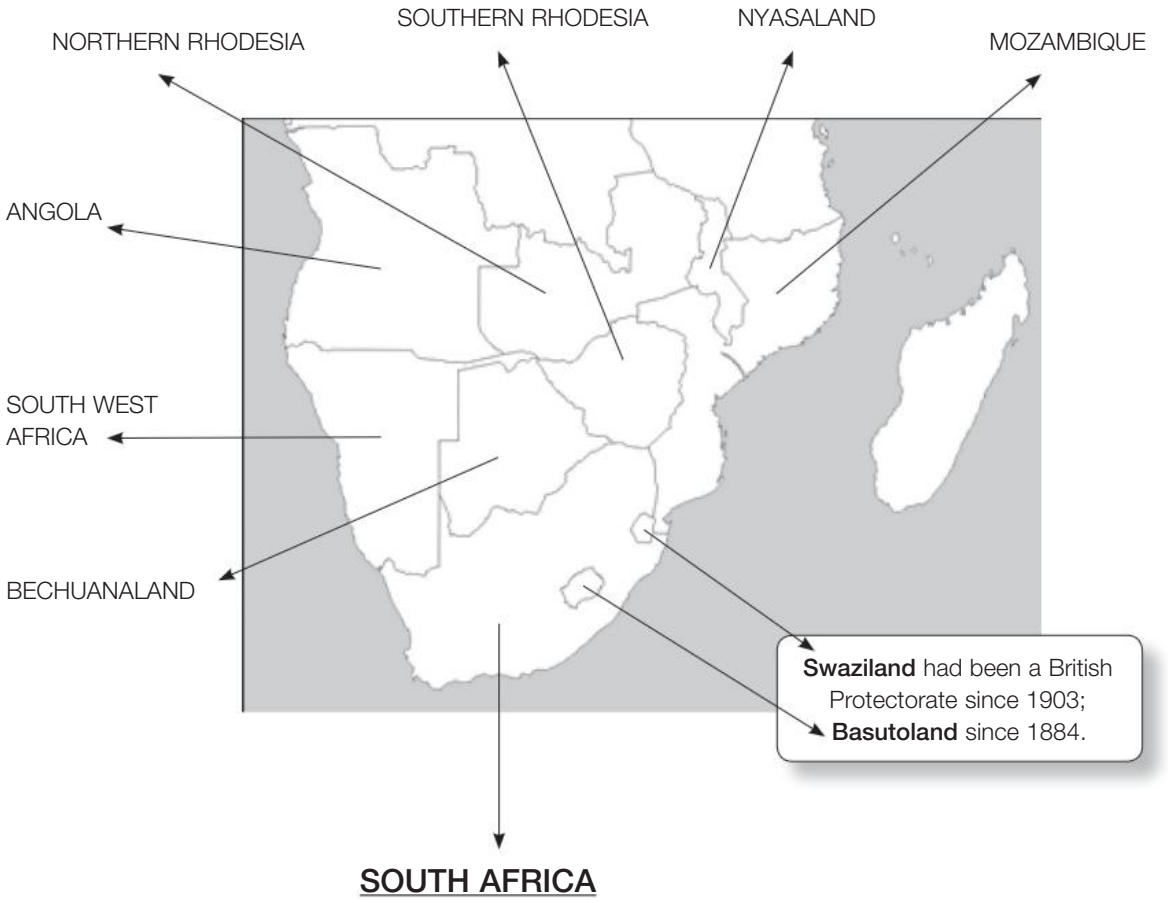
Chapter Twelve
Relations with neighbouring African countries

Overview

At the time apartheid was introduced, in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, Africa was a far different place to what it would be twenty years later. It changed even more in the 1970s. In 1950, almost every country in Africa was under the control of a white, European colonial power. These included Kenya (Britain), Algeria (France), Angola (Portugal), the Congo (Belgium). South Africa's closest neighbours were colonial outposts of white European powers:

- Bechuanaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland were British; Swaziland and Basutoland were British Protectorates;
- Angola and Mozambique were Portuguese;
- the island of Madagascar was French;
- South West Africa was under South African control (see below).

Figure 12.1 Southern Africa in 1950



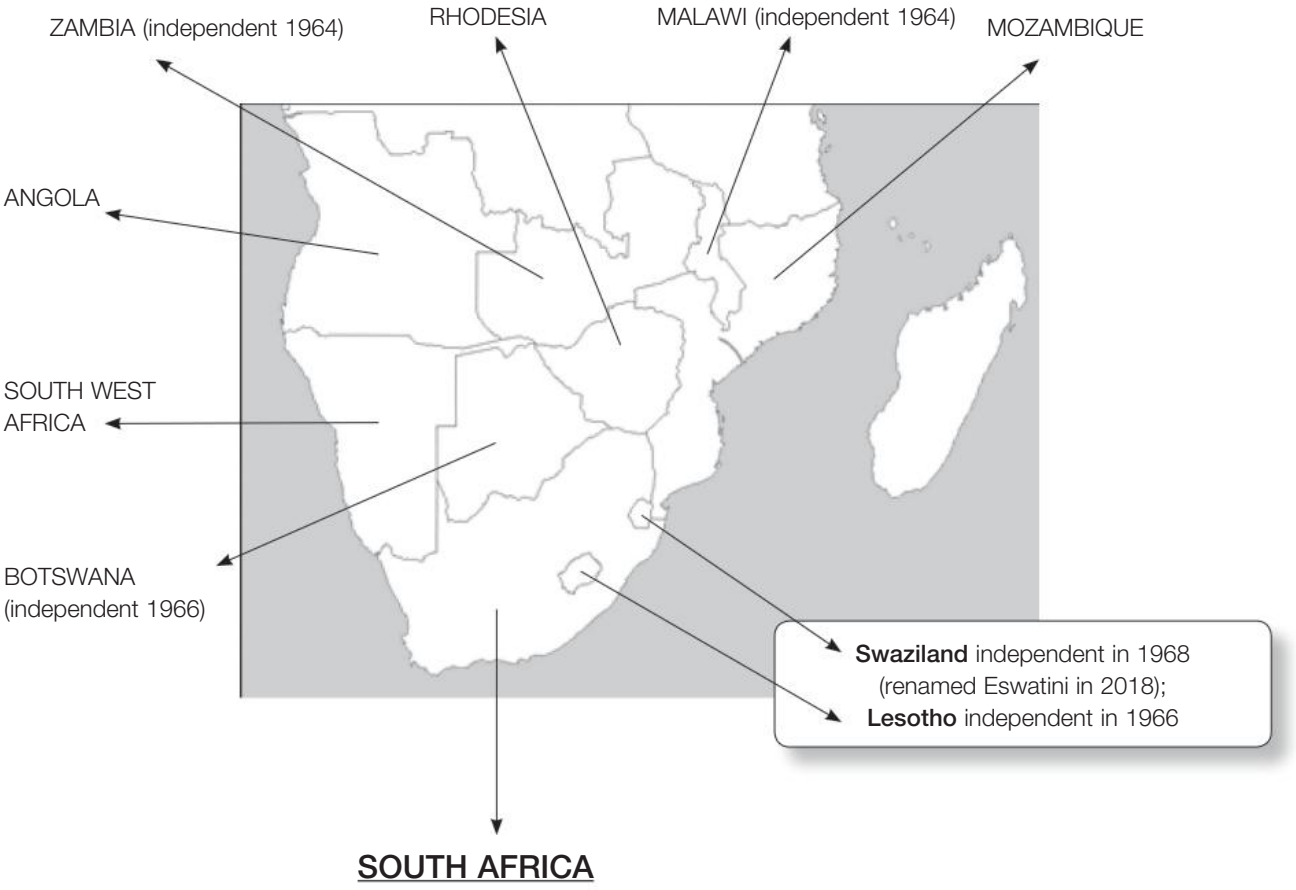
As was mentioned in Chapter Eleven, the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, had talked about the wind of change blowing through Africa. One after another, African states were able to throw off European imperial control and take their independence. Sometimes these

developments were peaceful, sometimes they were accompanied by great violence, both before and after independence. Table 12.1 list some of these developments. Figure 12.2 shows how the wind of change had affected South Africa's neighbours by the late 1960s.

Table 12.1 Evidence of the *wind of change*

Colony/ nation	Former imperial power	Date of independence
Nigeria	Britain	1960
Congo/ Zaire	Belgium	1960
Ghana	Britain	1957
Algeria	France	1962
Morocco	France	1956

Figure 12.2 Southern Africa by the late 1960s



These changes were to have a major impact on South Africa's relations with its neighbours. At the time of the National Party's election success in 1948, the rulers of South Africa's neighbours accepted the validity and sense of white European rule. White control of South Africa was not contested. Notions of white superiority still existed. Though none of them sought to emulate the system of apartheid, South Africa enjoyed cordial relations with its neighbours. As late as the early 1960s, a South African Prime Minister could expect to be received in London and meet with the nation's leaders. As a result, the apartheid regime did not have to be overly concerned about opposition to its system from its closest African neighbours.

However, by the late 1960s, things were quite different. Rather than being just one of many African countries ruled by whites, South Africa had become just one of five – South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa.

From the mid-1960s to when apartheid came to an end, South Africa's close relationships were dominated by the situation in Rhodesia, South West Africa, and the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

South Africa's relations with Rhodesia

By the end of the 19th century, almost all of Africa had fallen under European control, principally British and French. Indeed, the phrase "the scramble for Africa" was coined, to describe the urgency with which European nations sought to gain territory 'before a rival could'. Britain's interests stretched from Egypt to the Cape, and across West Africa. The British imperialist Cecil Rhodes even had dreams of a 'Cape to Cairo railway'.

One of Britain's southern African colonies was Southern Rhodesia, formed in 1890.

- In 1923, Southern Rhodesia was offered the opportunity to become part of the Union of South Africa, but it declined.
- In the 1950s, it became part of the Central African Federation, with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
  - However, objections from black nationalists ended the Federation.
  - By 1964, Northern Rhodesia had gained its independence as Zambia, and Nyasaland as Malawi.
- The blacks of Southern Rhodesia assumed that independence for them would not be far off.

By the mid-1960s, Southern Rhodesia's population comprised about 250 000 whites and over four million blacks. Most of the country's wealth and land were in the hands of the white population. The white population were very concerned at the possibility of black rule. Some argued that the country could descend into civil war in the same way the Congo had when Belgium granted it independence.

The British government made it clear that it would not allow independence for (Southern) Rhodesia unless the whites shared power with the black majority.

- The Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith, made it clear that his government would never share power.
- On 11 November 1965, Smith announced to the world that Rhodesia had become an independent state – without Britain's permission. This event is referred to as the 'Unilateral Declaration of Independence' or UDI.
- The international reaction was immediate:
  - Britain and the United Nations stated that UDI was illegal;
  - sanctions were imposed on Rhodesia, principally on oil.

There was one country that was willing to support the white regime of Rhodesia – South Africa.

South Africa rejected sanctions and provided Rhodesia with a lifeline for its trade, oil supplies and free movement of people. There were several reasons why South Africa was keen to back Rhodesia:

- many white South Africans had friends and family in Rhodesia and they wanted to support them;
- South Africa itself was becoming increasingly isolated [1] and 'a friend in need is a friend indeed';
- it was in South Africa's interest to support white Rhodesia against its black nationalist guerrillas [2] who were fighting against Smith's regime; success for black nationalism in Rhodesia could make South Africa itself a target.

White rule in Rhodesia would formerly come to an end in April 1980 following a long guerrilla war between the white regime and black nationalists. South Africa did not only support Rhodesia economically; it provided solid military support as well. Police and SADF support were given to Smith. Following independence, Rhodesia became the independent state of Zimbabwe. Its leader, Robert Mugabe, allowed the ANC to operate from Zimbabwean territory. This invited attacks from the SADF as it sought out its ANC opponents. Such actions continued well into the1980s. Such actions against the ANC occurred not only in Zimbabwe but also in Botswana and Zambia.

Exercise 12.1

Complete the following passage using the terms in the box below.

In 1950, almost all of Africa was under _____ control. Angola was controlled by _____, Kenya was under _____ control while the French controlled _____. By the _____, things had changed. In _____, Nigeria had gained independence as had Algeria in _____. South Africa increasingly found itself surrounded by independent black states. Northern Rhodesia became in _____, and in the same year _____ became Malawi. In ____, Bechuanaland became _____. These new countries were opposed to the system of _____. In _____, the white regime in Southern Rhodesia of _____, announced _____. Only South Africa supported this. It did not impose _____ on Rhodesia as did other countries, and provided economic and military support. Rhodesia eventually gained _____ rule in 1980, becoming the state of _____. In the _____, South Africa would launch attacks inside Zimbabwe against _____ bases.

BOTSWANA – ALGERIA – PORTUGAL – ZIMBABWE – ZAMBIA – BRITISH – ANC – UDI – IAN SMITH – 1980 – 1962 – 1965 – 1966 – 1964 – 1960 – 1960S – APARTHEID – SANCTIONS – MAJORITY – EUROPOEAN

1 See Chapter Thirteen
2 Two groups in particular fought against Smith's regime: ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo, and ZANU led by the country's future leader, Robert Mugabe.

South Africa's relations with Angola and Mozambique

South Africa's cordial relations with Angola and Mozambique came to an end in the 1970s. Portugal was having major economic and political problems at home. Much of its budget was spent on fighting nationalist guerrillas in its African colonies. In 1974, there was a revolution in Portugal which brought an end to the dictatorship that had been in place for decades. The former leader, Caetano, fled to Brazil. In a very short time, Portuguese control over its southern African colonies of Mozambique and Angola came to an end. However, these two former colonies would face a future of violent conflict.

When Angola gained its independence in 1975, black nationalist guerrilla groups sought to use the country for training and establishing bases.

- ZAPU which was fighting the white regime in Rhodesia quickly did this.
- SWAPO (South West African People's Organisation) [3] followed suit.
- In 1976, the ANC opened talks with Angola.
  - The Central Headquarters for MK was set up and for thirteen years, Angola became a key military training base for MK.

However, Angola continued to have its own internal conflict between the (Marxist) MPLA government under President Neto, and UNITA forces under Jonas Savimbi. The civil war would continue intermittently until 2002.

- The SADF intervened frequently in Angola.
- It sought to weaken SWAPO forces based there, and gave military and economic support to UNITA forces.
- A major South African/ UNITA attack at Cuito Cuanavale in 1987-88 ended in humiliation for SADF forces.
- South African troops were finally withdrawn in 1989.

MK soldiers also trained in other neighbouring countries such as Zambia and Tanzania which supported the liberation struggle against apartheid. From 1980, there were significant numbers of MK guerrillas entering South African territory from Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland. The South African government sought to counter this by convincing its neighbours of the dangers of Marxism, [4] and attempting to strike security deals.

It also did not hesitate to cross the border and seek out MK forces.

- In 1981 it attacked ANC bases in Matola and Maputo in Mozambique.
- In December 1985, an attack was launched on Maseru in Lesotho.
  - In this latter attack, a South African covert group called Unit C-10, operating from Vlakplaas, (see Chapter Eleven) was used.

In 1984, the Machel government in Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord with South Africa. Pressure had been brought to bear on that country by South Africa, both militarily and economically. Both powers agreed not to provide sanctuary to guerrillas fighting against them.

3 See below.
4 The Cold War element of this issue will be dealt with in Chapter Thirteen.

- Mozambique had been involved in its own internal conflict since throwing off Portuguese rule, between the Marxist FRELIMO and the anti-Communist RENAMO.
- Civil war would continue until 1992. Ian Smith's Rhodesian regime, and later South Africa, gave significant support to RENAMO.

The South African government was generally successful in containing the ANC in the 1980s as a result of its interventions in neighbouring countries. As a negotiated end to apartheid edged closer in the late 1980s, SADF actions outside its borders ceased and eventually MK ended the armed struggle. [5]

South West Africa

South West Africa had been a German colony before 1914. At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, the area was handed over to South Africa as a 'mandate'. South Africa was expected to prepare South West Africa for eventual nationhood. However, the government never had any intention of doing this and treated South West Africa as if it was its own colony. After World War II, the United Nations put pressure on South Africa to prepare the area for independence.

- The apartheid government had no desire for a black majority ruling South West Africa on its borders.
- Most whites in the region were Germans or Afrikaners.
- From 1949, they were able to elect MPs who sat in the South African parliament.

In 1968, the UN General Assembly resolved that South West Africa would now be known as Namibia. In 1971, the International Court backed the UN's decision to end South Africa's mandate over Namibia.

In 1960, nationalists in South West Africa formed SWAPO – the South West African People's Organisation. As with the ANC, the South African government banned SWAPO, arrested its leaders or drove them into exile. Surrounded by white states, SWAPO was in a weak position.

Following Angolan independence in 1975, SWAPO established bases in the south of that country. SADF forces defending northern Namibia were often in action against SWAPO, especially in Ovamboland (northern Namibia).

A United Nations Resolution (435) attempted to introduce open elections into Namibia. South Africa ignored this and held its own elections. Eventually a white administrator was appointed to run the country. By the early 1980s, SADF troops had established themselves in southern Angola and from there they regularly launched attacks on SWAPO bases.

Defeat at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola and the crippling economic cost finally convinced the government to withdraw from Namibia (and Angola). In 1988, SWAPO was formerly recognised as the rightful rulers of Namibia. SWAPO leader, Sam Nujoma, became Namibia's first president.

5 See Section Four.

Exercise 12.2 Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	What happened in Portugal in 1974 and how did this affect its southern African colonies?	
2	How did Angolan independence affect black liberation movements in southern Africa?	
3	What internal conflict bedevilled Angola for many years after its independence?	
4	What was South Africa's response to the ANC/ MK in neighbouring countries?	
5	What internal conflict bedevilled Mozambique for many years after its independence?	
6	How had South Africa gained control of South West Africa?	
7	What was South Africa's attitude to South West Africa?	
8	What was the nationalist response in South West Africa to the South African presence?	
9	Describe the international attitude to South Africa's presence in Namibia.	
10	What eventually happened to Namibia?	

What do the historians have to say about "Relations with neighbouring African countries"?

1. Tom Lodge [6]

When discussing aspects of South Africa's relations with neighbouring countries, Lodge highlights the great influence that the SADF had on policy making, to the point that on occasions it simply disregarded what the civilian government had decided.

- The 1984 Nkomati Accord with Mozambique was supposed to end both nations supporting rival guerrilla groups.
- Lodge shows that General Van der Westhuizen of Military Intelligence was totally opposed to the agreement.
  - Documents captured at RENAMO headquarters in 1986 revealed Van der Westhuizen telling RENAMO commanders the SADF would continue its support RENAMO *without the consent of our politicians.*
  - SADF chief, General Constand Viljoen, was so opposed to the agreement, that he referred to Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, as a traitor and a *Soviet nark*.
- In 1986, the government was talking with the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group [7] as a step towards bringing on negotiations between the government and the ANC. However, this did not stop the military from launching air and commando raids at the same time into neighbouring Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Lodge considers this another example of the *militarisation of foreign policy*.

6 Lodge, T, Resistance and Reform, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 469-71
7 See Section Thirteen.

Chapter Thirteen
International responses to South African policies

During the early days of apartheid

The racist thinking of most white South Africans and its government were commonplace in many countries in the late 1940s and the 1950s:

- many British people were opposed to immigration from the West Indies;
- Australia had a 'White Australia Policy', and in NSW Aborigines were still dealt with under the Flora and Fauna Act;
- racism in the United States was deep-rooted and often took on an extremely violent form.

The Royal Family in South Africa, 1947

As a result, in the late 1940s, South Africa was not the pariah that it was to become. King George VI and his family, including the future queen, were happy to pay an official visit to the country in 1947. South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth was accepted. Sporting teams and entertainers were happy to tour the country.

However, as Bob Dylan put it so memorably, *"the times they are a changing"*. People did not suddenly stop being racist but racial inequality was being seen for the injustice that it was. Moves towards racial equality and an end to discrimination were occurring in places like the United States, Britain, Australia and Canada, even if the pace was sometimes painfully slow. Notions of racial superiority and policies that promoted racial segregation were becoming unacceptable.

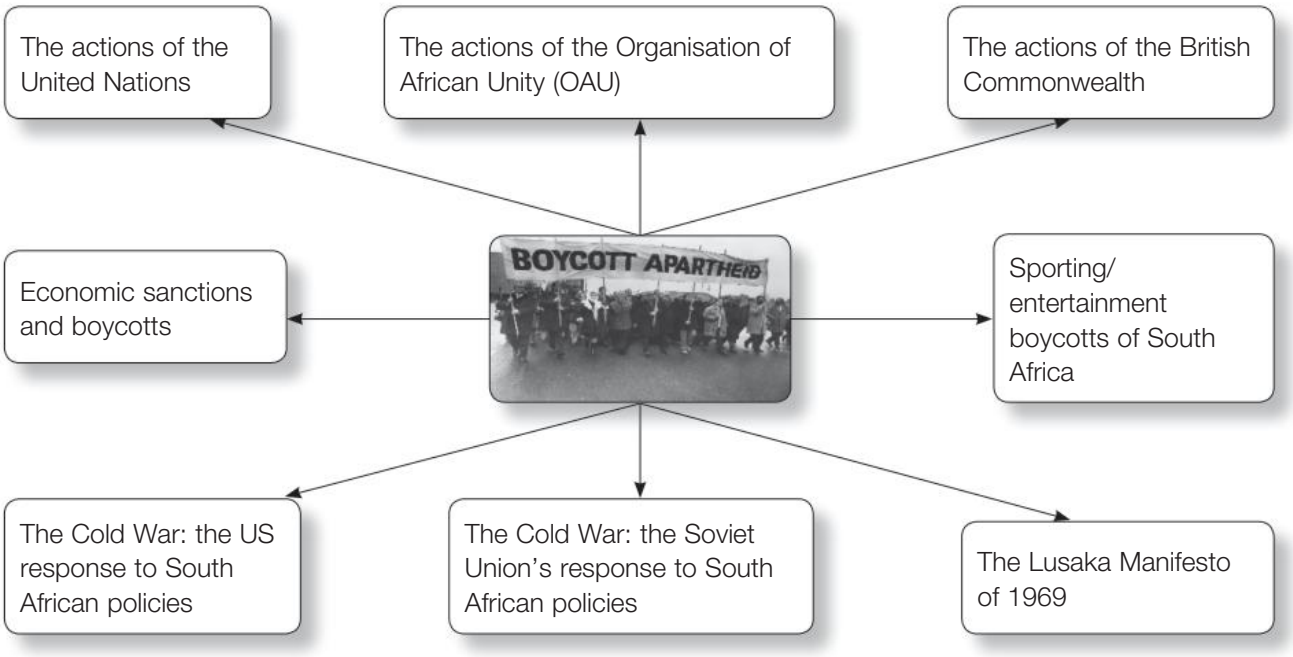
After World War II, the process of decolonisation was taking place around the world. Nationalist movements were taking power from their former colonial masters, from India to Indonesia and all across Africa, from Ghana to Zambia to Kenya. White minority rule was no longer acceptable.

As a result, any social/ economic/ political system that rested on the basis of racial segregation and racial inequality, such as apartheid, was no longer tolerated. Opposition to apartheid across the world was increasing year by year, especially as the violent suppression of the black population by successive South African governments became more widely known.

International responses to South African policies took various forms. The nature of relations between South Africa and its immediate neighbours has been covered in Chapter Twelve. The international support for, and the campaign seeking the release of Nelson Mandela were examined in Chapter Seven. This chapter examines the wider international response to South African policies.

Figure 13.1 outlines some aspects of this response.

Figure 13.1 Aspects of the international response to South African policies



The United Nations

As more and more newly independent African and Asian nations joined the United Nations, it became a forum for protests against the apartheid regime.

- As early as 1952, a group of thirteen nations spoke in the General Assembly about South Africa's *flagrant violation of the basic principles of freedom* as espoused in the UN Charter. [1]
- In 1966, the UN General Assembly stated that the apartheid policies of the South African government constituted a *crime against humanity*.
- In 1977, after the crushing of the Soweto Rising, [2] the UN voted unanimously for an arms embargo against South Africa.
- In 1980, the UN started compiling a register of athletes who had competed in South Africa. The aim was to embarrass those athletes and pressure them to stop competing in the country.
- In December 1985, the UN adopted the International Convention against Apartheid in sport.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

In 1963, a group of black African nations came together to form the OAU – the Organisation of African Unity. One of its very first declarations was a formal condemnation of apartheid in South Africa. Exiled ANC leaders, such as Oliver Tambo, succeeded in convincing the OAU that the ANC should be viewed as the official mouthpiece for the South African people.

1 The thirteen nations were: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen.
2 See Chapter Nine.

The British Commonwealth

South Africa was a member of the British Commonwealth when the apartheid system was being first developed. However, over time, the proportion of black states within the Commonwealth was increasing. It is not surprising therefore that condemnation of apartheid also came from this source.

In 1960, Prime Minister Verwoerd offered the (white) South African people the opportunity to decide if they wanted as their head of state a South African president rather than the king or queen of England.

- A referendum was held in 1960 to vote on this.
- A small majority voted in favour of a republic which came into being in 1961.
- Verwoerd intended remaining in the Commonwealth but constant criticism within that organisation led to South Africa leaving it in that year.

Sporting boycotts

The white population of South Africa was not particularly troubled by the actions of the UN, the OAU and the Commonwealth. Indeed, there may well have been some who relished the fact that they were standing alone. However, South Africa has long been a sports-mad nation. International sporting boycotts of South Africa hurt. South Africa had a justifiable reputation for excellence in sport, in particular rugby union and cricket. These two sports were dominated by white South Africans. [3] However, South African sporting teams were selected on a racial basis.

The national cricket team had always been selected on a racial basis.

- In 1968, England selected Basil D'Oliveira to play for its national team.
- D'Oliveira was a 'Cape Coloured', who had moved to England to play cricket because of apartheid. He first played for England in 1966.
- The South African government of John Vorster complained that he had been selected on political grounds.
- The result of the D'Oliveira Affair' as it became known, was the cancellation of England's 1968-69 tour.
- South Africa was practically excluded from all international cricket from 1971. It would be readmitted in 1991, following the end of apartheid.

The national rugby union team of South Africa was called the Springboks.

- In 1966, Verwoerd refused to allow entry to some Maori players who had been selected to play for the New Zealand All Blacks team.
- In subsequent years, each time a Springboks team attempted to tour in places like Britain and Australia, there were massive anti-apartheid demonstrations. People would run on to the ground to disrupt games. There would be noisy demonstrations outside grounds.
- It became almost impossible for South African rugby teams to play overseas though occasional foreign tours of South Africa did occur.

3 Whereas football (soccer) has been the sport of black South Africans.

- South Africa was excluded from the first two Rugby World Cup tournaments in 1987 and 1991.
- In 1977, Commonwealth leaders signed up to the Gleneagles Agreement. The purpose of this agreement was to discourage all sporting contacts with South Africa as part of the international pressure against apartheid.
- In 1981, New Zealand Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, ignored Gleneagles by allowing the Springboks to tour his country.

South African sport was also affected in other areas. In 1970, South Africa was expelled from the International Olympic Committee (IOC). In 1963, the country's football team was suspended from FIFA. A whole generation of South African sportspeople was to experience either limited or total exclusion in a range of other competitions, stretching from tennis to chess.

South Africa also experienced boycotts and condemnation in the field of entertainment.

- As early as 1964, the British singer Dusty Springfield refused to tour the country when her demand to perform before non-segregated audiences was turned down by the authorities.
  - Many other artists would follow her example in years to come.
- However, the South African government got around this by establishing the Sun City Casino complex in the 'homeland' of Bophuthatswana.
  - Sun City was set up and controlled by the South African government but the strict apartheid rules on separation did not apply.
  - Performers were invited to perform there and were paid enormous sums to do so.
  - Frank Sinatra performed for a week and earned $2 million.
  - Other artists proved willing to perform at Sun City.

The Lusaka Manifesto: 1969

In April 1969, fourteen countries from central and eastern Africa met in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, to discuss the issue of apartheid. From this meeting came 'The Lusaka Manifesto'. The Manifesto contained a series of high-sounding resolutions condemning apartheid, supporting the principle of human equality and rejecting any form of racial domination, whether that be black or white.

Of special significance was Point 12 of the Manifesto. It stated that there could never be any compromise on the subject of 'black liberation' and that the preferred strategy to achieve this should always be peaceful. However, it stated that where peaceful change was blocked in southern Africa (not only South Africa):

"…we have no choice but to give to the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressor…"

This would lead to the long-running military conflict between the SADF and those nations that supported the ANC and MK. (see Chapter Twelve).

Economic boycotts and sanctions

Economic boycotts and sanctions against South Africa would eventually have a major impact on the regime. However, at least in the short term, the international community's attempt to hurt South Africa economically met with little success.

- During the 1960s, the economy was growing steadily between 5% and 7% per annum.
- Western companies were profiting well from low wage costs.
- Some African nations had no alternative but to use South Africa as a transit for its own imports and exports.
- South African mines provided work for migratory labour from neighbouring countries such as Botswana and Lesotho.
- South Africa is rich in minerals, and new discoveries of gold and diamonds were being made.
  - Even more importantly, South Africa was a key producer of rare metals such as manganese and cobalt, crucial ingredients for the development of things ranging from computers to aircraft engines.

However, by the late 1970s and into the 1980s, the situation was changing. As the international campaign against apartheid grew apace, and as the regime cracked down ever harder on its black population, there were calls for western firms to leave the country.

- Britain's Barclays Bank ended its presence in South Africa.
- Companies were being embarrassed as evidence came to light of their use of exploited black labour.
- There were campaigns against the purchase of South African wine and food products. In 1986, the European Common Market [4] stopped buying South African iron and steel.
- A financial crisis in the country in 1985 led to the temporary closure of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and a depreciation of the South African currency, the Rand, of up to 35%.

There were calls for greater economic sanctions. However, there were major disagreements on this issue. Those 'in favour' argued that if full-scale sanctions were imposed on South Africa, the government would have no choice but to end apartheid. Those 'against' sanctions argued that they would only hurt the black population who was already suffering. US President Ronald Reagan, and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher opposed sanctions. Their reasons for doing so rested on two key arguments:

1. They supported economic liberalism and free market economic theories which opposed government interference in economic matters.
2. The Cold War element and the start of the Angolan Civil War in 1975.

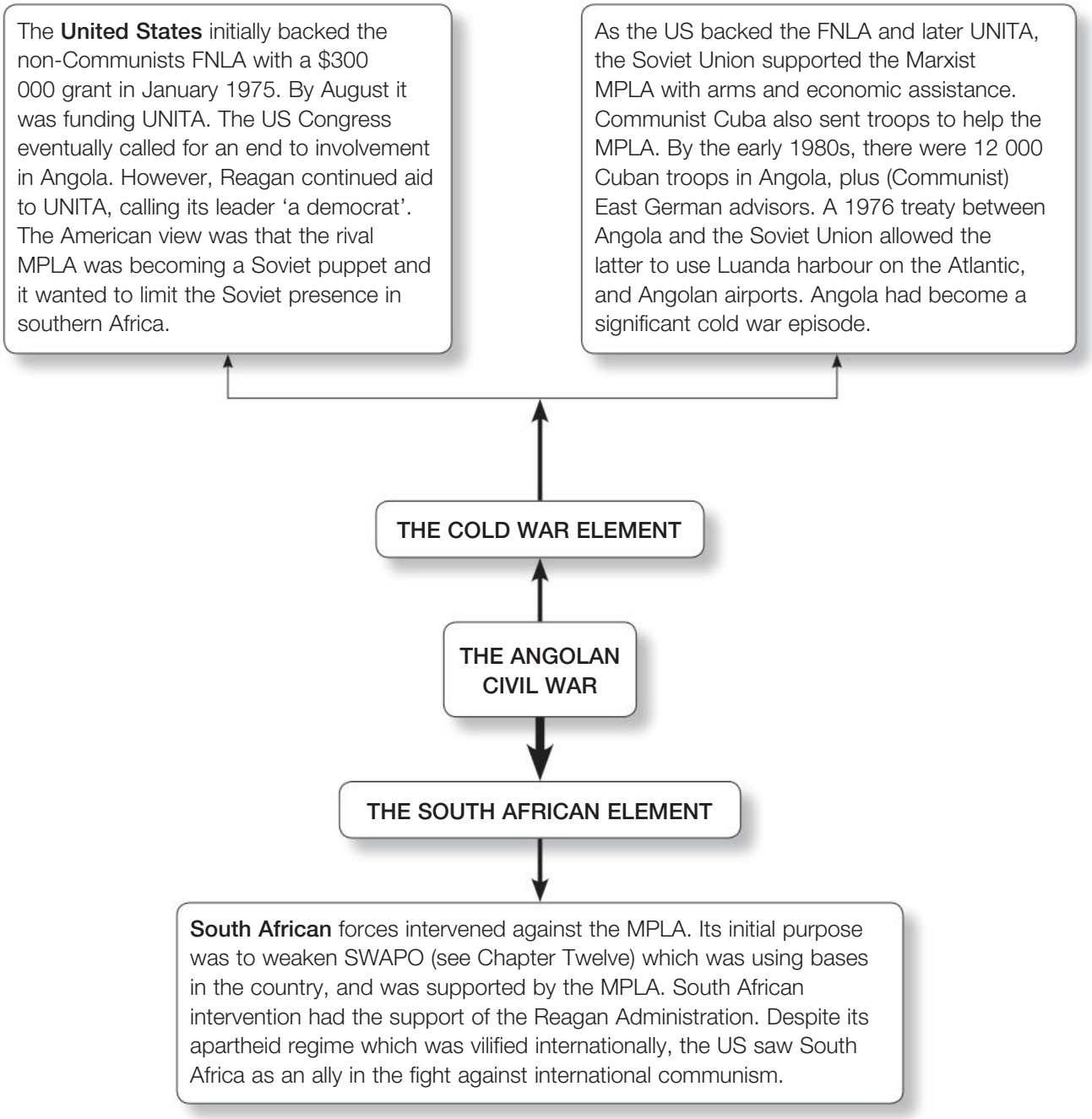
South Africa and the Cold War context

As far as the Reagan Administration and Margaret Thatcher's government were concerned, [5] South Africa was a useful ally in the Cold War. [6] This was seen most clearly in Angola as civil war raged following the collapse of Portuguese rule in the mid-1970s.

4 This would eventually evolve into the EU – the European Union.
5 Ronald Reagan was United States President from 1981 to 1989. Margaret Thatcher was British Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990.
6 The Cold War was the post-1945 ideological and power conflict between the western capitalist/ democratic nations led by the USA and the eastern communist nations led by the Soviet Union. The US and the Soviet Union never went to war but they often interfered in other countries to promote their respective causes.

Figure 13.2 explains the cold war element of the Angolan conflict and how it affected South Africa.

Figure 13.2 Angola, South Africa and the Cold War



By the late 1980s, the world was changing. Apartheid in South African was nearing an end as negotiations were occurring between the government and the ANC. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe (and later the Soviet Union) brought the end of the Cold War. Thus, Angola no longer mattered. Peace talks came between the Cubans, Angolans and South Africans in Brazzaville. South African troops pulled out in 1989; Cuban troops by 1991. The Bicesse Accords of 1991 led to UN-sponsored elections, won by the MPLA. However, UNITA then resumed fighting. The Angola conflict continued for a few more years but without foreign intervention.

Exercise 13.1 Place the events on the right in the correct chronological order.

1st event		Formation of the OAU
2nd event		Soviet/ Cuban backing of the MPLA
3rd event		South Africa expelled from the IOC
4th event		King George VI's tour of South Africa
5th event		Basil D'Oliveira affair
6th event		South Africa leaves the commonwealth
7th event		Withdrawal of South African troops from Angola
8th event		Gleneagles Agreement
9th event		Start of the Angolan Civil War
10th event		The Lusaka Manifesto

Notes

The factors which brought down the system of apartheid are closely interrelated. Social developments affected the political situation, political developments had an impact on the international response to apartheid and this in turn rebounded in the economic sphere. In turn, the economic factors had a key role to play in political developments. For the purposes of clarity – and the final years of apartheid are extremely complicated – the author has diverged slightly from the syllabus bullet points by linking the international and economic angle, and separating it from the political and social angle.

Chapter Fourteen
International and economic factors

An introductory thought

In history, it is possible to identify moments in time that were to have a dramatic impact on the course of events in an individual country and internationally. In Modern History, such moments can be easily identified: 1789 (The French Revolution), 1914 (World War I), 1917 (The Bolshevik Revolution), 1933 (Hitler's appointment as Chancellor), 1945 (The end of World War II), 1949 (The Chinese Revolution), 1989 (The Fall of the Berlin Wall).

Why do such moments happen?

- Part of the explanation can be found in what could be called "the forces of determinism", ie long-term developments which can overwhelm a society, a people, or the international situation:
  - such forces might be the development of different types of thinking or the forces of economic change,
  - in the future no doubt we may well be adding the impact of climate change.
- However, such forces make the moment possible. It needs individuals to actually make the moment reality. Individuals make or fail to make decisions:
  - in July 1914 the Russian tsar, Nicholas II, decided on full mobilisation of the Russian army;
  - in January 1933, the politicians took steps to place Hitler in power;
  - in 1989 Soviet leader Gorbachev decided not to use force to stop the East European revolutions.

And so it is with the collapse of apartheid! As will be shown in this section, there was a variety of factors that brought the end of apartheid. However, it also required the actions of individuals across the political and racial divide to take, or refuse to take certain decisions, that made it possible and to happen in the way it did.

International factors

By the early 1980s, South Africa had achieved a pariah status in the international community. It was an embarrassment, merely shunned by some nations, vilified by others. No nation on earth can claim total virtue, and some of the regimes that criticised South Africa had their own issues. However, apartheid had become unacceptable in a world which, on an official level at least, rejected racism and institutionalised racial inequality.

Chapter Thirteen outlined the many ways that South Africa was attacked for its apartheid:

- condemnation came from the United Nations, the OAU and the Commonwealth;
- South Africa had been barred from most international sport including the Olympics, cricket and rugby union (with some exceptions);
- sportspeople and entertainers who were willing to work in South Africa faced condemnation from the international community and their peers;
- South Africa was condemned for its military involvement in its neighbours' territory (see Chapter Twelve).

However, the government was able to largely ignore such things as long as its economy was performing well. This was very much the case during the 1960s and the 1970s. Foreign companies had been keen to invest in the South Africa and take advantage of low wage costs. Gold and diamond prices were high. However, by the mid-1980s, the economic situation for South Africa had deteriorated greatly; South Africa was facing a potential economic meltdown. This deterioration was directly linked to the international response to apartheid.

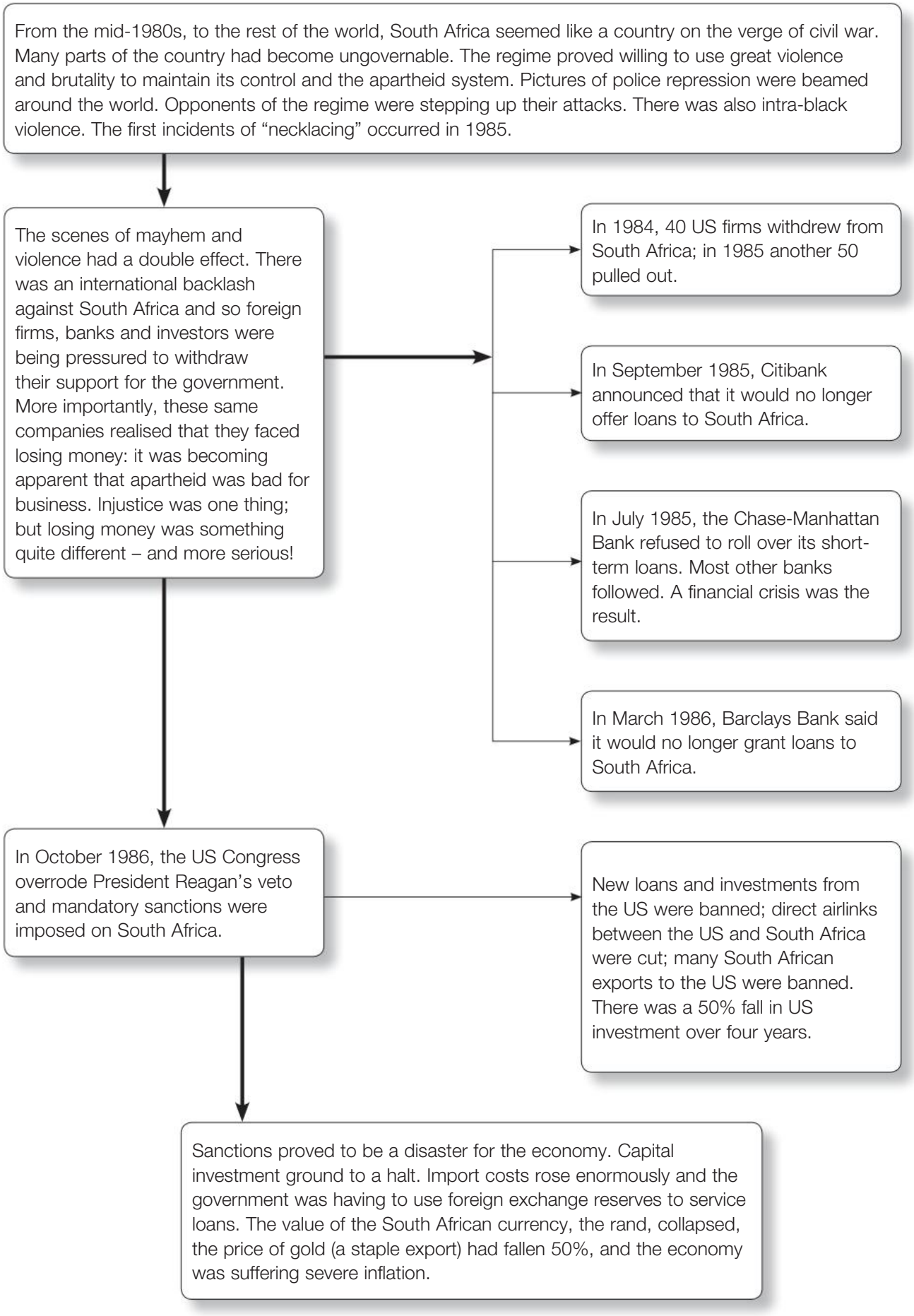
Clearly, economics was to play a major long-term role in the eventual collapse of apartheid. As long as the economy was buoyant, the government could ignore international opinion and maintain its policy of suppression at home and cross-border attacks. However, as the economy nosedived, apartheid's days were numbered.

The international and the economic are linked

By the mid-1980s, gold prices had tumbled while oil prices were increasing. However, it was the behaviour of international bankers, investors and the impact of sanctions that were to prove devastating for the economy. By 1985, South Africa was facing a full-scale financial crisis. All the key economic indicators – inflation, unemployment, the exchange rate, the foreign reserves situation, exports – were turning against South Africa.

Figure 14.1 outlines some of the economic misfortunes that were affecting the country.

Figure 14.1 The international economic situation in the late 1980s



The dire economic situation was forcing unexpected developments on the South African government. By mid-1989, the external debt had reached over $21 billion. There was a desperate need to reschedule payments. This proved to be a major encouragement to consider negotiating with the regime's opponents.

The SADF had long been interfering in neighbouring countries. [1] This practice brought on the threat of more sanctions. However, a touch of irony enters the story here.

- As a result of the effectiveness of international sanctions, the regional economy had become much more important to South Africa:
  - by 1988, South African trade with its immediate neighbours had expanded by $300 million;
  - this was about two thirds of the decline in US-South African trade'
- Thus, disruption of the economies of neighbouring countries by the SADF was not making sense.

In this setting, the influence of the army was beginning to diminish – especially as serious talks were now afoot with the ANC. [2]

What do the historians have to day about "International and economic factors"?

1. Gail Nattrass

Nattrass shows how in the mid-1980s, the apartheid regime was facing a combination of major difficulties. There was violent protest at home. The anti-apartheid movement was proving very effective in convincing nations around the world to isolate South Africa and support boycotts. Moves were put in place to make South Africa's access to North Sea oil more expensive, while entertainers like Tom Jones and Shirley Bassey promised not to tour again. Sports tours were cancelled. However, it was economics which was really having the biggest impact on the regime. In the late 1980s, fifty-five British firms left South Africa, including major companies like Norwich Union, and Legal and General.

"…The effect of apartheid policies on the economy was perhaps the most decisive influence: it was becoming clear to the powers that be in the South African regime that something had to change…" [3]

2. Tom Lodge

Lodge points out that South African financiers and officials were well aware of the disastrous state of the economy and the damage that was being done as a result of sanctions. He points out that not only was South African losing out on foreign investment coming into the country due to the deteriorating internal situation, but that

1 See Chapter Twelve.
2 See Chapter 16.
3 Nattrass, G, A Short History of South Africa, Biteback publishing, London, 2017, p 215

that there was also a major domestic outflow of funds, a flight of capital from the country. By 1988, 14% of government expenditure was spent servicing debt repayments. Spending on the military was also eating into the budget.

"…in the first three months of 1989, economic growth fell to 1.5%. South Africa's gold and foreign exchange reserves were actually worth less than its short-term debts…" [4]

Exercise 14.1 Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	Political developments inside South Africa had relatively little effect on the economic situation.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	By the 1980s, the South African regime had become an international pariah.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	In the 1960s and the 1970s, the South African government was able to largely ignore international opinion.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	From the mid-1980s, many foreign companies were pulling out of South Africa fearing possible losses because of the situation in the country.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	British and American banks remained firm backers of the South African government throughout the 1980s.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	President Reagan was a firm supporter of imposing sanctions against South Africa.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	By the end of the 1980s, the value of the South African rand had depreciated greatly.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Despite its economic problems, South Africa was still able to maintain a strong economic growth rate.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	By the late 1980s, the South African economy was becoming more closely tied to the economies of its immediate neighbours.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	As a major producer of gold in the world, South Africa never had to worry about its gold and foreign exchange reserve situation.	TRUE/ FALSE

4 Lodge, T, Resistance and Reform, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, p 480

Notes

Chapter Fifteen
Political and social factors

Any discussion of the political factors leading to the end of apartheid must involve the actions of the key figures. Amidst the chaos and mayhem that was South Africa in the second half of the 1980s and into the 1990s, ANC and government leaders slowly edged their way towards a negotiated end of apartheid. This aspect of the story will be the focus of Chapter Sixteen. This chapter will focus more on the political and social elements working to weaken and ultimately bring down the apartheid system.

No event in history is ever inevitable; just because something happened does not mean that it was meant happen. Hindsight can lead us into such thinking. However, as was explained in Chapter Fourteen, it is difficult to see how the apartheid regime could survive against the international and economic onslaught that it faced in the 1980s. As will be explained below, South Africa was becoming almost ungovernable by the late 1980s.

The government's 'total national strategy' [1] attempted to strengthen and maintain the apartheid system with a combination of repression and reform. As the security forces engaged in a program of covert action and assassinations, often beyond the borders of South Africa, in November 1983, the white electorate accepted the introduction of a new constitution. Under this new set up, there would be three houses of parliament – one for whites, one for coloureds and one for Indians. Critics attacked the new system as just another way of excluding the black majority in the country from a meaningful political role and owning land. [2]

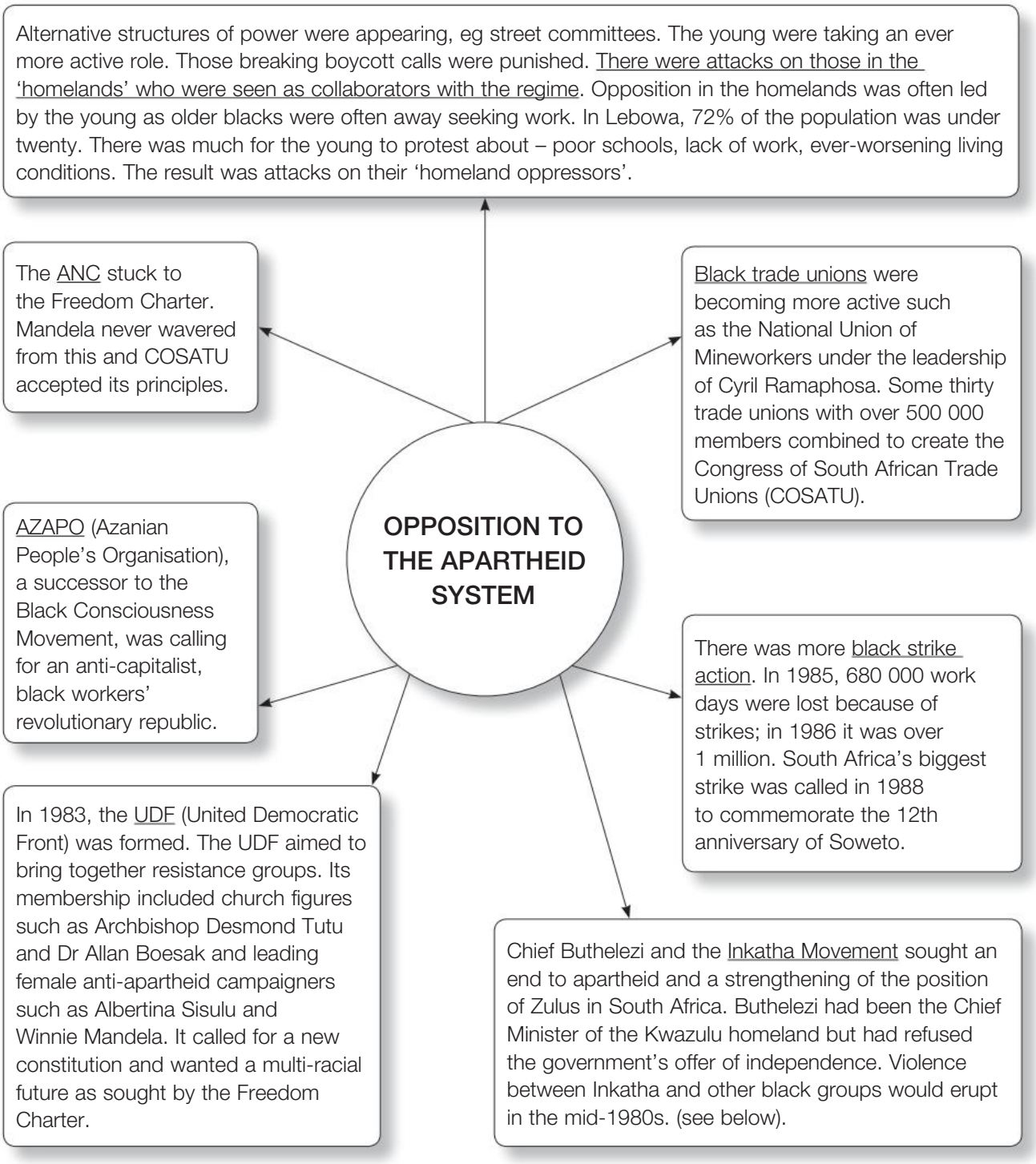
- Appeals were made to coloureds and Indians not to get involved.
- As the first members of the new 'houses' were being sworn in, mass protests were occurring in the townships against rent and living cost increases:
  - symbols of white power such as government buildings, the police and even their homes were being attacked;
  - many workers protested by staying at home;
  - school students' attendance fell;

Soon the protests were spreading across the whole country. In April 1985, the ANC issued the call to *"Make apartheid unworkable! Make the country ungovernable!"*

As violent opposition spread across the country, and as government repression escalated, local and township governance was beginning to break down. Opposition to the apartheid system was becoming more intense and taking on various forms. This development is outlined in Figure 15.1.

1 See Chapter Ten.
2 The government's riposte to this was to argue that blacks had the opportunity of a meaningful political role in 'their independent homelands'.

Figure 15.1 Development of opposition to apartheid in the mid-1980s



In June 1985, an ANC conference of 250 delegates was held at Kabwe in Zambia, the first since the Morogoro Conference in 1969.

The conference discussed:

- plans for the future direction of the ANC
- elected a new National Executive Committee
- opened membership to all racial groups.

Kabwe reaffirmed the Freedom Charter but it also now called for a commitment to a People's War and an expansion of guerrilla operations. There was a call to bring 'young militants' under MK leadership. To use the terminology of the time, *the risen masses* should be transformed into *organised groups of combatants* and placed under an externally trained *officer corps*:

- attacks against the regime increased;
- in 1985 there had been 136; in 1986, there were 228;
- however, the ANC structures in the South Africa were weak and unable to fully supply support to the guerrilla operations and intensify the armed struggle.

The survival of the regime was never really threatened by the increased attacks.

However, violence in South Africa in the second half of the 1980s and into the 1990s, was not only a matter of the regime versus its black opponents. There was also violence within the black community, particularly in Kwazulu:

- there had long been rivalry between the ANC (and later the UDF) and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement;
  - the ANC accused Buthelezi of being a government stooge;
  - Buthelezi accused the ANC of targeting him for assassination;
- when the UDF targeted local authorities in Kwazulu, many staffed by Inkatha members, Inkatha sought a closer link with the security forces;
  - it attacked those seen as ANC and UDF supporters. There were many deaths.
  - This violence continued into the 1990s.
- There were also clashes between the ANC and AZAPO.

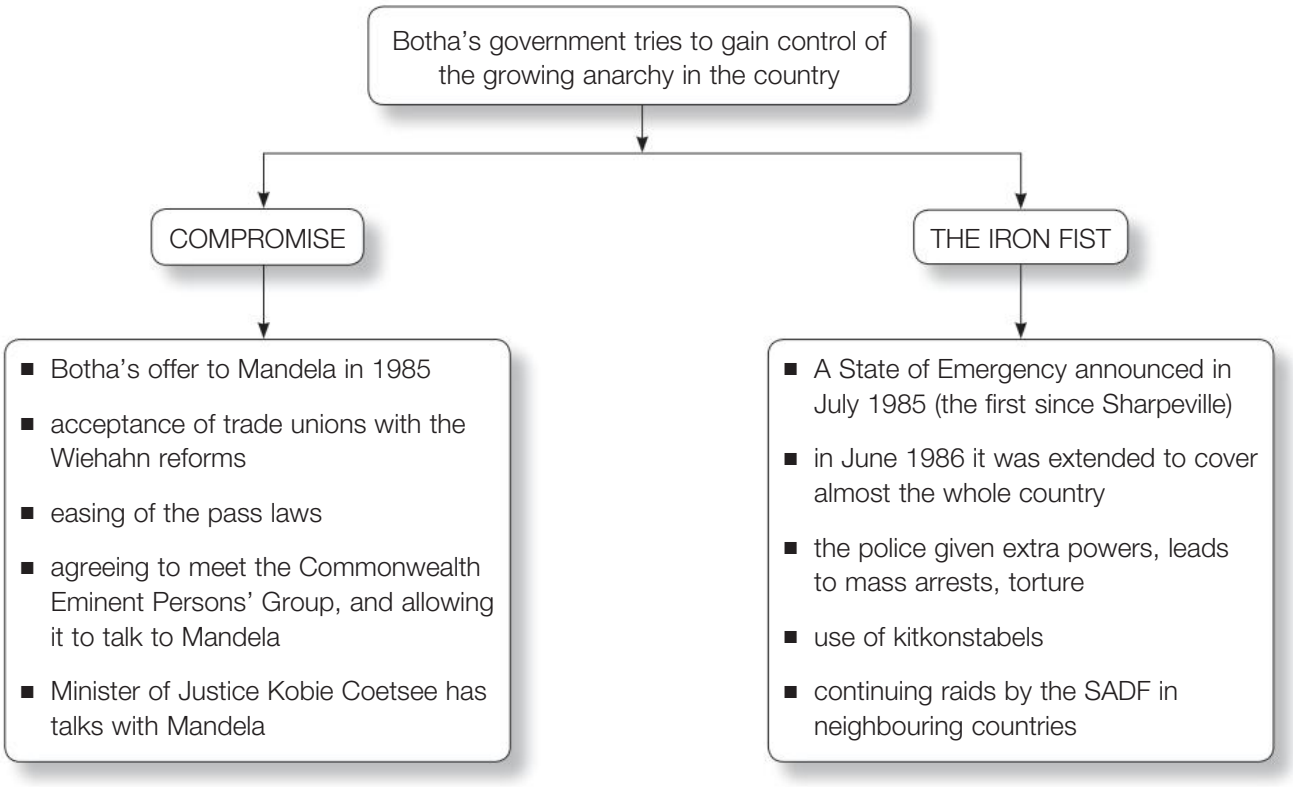
Whites argued that this would be the future of South Africa under majority rule. [3]

In the face of the growing violence, P W Botha [4] contacted Mandela and offered him release from prison for a renunciation of violence. Mandela refused the offer. He replied that ANC violence was only a response to government actions. [5] The situation in the country continued to deteriorate. At a funeral procession at Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape, 21 people were killed. There were more instances of "necklacing". The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, stated that the country was on *the edge of anarchy*.

The response from the government was mixed. The opposition was not strong enough to bring down the government; however, the government was unable to stem the violence and bring the country under control. And this was happening against the background of the steady deterioration of the South African economy and pressure from the international community. [6] Figure 15.2 outlines this mixed response from the apartheid regime.

3 The TRC would later identify Inkatha as being 'the dominant perpetrator' of human rights violations in the homelands.
4 P W Botha was Prime Minister 1978-1984, and first executive State President 1984-89.
5 See historians section at the end of this chapter.
6 See Chapter Fourteen.

Figure 15.2 Government responses in the later 1980s



Government actions could not stem the breakdown occurring inside (and outside) the country.

- The strike movement grew, the People's War campaign continued with 281 attacks in 1988.
- The UDF was able to expand its local organisations by establishing people's courts, youth groups and organising rent strikes. The PAC's African People's Liberation Army (APLA), the successor to Poqo, initiated a new program of attacks.
- Funerals became a form of mass protest with the usual violent response from the security forces.
- In 1987 and 1988, security forces bombed the headquarters of COSATU and the South African Council of Churches.
  - At the time, the government denied any involvement in most of these activities.
  - However, security force figures admitted to being involved in testimony to the TRC years later.
- In December 1987, there was a coup in the homeland of Transkei. Bantu Holomisa, head of the Transkei armed forces seized power.
  - He was an ANC supporter.
- In early 1988, the SADF suffered a major military setback at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola. Botha ordered the SADF out of the country and this was soon followed by the beginning of independence talks for Namibia. [7]

7 See Chapter Twelve.

Against this backdrop, the National Party was splitting.

- In 1968, some members of the party broke away to create the Herstigte (Reformed) National Party. Its supporters were known as verkramptes, the narrow ones. They wanted only a pure apartheid.
- In 1982, Anders Treurnicht led eighteen MPs into a new Conservative Party (CP). It opposed concessions that were proposed for Indians and coloureds. Treurnicht argued that the government's concessions were the thin edge of the wedge which would eventually lead to black power.
- Another far-right Afrikaner group was the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging – AWB), formed in 1979. With its flags, uniforms, ceremonies and demands for white separateness, some saw similarities with how the Nazi movement was organised.

The National Party was not in danger of losing electoral power but it was suffering. In the 1987 election, the party gained 122 seats but the Conservative Party had gained 22, and 26% of the vote. Perhaps more importantly, the CP had 37% of the Afrikaner vote.

Exercise 15.1 Match the person on the right with description on the left

1	State President 1984-89		CHIEF BUTHELEZI
2	Major figure in the UDF		P W BOTHA
3	Head of the Inkatha Movement		CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
4	Formed the Conservative Party		DESMOND TUTU
5	Head of the National Union of Mineworkers		ANDERS TREURNICHT

Exercise 15.2 Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	What parliamentary set-up did the 1983 constitution provide for?	
2	What was the COSATU?	
3	What was the aim of AZAPO?	
4	What two key aims did the UDF share with the ANC?	
5	Where did the ANC hold its major conference in June 1985?	
6	What happened to the level of black guerrilla operations in the 1980s?	
7	Which two groups did Inkatha attack in the late 1980s/ early 1990s?	
8	What contradictory responses did the government employ in face of the growing violence in the 1980s?	
9	What happened in the Transkei in December 1987?	
10	What was the Afrikaner Resistance Movement?	

Nelson Mandela on approaches made to him in the 1980s

As the apartheid regime seemed to be sinking deeper into economic meltdown, greater international isolation and political violence, it put out feelers to Nelson Mandela. This was not because it had given up hope of maintaining apartheid. Instead, it hoped to persuade Mandela to call off violent protest. South Africa was at an impasse. The government was strong enough to hold on to its power but the country was reaching a state of ungovernability. The opposition was able to cause disruption and chaos, but was not strong enough to overthrow the regime.

In January 1985 Botha offered Mandela the possibility of freedom. However, this would only happen if Mandela *'unconditionally rejected violence as political instrument'.* This offer was made in a parliamentary debate. Botha challenged Mandela by saying that it was not the government that stood in the way of Mandela's freedom, *'It is he himself'.* Mandela sought a means to reply to Botha. He wanted to assure his ANC colleagues, and Oliver Tambo in particular that his loyalty to the organisation was never in question. He would not betray the ANC just to gain his personal freedom. However, he did want to show Botha that *'negotiation, not war, was the path to a solution'*.

Mandela's response to Botha's offer was read out to a crowd of supporters on Sunday 10 February 1985. It would be the first time that anyone had heard Mandela's words legally for over twenty years. His daughter, Zindzi, spoke his words. Mandela made the point that though he cherished his freedom, how could he accept it after all the suffering his people had been through? What type of freedom would it be when the ANC was still banned and he could be arrested at any time for a pass violation? He concluded:

"…Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts… I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return…" [8]

In 1986, Mandela held talks with the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee. Mandela was impressed with Coetsee, and was struck by *'his sophistication and willingness to listen'*. Mandela saw Coetsee's questions as *'getting to the heart'* of divisions between the government and the ANC. It was a while before a response from the government was received but Mandela believed *'In ghostly outline, I saw the beginnings of a compromise'*. [9]

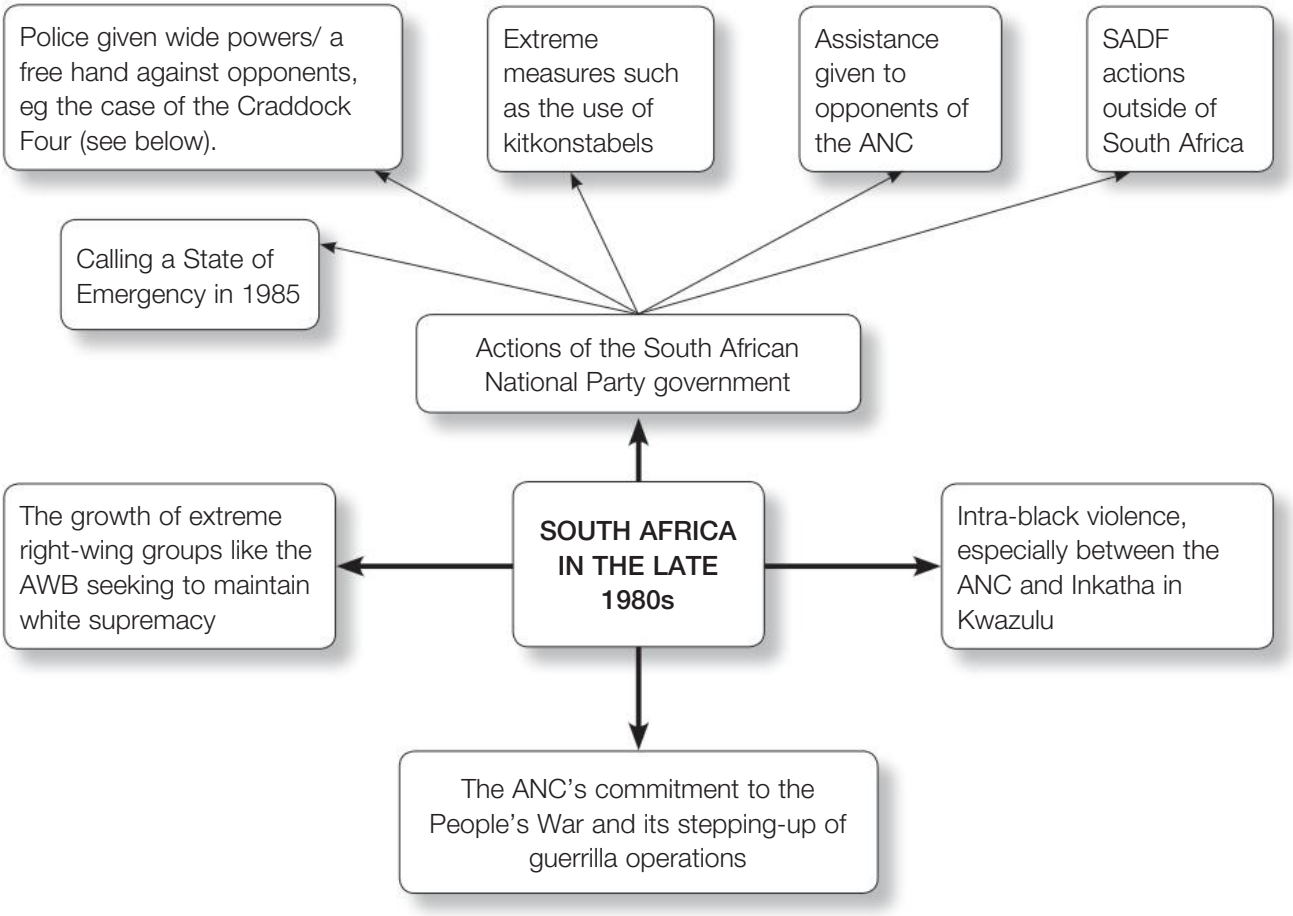
8 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 511
9 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 519

Notes

Chapter Sixteen
Transition to democracy

In the mid-1980s, few people would have been predicting that within less than a decade Nelson Mandela would be President of South Africa and that apartheid would have become a thing of the past. There were certainly long-term forces operating that could bring apartheid down – economics, international factors, demography. [1] However, South Africa looked more like it was on the point of exploding into carnage. Full-scale, bloody civil war was entirely possible. Figure 16.1 summarises the situation that was developing in the country.

Figure 16.1 South Africa in the late 1980s



The Craddock Four: The abduction and murder of "the Craddock Four" is one example of the Botha government's extreme efforts to crush popular resistance. Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli were activists for the UDF. They had been arrested and tortured by the police on several occasions. On 27 June 1985, they were abducted, shot, stabbed and their bodies burnt and mutilated to appear as a case of necklacing. The police denied responsibility. In 1998, five officers of the Port Elizabeth Security Police finally admitted to the crime when they applied for amnesty for the killings.

1 See Chapters Fourteen and Fifteen.

Behind the scenes

However, dire though the situation was in the country, there were moves taking place 'behind the scenes'. Reference was made in Chapter Fifteen to Mandela's communications with the regime. The government was willing to allow the Commonwealth Eminent Person's Group to enter the country and talk to various parties. Other meetings were also occurring:

- in September 1985 there were secret meetings between the ANC, church figures, white business and community people;
  - such meetings took place outside the country as the ANC was banned;
  - Gavin Reilly, chairman of 'Anglo-American' which controlled half the companies on the Johannesburg stock exchange, met ANC leader Oliver Tambo;
- for three days in August 1987, 61 whites, mostly Afrikaners, led by the Progressive Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, met an ANC group of 17 led by Thabo Mbeki;
  - Mbeki spoke highly of van Zly Slabbert, calling him a pioneer who was paving the way for a negotiated settlement while the country was on the verge of exploding;
- There were further meetings in 1989 in Switzerland between ANC and South African leaders. More meetings followed in Lusaka (Zambia):
  - so frequent did some of these meeting become, the South African media began referring to "the great trek to Lusaka".

National Party leader Botha was really the last of the totally committed apartheid leaders. Though he introduced some reforms, such as the end of the ban on mixed marriages, and though he did make contact with Mandela, he was rigid. He never gave up on the desire to maintain separateness. When talks did occur between Mandela and National Party figures, the National Party's real aim was to try and pull Mandela away from the exiled leadership, and to blunt the strength of the ANC.

This did not work. Mandela relates in his autobiography that when he spoke to NP figures, he had to educate them. He tells how he compared the Afrikaner rebellion against the British in 1914 to the actions of the ANC. He said that as in 1914, the current situation was a case of 'brother against brother', except this time the brothers had different colours.

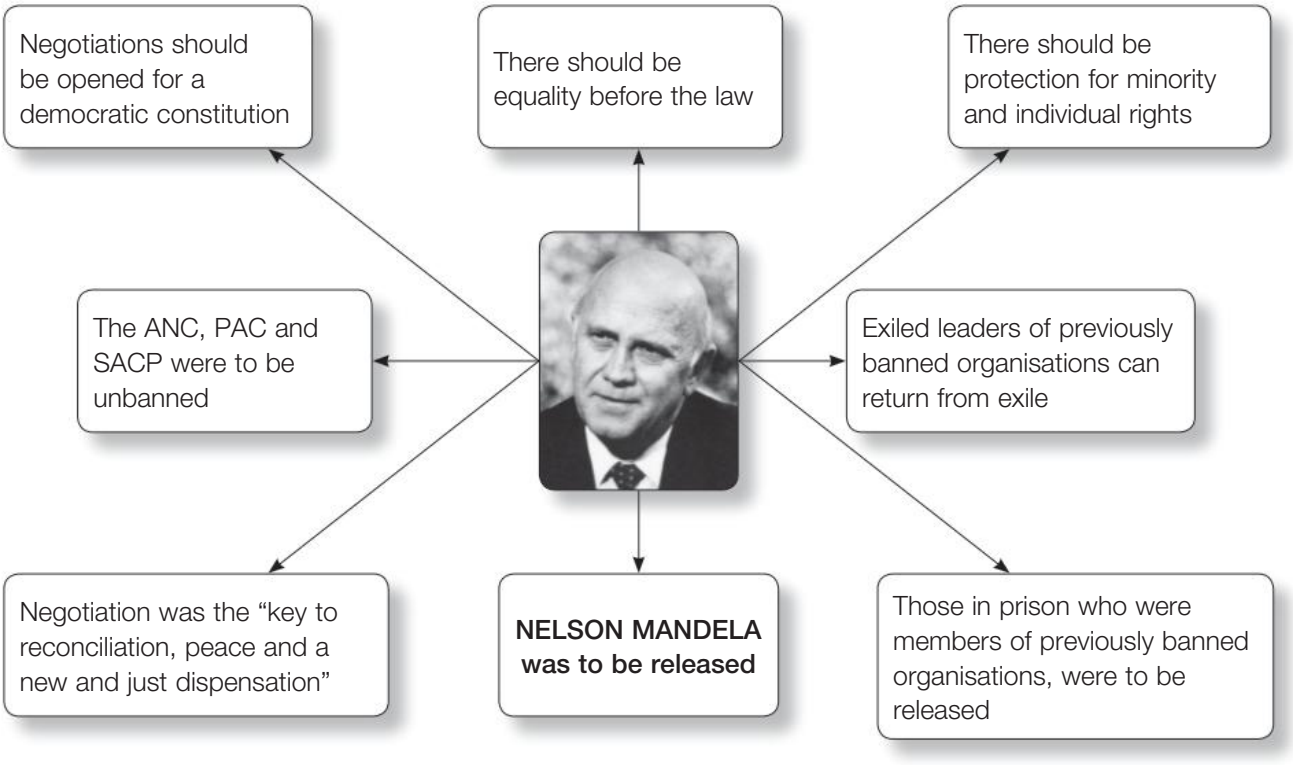
F W De Klerk

In 1989, Botha suffered a stroke. His incapacitation led to the rise to power of F W De Klerk who had been Botha's Minister of Internal Affairs.

- De Klerk seemed to be little different to previous apartheid leaders.
- At the time of the introduction of the new constitution, De Klerk said that the aim of the government was *"the preservation of every group to self-determination"*; his faith in apartheid seemed unquestioned.
- At the time, Mandela described De Klerk as *'a cipher'*.

However, he was to surprise the country and the world. On 2 February 1990, De Klerk gave a speech which changed the whole situation in the country. [2] De Klerk said that it was time for a negotiated understanding with all of South Africa's leading figures. Figure 16.2 outlines some of the main points of De Klerk speech.

Figure 16.2 The main points of De Klerk's 2 February 1990 speech.



On 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela walked free from prison.

- For millions of South Africans, it was an extraordinarily emotional day.
- At 71, Mandela was unbent; he felt his life was beginning anew.
- In a speech in March, he declared that his aim was not merely to end apartheid but also to transform South Africa into a real democracy.
  - In the same month, he went to Lusaka to meet ANC leaders:
  - he assured them that he was not weakened or changed, and that he remained firmly committed to ANC goals;
  - he became Deputy President of the ANC but was now effective leader as Oliver Tambo had suffered a stroke.

2 See Nelson's Mandela's view of the speech in the historians section at the end of the chapter.

Exercise 16.1 Use the terms in the box below to complete this passage.

In the mid-1980s, some commentators believed that South Africa might descend into full-scale _____. The government declared a _____ in 1985, the _____ was operating outside of the country, and it was assisting _____ in KwaZulu in its conflict with the ANC. Extreme right-wing groups like the _____ were appearing. Meanwhile, the ANC reaffirmed its commitment to a _____. The murder and abduction of the _____ epitomised the nature of the violence at the time.

Some efforts at talks were occurring often in the Zambian capital, _____. The _____ Eminent Persons Group was also allowed entry to talk to the various parties. In 1989, _____ suffered a stroke and was replaced by _____. De Klerk seemed little _____ to other NP leaders, but he surprised the world in February 1990 with a major _____. He called for _____, _____ organisations that had been illegal, and most significantly _____ was released from prison.

LUSAKA – SADF – SPEECH – MANDELA – CIVIL WAR – UNBANNED – BOTHA – COMMONWEALTH – TALKS – INKATHA – DIFFERENT – AWB – STATE OF EMERGENCY – F W DE KLERK – PEOPLE'S WAR – CRADDOCK FOUR

Negotiation, breakdown and near civil war

Talks began between the ANC and the government; power-sharing was discussed.

- De Klerk repealed the remaining key apartheid laws such as the Separate Amenities Act, the Natives Land Act and the Group Areas Act.
- However, while this was happening, the country was becoming enveloped in ever-increasing violence.
- Mandela attacked De Klerk for not controlling the violence, though many believed at the time that De Klerk was not fully in control of his own people.
- Mandela felt that he could not trust De Klerk, and that De Klerk had introduced reforms not as a step towards giving up power but as a means for ensuring power for the Afrikaner.

Violence continued across the country.

- In March 1990 came the Sebokeng Massacre. A large pro-ANC crowd was attempting to march from the township of Sebokeng towards a white area of Johannesburg. Panicking police and armed white civilians shot into the crowd, killing 11 and injuring 400.
- In 1990, an underground network led by Mac Maharaj [3] was discovered. It was secretly bringing arms into the country with the aim of attempting a forceful overthrow of the government if talks led nowhere.

3 SACP member and member of the ANC National Executive from 1985.

- Anti-ANC forces in the country had not given up. In 1990 alone, up to 3700 deaths were reported.
- There were ongoing violent clashes between ANC supporters and Inkatha:
  - suspicions were high that anti-ANC groups were being helped covertly by the security forces;
  - De Klerk appointed Justice Louis Harms to investigate;
  - he reported in November 1990 but no individual was named and there were no prosecutions.
- On the far right, the AWB led by Ferdi Hartzenberg and Eugene Terre' Blanche, was threatening a violent uprising if power was shared with the ANC and the franchise extended to the black population.

CODESA

Formal constitutional talks finally commenced in December 1991 at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). The talks were immediately plagued by mistrust, accusations, counter-accusations and demands from all sides:

- De Klerk attacked Mandela for not disbanding MK;
- Mandela said he would not get rid of MK until the ANC was part of an interim government and there was multi-racial control of the armed forces;
- De Klerk faced much opposition from his own people;
  - in November 1991 the National Party lost several bi-elections to the Conservative Party;
  - though a whites-only referendum voted 69% to continuing talks;
- Mandela's supporters were demanding immediate one person, one vote;
- Inkatha demanded a special deal for Kwazulu;
- Would the AWB assassinate Mandela?

With the ANC displaying signs of division, the National Party slowed down the pace of talks. The ANC was convinced that the security forces were helping Inkatha against it, and rumours were spreading of a "disrupting third force". Mandela accused De Klerk of prolonging the negotiating process, of seeking an ultimate white veto and of ignoring the security forces' assistance to Inkatha. Believing that the talks were going nowhere, the ANC walked out of CODESA in mid-1992.

In June 1992, there was another massacre at the Boipatong township, south west of Johannesburg. 46 people were killed by a group of Zulu migrant workers. Witnesses stated that the workers were Inkatha supporters. The police did nothing to stop the attack and did not pursue an investigation. De Klerk visited Boipatong a few days later on a sympathy visit. An angry crowd received him and he was forced to leave. Three more people were shot dead by police in this confrontation.

The situation continued to deteriorate:

- The ANC suspended talks with the government. In August 1992, COSATU launched mass industrial action with a 48-hour strike.
- In September 1992, there was another mass killing. There was an ANC march on Bisho, capital of the Ciskei Bantustan. Ciskei's dictator's troops opened fire on the crowd with machine guns as they edged closer to the border. 28 people were killed and 200 were wounded.
- Violence increased in Natal between ANC Zulus and Inkatha Zulus.
- In April 1993, Chris Hani was assassinated. He was killed outside his home in Boksburg, east of Johannesburg, by a far-right wing group. Hani was the leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Some saw Hani as a possible successor to Mandela once majority rule had arrived.

Supporters of the regime were beginning to realise that their hold on power was nearing an end. White supremacy could not be maintained by fiddling with the negotiating process. The government began a process of privatisation of state assets so as to prevent them falling into black hands. From late 1992, the mass destruction of official state records kept by the army, the police and the various security services began.

Closing in on an agreement

With civil war a real possibility, De Klerk and Mandela signed a Record of Understanding in late 1992 to restart constitutional talks. A deal was finally reached by November 1993:

- there would be a one person, one vote election in April 1994;
- parliament would have 400 MPs, based on proportional representation;
- there would be a government of national unity for five years;
- the President would be elected by the new MPs;
- any party with more than 80 seats would have a Deputy President;
- any party with 5% of the national vote would have a position in government;
- nine new provinces would replace the old provinces and the Bantustans.

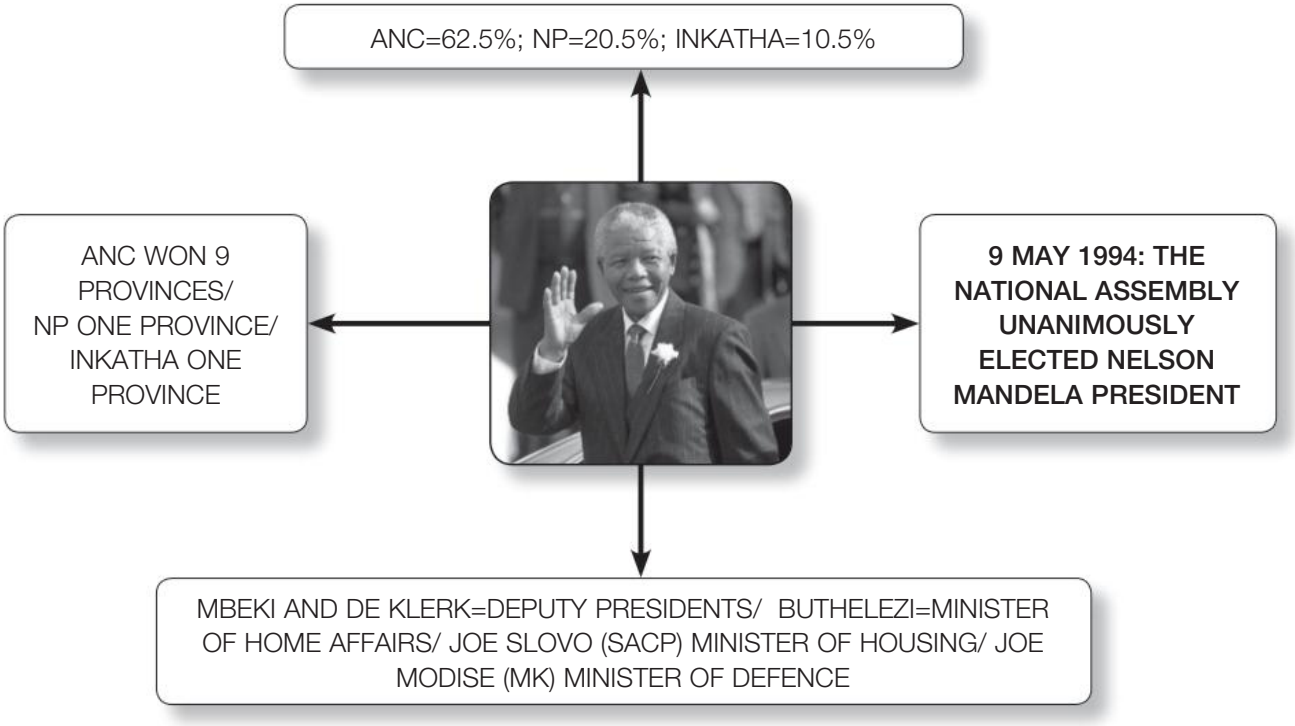
However, even now the violence did not subside. Various white, right-wing groups were appearing such as the Freedom Front (Volksfront) led by former armed services chief, Constand Viljoen. Viljoen later told the TRC that he was planning a white coup in 1994. The AWB continued its bombing campaign.

In March 1994, an extreme right-wing group mobilised to assist Lucas Mangope. Mangope was the leader of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan, and he was refusing to allow his people to vote in the upcoming election in an attempt to hold on to his power. 20 000 civil servants went on strike and soon order was breaking down. AWB men drove to the capital, Mmabatho, and started firing randomly at blacks they believed were ANC supporters. The Bophuthatswana army mutinied and the AWB attack was ended in a humiliating fashion. It was the last hurrah for white extremism. Soon after the Bophuthatswana episode, various conservative groups and Inkatha announced their intention to participate in the election.

The election of 1994

The 1994 election lasted for four days, beginning on 26 April. Black, coloured, Indian people voted for the first time along with white people. There were long queues at polling states and the vote went ahead surprisingly peacefully, considering the awful violence which had been a feature of South African life in the previous few years. 91% of registered voters cast a vote. Figure 16.3 summarises the outcome.

Figure 16.3 The 1994 Election



In 1993, Nelson Mandela was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, jointly with F W De Klerk. In his acceptance speech he spoke highly of De Klerk, despite the differences that they had had, and the earlier criticisms he had made of him:

"…He had the courage to admit that a terrible wrong had been done to our country and people through the imposition of apartheid. He had the foresight to understand and accept that all the people of South Africa must, through negotiations and as equal participants in the process, together determine what they want to make of their future…"

Exercise 16.2 Place the following events in the correct chronological order.

1st event		THE BOIPATONG MASSACRE
2nd event		MURDER OF THE CRADDOCK FOUR
3rd event		NELSON MANDELA FREED FROM PRISON
4th event		SOUTH AFRICA'S FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTION
5th event		THE SEBOKENG MASSACRE
6th event		NELSON MANDELA BECOMES PRESIDENT
7th event		THE BISHO MARCH MASSACRE
8th event		F W DE KLERK SUCCEEDS BOTHA AS NP LEADER
9th event		THE AWB ATTACK ON BOPHUTHATSWANA
10th event		TALKS BEGIN AT CODESA

What do the historians say about "Transition to democracy"?

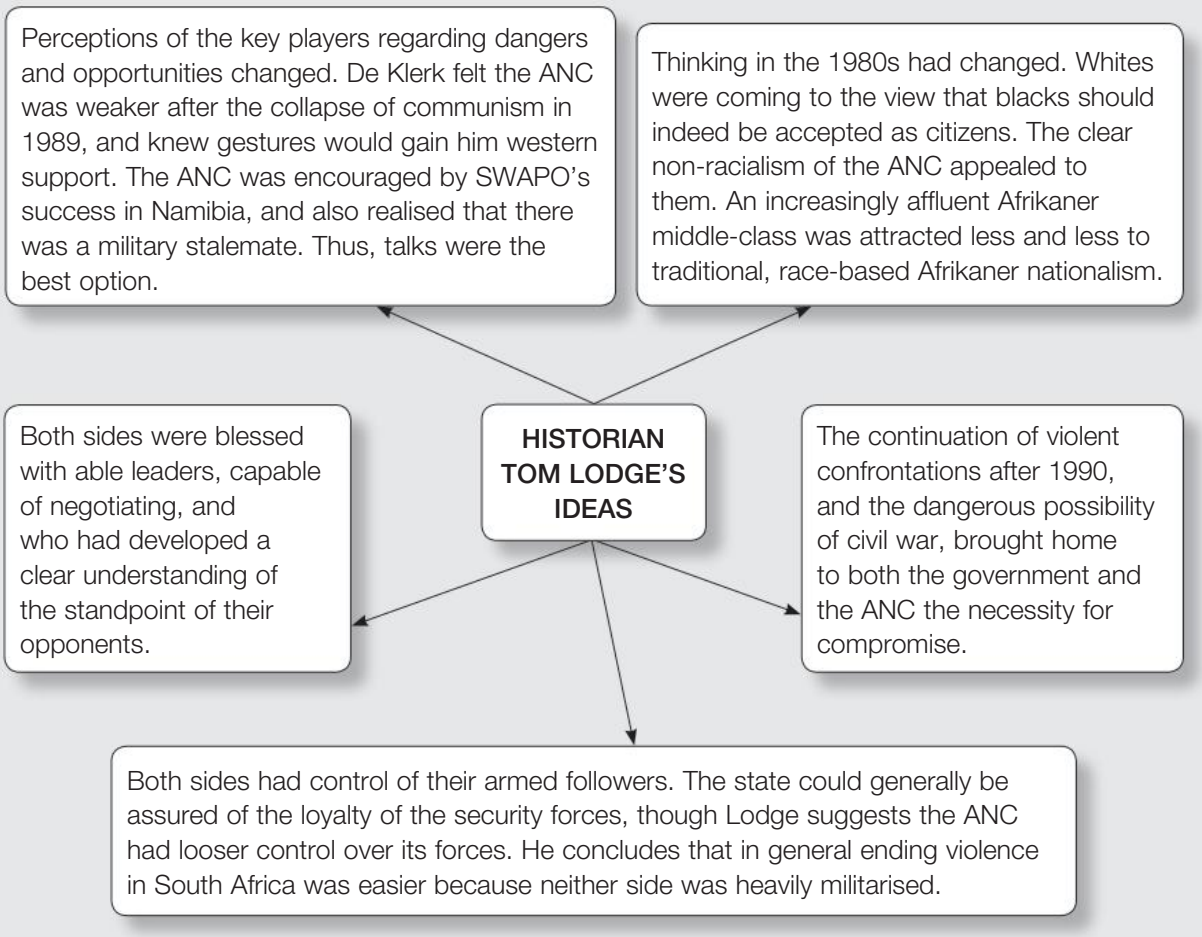
1. Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela had no illusions about F W De Klerk. The negotiations between the government and the ANC had been arduous, and broke down more than once. Mandela was not naïve enough to believe that after forty years of apartheid and National Party rule, an Afrikaner politician like De Klerk would have changed overnight. However, Mandela did recognise the significance of De Klerk's speech on 2 February 1990. Mandela now knew the ANC was legal, he and his comrades could not be arrested for being part of the ANC and for the first time in decades, Mandela was able to speak and have his words heard and read.

"…It was a breathtaking moment, for in one sweeping action he had virtually normalised the situation in South Africa. Our world had changed overnight…" [4]

2. Tom Lodge

Lodge argues that there were five key considerations that made the transition to democracy possible. Figure 16.4 outlines his view. [5]



4 Mandela, N, Long Walk to Freedom, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994, p 546

5 For the detail of these views, see: Lodge, T, Resistance and Reform, in The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2 1885-1994, CUP, Cambridge, 2011, pp 481-6

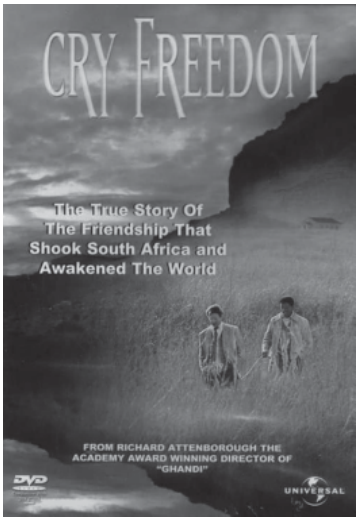
Notes

Chapter Seventeen
"Cry Freedom"

Introduction

The film *Cry Freedom* was released in 1987. The film was directed by Richard Attenborough (who had previously directed the film *Gandhi*). The screenplay was by John Briley, following books written by Donald Woods, *"Biko"* and *"Asking for Trouble"*. The film stars Denzel Washington as Steve Biko, Kevin Kline as Donald Woods, Penelope Wilton as Wendy Woods and Josette Simon as Dr Ramphele.

- The film deals with the activities and death of Steve Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, [1] and his relationship with the white newspaper editor Donald Woods.
- The first half of the film focusses primarily on Steve Biko, his ideas on 'Black Consciousness' and the nature of the apartheid regime.
- The second half of the film deals with the escape of Woods and his family from South Africa, pursued by the South African security forces.



The film works on several levels. It is a Hollywood movie, made for entertainment, and it was expected to make money at the box office, which it did. *Cry Freedom* was nominated for three Academy Awards. It evolves into an exciting thriller. The acting is first rate, and the cinematography and art direction deserved the plaudits it gained at the time. Thus, the film is worth watching just "as a movie".

Cry Freedom is not a history documentary. The director and writer clearly wish to make a point about the violence and injustices of the apartheid regime. We are meant to admire Steve Biko and Donald Woods. We are meant to be disgusted by the behaviour of the security forces.

However, as Hollywood movies on historical subjects go, it can lay claim to significant historical accuracy. [2]

1 See Chapter Nine.

2 For a consideration of the issue of Cry Freedom's historical accuracy, students might take a look at: https://ourcryforfreedom.wordpress.com/2012/11/13/truthbetold/

The film manages to capture many important aspects of the apartheid regime and attitudes of the time. These include:

- the squalor in which most black South Africans were forced to live;
- residential laws and forced removals to the homelands;
- the violence of the security forces;
- the impact of apartheid legislation;
- the attitude of the white authorities to black South Africans
- the role of Steve Biko and his explanation of 'black consciousness;
- Donald Woods relationship with Steve Biko and its consequences.

Advice to teachers

- The film has an "PG" rating, and so there should be no problem showing it at school, though teachers may check to get clearance to show the film.
  - There is violence in the film but it is unlikely that students who are studying this topic will be shocked or surprised by what is going on.
  - This is apartheid South Africa in the 1970s after all. (And the computer games many students play certainly would be far more graphic).
- It is not a good idea to start the topic *"Apartheid in South Africa 1960-1994"* by showing the film. Indeed, it is not a good idea to show it before the section *"Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement"* has been studied. The film is complex and students will only truly gain from a viewing if they already have good background knowledge.
- It may not be a good idea to show the film in one go. It is about two and a half hours long. It might be better to show it in three or four segments. However, teachers know their classes and can judge how to view the film.
- The following **study guide** is broken down into specific scenes and might assist teachers in planning their lessons on this topic. The study guide is fairly detailed.
  - For some teachers it may be too detailed and they may choose to use only part of it. Alternatively, it can be used fully as a useful revision tool.
  - Teachers might divide their class up and allocate certain scenes to certain students for each part of the viewing.
  - Another strategy for using the film would be to debrief with the class after each part of the viewing to discuss the various questions.

Advice to students

- Encourage your teacher to show the film in class.
- If you cannot watch it in class, watch it at home but not until you are well into the topic.
  - The DVD can be easily obtained from online stores and it might be available on a streaming service such as Netflix.

STUDY GUIDE:

24 November 1975: Crossroads Settlement, Cape Province, South Africa

1. Comment on the living conditions within the settlement camp.

2. What was the purpose of the raid by the police?

3. What did the radio broadcast say about the police action? Why do you think such an understated description was given of the police action?

4. What happened to the settlement camp once the people had been removed?

Newspaper editor Donald Woods meets Steve Biko

5. What is Donald Woods' early view of Steve Biko? Why is he so opposed to the ideas of Steve Biko?

6. Why does Donald Woods not meet Steve Biko in the church which is being used as a black community centre?

7. What is special about Zanempilo?

8. When Woods and Biko are together, what does Biko say about:

   (1) how a black man should regard himself?

   (2) township life?

   (3) the irrelevance of being smart or dumb for a black man in South Africa?

(1)

(2)

(3)

9. What does Biko say is the real genius of the white man?

At the football game

10. At the football match: what massacre of the previous year is referred to? What does Biko say blacks must never feel about themselves?

Biko and the police/ the court room scene

11. A paid informant betrays Biko to the police. What is the attitude of the police to Biko, in particular that of Captain de Wet? Why does de Wet use the term "kaffir" when addressing Biko?

12. The prosecutor accuses Biko of promoting violence. Biko counters by referring to the state's "naked terrorism". To what is he referring?

The church raid and Donald Woods' visit to Minister of Police, Jimmy Kruger

13. What happens to the community centre? Who is behind the action?

14. Woods visits Kruger at his home. Kruger gives Woods a 'history lesson'. What point is he trying to make about the role of Afrikaner people in South Africa's past?

15. What ominous thing does Kruger say about the attitude of white South Africa?

Police pressure increases on Woods

16. Why is Woods facing a possible six-month prison term?

17. Why are the police searching Biko's house? What do they hope to find?

18. Why do the police 'visit' Woods' maid? Comment on the police attitude towards her.

19. Woods has employed two black journalists. What happens to the one who was arrested?

Biko's visit to Cape Town and its aftermath

20. What happens to Biko on 18 August 1977?

21. How is Biko treated? What happens to him on 11 September 1977?

22. What is announced on 12 September 1977?

23. How does Minister of Police Kruger feel about Biko's death? What reason does he give for the death? What is the reaction of his white audience?

24. Why is Woods insistent on seeing Biko's body at the mortuary?

25. Comment on Biko's funeral.

26. What pressure does the government place on Woods?

27. After Woods is detained at the airport, he is placed under a 'banning order'. What does this mean? How would Woods' life to be affected by this?

28. What was really happening with the 'T-shirt incident'?

29. New Year's Eve 1977: What is Woods' plan of escape?

30. Describe the verdict of the inquest into Steve Biko's death?

31. Woods eventually makes it to Maseru in Lesotho. When he gets to the British High Commission, what does he ask for? How is he received?

32. Why is it so difficult (and dangerous) for Woods and his family to get to Botswana from Lesotho?

33. The film ends with scenes of black school children engaged in a major protest. When was this? Where? What were they protesting about? How does the South African police deal with the protest?

34. Identify some of the "reasons" given by the South African authorities for the deaths in custody which occurred between 1962 and 1987.

Responding to HSC questions on "Apartheid in South Africa 1960-1994"

Three-mark questions might be similar to the following:

- What happened at Sharpeville in March 1960?
- Describe the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).
- Who was Steve Biko?
- What was the purpose of the Bantustans?
- What is meant by the term apartheid?

What happened at Sharpeville in March 1960? (3)

Five minutes, a paragraph, provide three clear points – responses might include:

- Sharpeville was a black township, 50 kms south west of Johannesburg
- the PAC planned a major demonstration against pass laws there in March 1960
- a large crowd, estimates varying from 7000 to 20 000 reached Sharpeville police station
- either due to panicky, inexperienced young police, or deliberate intention, police opened fire on the crowd killing 69 and wounding 180

Four/ five-mark questions might be similar to the following:

- Describe the role of Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement.
- Describe the background of the Rivonia Trial and its aftermath.
- Describe the role of the South African security forces outside of South Africa.

Describe the background of the Rivonia Trial and its aftermath. (5)

About nine minutes, a paragraph or two, provide clear facts – response might include:

- the raid on Lilliesleaf Farm, police discover papers linking Mandela to MK
- trial ran from October 1963 to June 1964
- charges included pursuit of violent revolution
- prosecution sought the death penalty but world opinion mitigated against that
- Mandela's speech from the dock – give some details
- sentences/ hurt SA's reputation/ increasing isolation/ greatly weakened ANC

Eight-mark questions might be similar to the following:

- Explain the role of the South African security forces.
- Explain the development of the resistance to apartheid.

- Explain the nature of international responses to the policies of the South African government in the period to 1990.
- In what ways did South Africa's internal situation affect neighbouring countries?
- Explain the role of the Bantustans in the overall policy of apartheid.

Explain the nature of international responses to the policies of the South African government in the period to 1990. (8)

About fifteen minutes, treat as a mini-essay, needs a brief introduction, paragraphs

- international responses to South African policies varied over time, and were largely determined by changing perceptions on race relations and economics
- early days of apartheid – tolerance even acceptance of apartheid – many nations shared the racial thinking of many white South Africans
- as African/ Asian nations gained independence, and had a bigger say in the UN, OAU, international criticism of apartheid increased
- an anti-apartheid movement developed – pressure on sports people and entertainment personalities to boycott South Africa
- in 1960s and 1970s, western firms happy to invest and gain from low wages
- intolerance of racist thinking was isolating South Africa/ added to this the impact of the free Mandela campaign
- impact of the increase of violence in the 1980s/ brutality of the security forces/ call for sanctions against South Africa/ investors and banks pull out of the South African economy/ economic and social impact

Higher-mark questions might be similar to the following:

- To what extent was the collapse of apartheid the result of international factors?
- Assess the roles of Nelson Mandela and F W De Klerk in bringing an end to the apartheid system.
- Evaluate the role of economics in bringing an end to apartheid.
- Why was the National Party under F W De Klerk willing to enter negotiations with the ANC?
- Why did it prove so difficult to achieve the transition to democracy in South Africa?
- Why did apartheid ultimately fail?

To what extent was the collapse of apartheid the result of international factors?

About 27 minutes for a 15 mark question, about 21-23 minutes for a 12 mark question. Treat as a mini-essay, needs an introduction, and the response should incorporate the usual essay rules. Ensure that the introduction outlines the argument of the response.

In an earlier time when the world was less interconnected and many countries openly shared the racist thinking of South Africa, apartheid was under little international threat. However, as the world changed, international factors were to have a major impact on the regime. Being

unable to play rugby was disappointing, but the economic effect of international criticism and growing isolation, was making the apartheid regime unviable. International economic sanctions and the retreat from the country of many investors put an intolerable strain on the economy. However, the collapse of apartheid also owed much to black and white leadership, men like Mandela and De Klerk. Fundamentally, the times were changing, a white minority could not hold on to power unless it was willing to sustain massive repression, and white South Africans feared blacks as citizens less and less, and wanted to be accepted in the international family of nations.

- Comment on the early years when international pressure was not so great:
  - refer to shared thinking about race and segregation;
  - the royals still visited the country and sports teams were welcomed;
  - investors in South Africa gladly took advantage of low wage costs;
  - a booming economy was able to sustain apartheid to the early 1970s.
- But the *times they were a changin'*:
  - racist thinking, inequality, government-sanctioned discrimination were becoming unacceptable, even in the American South;
  - newly independent black nations were able to mobilise support against the apartheid regime;
  - South Africa's isolation could be seen in its departure from the Commonwealth and sporting boycotts;
- International pressures began to hurt the regime:
  - banks, investors, companies were pressured to not invest in the country;
  - sanctions were imposed on the country despite opposition from people like Reagan and Thatcher;
  - all this hurt the country's gold and foreign currency reserves, the value of the rand plummeted, unemployment and inflation rose;
  - but it still needed individuals to take the initiative to change things, men like Mandela who stuck to his principles despite his suffering, and like De Klerk who finally realised change had to come;
  - apartheid could only continue with massive repression, civil war was always a possibility, this was unacceptable to most thinking South Africans:
  - middle-class Afrikaners were no longer fearful of blacks as citizens, and government figures grew to see that ANC leaders like Mandela and Tambo were not dangerous communists but intelligent men with whom 'they could do business'

Clearly international factors played a major role in the collapse of apartheid as they gravely damaged the economy and led to the country's isolation. However, it needed individuals to act in good faith to bring the system to an end, and this against a background of changing attitudes.

Timeline

1899-1902	The Boer War between Britain and the Boers
1910	Establishment of the Union of South Africa. Louis Botha Prime Minister
1912	Formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC)
1913	The Natives' Land Act
1918	Birth of Nelson Mandela
1919	Jan Smuts becomes Prime Minister
1921	Formation of the Communist Party of South Africa
1923	The SANNC becomes the ANC (African National Congress)
1924	Hertzog becomes Prime Minister
1929	Wall St Crash; start of the Great Depression
1934	Formation of the Purified National Party under Daniel Malan
1939	Smuts becomes Prime Minister for a second time
1939-45	World War II
1944	Formation of the Congress Youth League
1948	Report of the Fagan Committee. Report of the Sauer Committee
	Daniel Malan's National Party win the general election
1949	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act
	ANC Program of Action
1950	Population Registration Act
	Suppression of Communism Act
1952	Abolition of Passes Act
	Defiance Campaign
1953	Separate Amenities Act
1954	J G Strijdom becomes Prime Minister
1955	Freedom Charter
1956	The Women's March organised by the Federation of African Women
1957-61	The Treason Trial
1958	Hendrik Verwoerd becomes Prime Minister
1959	Promotion of the Bantu Self-government Act
	Formation of the PAC (Pan African Congress)
1960	British Prime Minister Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' speech
	The Sharpeville Massacre
	The ANC and PAC are banned
1961	Formation of 'Umkhonto we Sizwe' or 'Spear of the Nation' (MK)
	South Africa leaves the Commonwealth
1962	Nelson Mandela arrested
1963-64	Rivonia Trial
	Transkei is granted self-government
1964	Mandela entered Robben Island
1965	Rhodesia announces its Unilateral Declaration of Independence
1966	Assassination of Hendrik Verwoerd
	The UN declares apartheid policies crimes against humanity
1968-69	The D'Oliveira Affair

1969	The Morogoro Conference
	Formation of BOSS -Bureau of State Security
	The Lusaka Manifesto
1970	Formation of the South African Students Organisation
1971	Formation of the Black Peoples Convention
	South Africa is excluded from International Cricket
1974	Revolution in Portugal.
	Portugal soon loses control of Angola and Mozambique
1976	The Soweto Rising
	Transkei becomes 'independent'
1977	Steve Biko is murdered by police officers while in detention
	The Gleneagles Agreement
1970s-80s	Government's 'total national strategy'
1979	Formation of the AWB
1980	Johannesburg Sunday Post initiates a free Mandela campaign
1980s	The campaign to free Mandela becomes global
1982	Formation of the Conservative Party
1983	Introduction of the new constitution
	Formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF)
1985	Financial crisis in South Africa
	The ANC's conference at Kabwe in Zambia
	Botha's prison release offer to Mandela
	Declaration of a State of Emergency
	Murder of the Craddock Four
1986	US economic sanctions on South Africa are confirmed
1987	South Africa excluded from the Rugby World Cup
	Military coup in the Transkei
1988	London concerts, demonstrations on Mandela's 70th birthday
	SWAPO recognised at rulers of Namibia
1989	South African troops leave Angola
1990	De Klerk announces it is time for negotiations
	ANC, PAC and SACP are unbanned
	Mandela released from prison
	The Sebokeng Massacre
1991	Establishment of CODESA
1992	The ANC walk out of CODESA
	The Boipatong Massacre
1993	Assassination of Chris Hani
	The ANC and the government finally reach a deal
	Nelson Mandela and F W De Klerk jointly win the Novel Peace Prize
1994	Mutiny in Bophuthatswana and defeat of the AWB
	April: South Africa holds it first democratic election
	May: Nelson Mandela unanimously elected President
2013	Death of Nelson Mandela

Glossary

AAM	Anti-apartheid movement
Afrikaans	language of white South Africans of Dutch descent
ANC	African National Congress
apartheid	racially based social system implemented in South Africa after 1948
APLA	African People's Liberation Army
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Afrikaner Resistance Movement
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
Bantu	term used by whites to denote black South Africans, derogatory in nature
Bantustan	homeland under the government separate development policy
BCP	Black Community Programs, an element of the Black Consciousness Movement
black consciousness movement	movement formed by Steve Biko to change black people's thinking
Black People's Convention	grouping of black organisations set up by Steve Biko and others
BOSS	Bureau of State Security
broederbond	secret Afrikaner organisation
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South Afrian Trade Unions
CP	Communist Party of South Africa
Craddock Four	term given to the four UDF activists murdered in 1985
CYL	ANC Youth League
East London Daily Dispatch	South African newspaper edited by Donald Woods
Eminent Persons Group	group of leading Commonwealth figures who held talks in South Africa mid-1980s
Fagan Report	1948 report of Smuts UP to deal with South Africa's race situation
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football
FNLA	anti-Communist group in the Angolan Civil War supported by the US
FRELIMO	Marxist side in the Mozambique Civil War
FSAW	Federation of South African Women
Great Trek	legendary Afrikaner inland trek of the 1830s
High Organ	ANC leadership group on Robben Island
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
Inkatha	Chief Buthelezi-led movement in Kwazulu
IOC	International Olympic Committee
Jim Crow laws	laws passed in the southern states of the US to segregate blacks and whites

kitskonstabels	"instant constables", vigilante group
koevoet	"crowbar", secret white security group, renowned for its brutality
MK	spear of the nation, ANC, military wing
Morogoro Conference	ANC conference of 1969 that opened up ANC membership to all races
MPLA	Marxist side in the Angolan Civil War
necklacing	the placing of a tyre filled with petrol around a person's neck and set alight
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan African Congress
rand	area surrounding Johannesburg, also the name of the South African currency
RENAMO	non-Marxist side in the Mozambique Civil War
Rivonia Trial	trial of Mandela and MK members December 1963-June 1964
Robben Island	island 7 kms from Cape Town used as a prison
SADF	South African Defence Force
sanctions	economic restrictions placed on a country to alter its behaviour
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SASO	South African Students Organisation
Sauer Report	1948 report of Malan's HNP to deal with South Africa's race situation
segregation	policy of keeping different races apart
Sharpeville	site of the 21 March 1960 massacre
Soweto	black township south west of Johannesburg
Spear of the Nation	ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe
SSC	State Security Council
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
total national strategy	wide-ranging government strategy to attack opponents of apartheid from the 1970s
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Indedendence (of Rhodesia 1965)
Umkhonto we Sizwe	Spear of the Nation, MK
UNITA	non-Communist side in the Angolan Civil War
Vlakplaas	farm outside Pretoria, centre of assassination and abduction planning
Volksfront	Freedom Front, extreme right-wing group led by Constand Viljoen
Voortrekkers	Boers who trekked north from the British in the 1830s
ZAPU	black nationalist organisation in Rhodesia led by Joshua Nkomo

Dramatis Personae

Biko, Steve	leader of the Black Consciousness Movement
Boesak, Dr Allan	leading UDF figure
Botha, Louis	South African Prime Minister, 1910-1919
Botha, P W	South African Prime Minister 1978-1984
Buthelezi, Chief	Chief Minister of Kwazulu, leader of Inkatha
Cachalia, Maulvi	Mandela's colleague on the Defiance Campaign
Caetano, Marcelo	leader of Portugal 1968-74
Coetsee, Kobie	Minister of Justice
Dammer, Jerry	composer of the song (Free) Nelson Mandela
De Klerk, F W	National Party leader who freed Nelson Mandela
Dingane, King	Zulu King at the Battle of Blood River
D'Oliveira, Basil	cricketer, centre of controversy over England's proposed 1968-69 tour
Dube, J I	first President of the SANNC
Fagan, Henry	chairman of the 1948 Fagan Committee
First, Ruth	anti-apartheid activist, assassinated 1982
Fischer, Abram (Bram)	Defence counsel in the Rivonia Trial
Gandhi, Mahatma	non-violent Indian nationalist leader
Hani, Chris	MK leader, assassinated 1993
Hartzenberg, Ferdi	AWB leader
Hertzog, James	South African Primie Minister, 1924-1939
Holomisa, Bantu	leader of 1987 Transkei coup
Kadalie, Clements	leader of the ICU
Kruger, Jimmy	Minister of Prisons
Lembede, Anton	founding President of the ANC Youth League
Luthuli, Albert	ANC president
Machel, Graca	Mandela's thrid wife
Macmillan, Harold	British Prime Minister 1957-63
Madikizela, Winnie	Mandela's second wife
Malan, Daniel	South African Prime Minister, 1948-1954
Malan, Magnus	Chief of the SADF
Mandela, Nelson	head of the ANC, first black President of South Africa
Mandela, Winnie	2nd wife of Nelson Mandela, major female anti-apartheid activitist
Mantanzima	Prime Minister of the Transkei
Mase, Evelyn	Mandela's first wife
Mbeki, Govan	member of the High Organ on Robben Island, rival of Mandela
Mbeki, Thabo	leading ANC figure, later President of South Africa
Mdingane, Miss	Mandela's primary school teacher
Mhlaba, Raymond	member of the High Organ on Robben Island
Moroka, Dr	succeeded Xuma as ANC President

Motsamayi, David	Mandela's alias when he was outside of South Africa
Mpanza, James	black activist in the 1940s
Mugabe, Robert	ZANU leader and first President of independent Zimbabwe
Muldoon, Robert	New Zealand Prime Minister 1975-1984
Neto, Agostinho	first President of independent Angola
Ngoyi, Lilian	President of the FSAW
Nkomo, Joshua	leader of ZAPU in Rhodesian liberation struggle
Nujoma, Sam	SWAPO leader, first President of independent Namibia
Ramaphosa, Cyril	leader of the National Union of Mineworkers
Ramphele, Dr Mamphela	director of the Zanempilo Community Health Clinic
Reagan, Ronald	US President 1981-89
Rhodes, Cecil	British imperialist late 19th century
Sauer, Paul	chairman of the 1948 Sauer Committee
Savimbi, Jonas	leader of UNITA forces in Angola
Sidelsky, Lazar	early legal colleague of Mandela
Sigeau, Chief	President of the Transkei
Sisulu, Albertina	wife of Walter Sisulu, major female anti-apartheid activist
Sisulu, Walter	leading ANC activist
Slovo, Joe	white MK comrade of Mandela
Smith, Ian	Prime Minister of Rhodesia
Smuts, Jan	South African Prime Minister, 1919-24, 1939-48
Sobukwe, Robert	head of the PAC
Strijdom, JG	South African Prime Minister 1954-58
Suzman, Helen	white parliamentarian, lone parliamentary voice against apartheid
Tambo, Oliver	leader ANC activist, ANC leader in exile
Terre' Blanche, Eugene	AWB leader
Thatcher, Margaret	British Prime Minister 1979-1990
Treurnicht, Anders	leader of the Conservative Party
Tutu, Archbishop Desmond	Anglican cleric, human rights and anti-apartheid activist, leading UDF figure
Van den Bergh, General	head of BOSS
Van Zyl Slabbert	leader of the Progressive Party
Verwoerd, Hendrik	South African Prime Minister 1958-66
Viljoen, Constand	Military chief, later head of Volksfront
Vlok, Adriaan	Minister of Law and Order
Vorster, John	South African Prime Minister 1966-78
Woods, Donald	editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, friend and ally of Steve Biko
Xuma, Dr A B	ANC leader in 1940

Answers to Revision Exercises

Exercise 0.1

1 – the Dutch (Netherlands); 2 – they were happy to continue them; 3 – no, such beliefs existed in the US, Australia and other European colonies; 4 – Afrikaans, English; 5 – laws passed by southern US states after the civil war that discriminated against African-Americans; 6 – the writing approached things from a European perspective; 7 – they believed their people, culture and language could be destroyed by the majority black population; 8 – its introduction was based on the economic need for a supply of cheap black labour; 9 – examining the past from the standpoint of ordinary people rather than the rich and famous; 10 – 1948

Exercise 1.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – false; 5 – false; 6 – true; 7 – false; 8 – true; 9 – false; 10 – true

Exercise 1.2

1st – The Stallard Commission; 2nd – Native Urban Areas Act; 3rd – James Hertzog becomes PM; 4th – The Colour Bar Act; 5th – Wall St Crash; 6th – Formation of the Purified National Party; 7th – Native Representation Act; 8th – outbreak of WWII

Exercise 2.1

Afrikaner – broederbond – Great Trek – Hertzog – Smuts – United Party – Purified – pro-British – townships – Johannesburg – housing – strains – Fagan – Sauer – stricter – apartheid – National – 79 – 71 – 40 – 50

Exercise 2.2

1 – Population Registration Act 1950; 2 – Abolition of Passes Act 1952; 3 – Group Areas Act 1950; 4 – Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949; 5 – Separate Amenities Act 1953;
6 – Suppression of Communism Act 1950; 7 – Bantu Education Act 1953;
8 – Separate Representation of Voters Act 1956; 9 – Immorality Amendment Act 1950;
10 – Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 1951

Exercise 3.1

1 – false; 2 – false; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – true; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – false; 10 – true

Exercise 4.1

1 – Anton Lembede; 2 – Clements Kadalie; 3 – Oliver Tambo; 4 – Dr Moroka; 5 – J I Dube;
6 – Walter Sisulu; 7 – Dr A B Xuma; 8 – Nelson Mandela; 9 – Gandhi; 10 – Enoch Mgijima

Exercise 5.1

1 – near Vereeniging, about 50 kms south west of Johannesburg; 2 – to protest against the pass laws and make them unworkable; 3 – 69 people were shot dead, 180 were wounded;
4 – was it caused by panic or police inexperience or deliberate police brutality?;
5 – the massacre was the result of unnecessary excessive force on the part of the police;

6 – a resolution that condemned the South African government and called on it to end apartheid; 7 – strong security measures and to call a state of emergency; 8 – to now operative underground in secret; 9 – violent opposition against the regime; 10 – in the short term it reduced foreign investment and white immigration by 1970 both had revived substantially

Exercise 5.2

1st – Creation of the SAANC; 2nd – The SAANC becomes the ANC; 3rd – Creation of the ANC Youth League; 4th – The ANC adopts the Programme of Action; 5th – The Defiance Campaign; 6th – The Freedom Charter; 7th – The 1956 Treason Trial; 8th – Creation of the PAC; 9th – The Sharpeville Massacre; 10th – detention of Robert Sobukwe

Exercise 6.1

Fort Hare – protest – Susulu – Sidelsky – articles – 1941 – mines – 1943 – 1942 – National Executive – Oliver Tambo – Programme of Action – Defiance Campaign – nine months hard labour – banning order – Freedom Charter – treason – 1961 – underground – Spear of the Nation – sabotage – 1962 – guerrilla – arrested – strikes – imprisonment

Exercise 6.2

1 – Graca Machel; 2 – Oliver Tambo; 3 – Walter Sisulu; 4 – Evelyn Mase; 5 – Joe Slovo; 6 – Verwoerd; 7 – Winnie Madikizela; 8 – Miss Mdingane

Exercise 7.1

1st – South African police raid on Lilliesleaf Farm; 2nd – arrest of leading MK members; 3rd – start of the Rivonia Trial; 4th – Mandela speaks from the dock at his trial; 5th – Mandela and others sentenced to life; 6th – Mandela, Sisulu and others sent to Robben Island; 7th – death of Chief Luthuli; 8th – Oliver Tambo becomes acting head of the ANC; 9th – creation of the South African Students Organisation; 10th – The Morogoro Conference

Exercise 7.2

1 – false; 2 – false; 3 – false; 4 – true; 5 – true; 6 – true; 7 – false; 8 – true

Exercise 8.1

When Nelson Mandela entered Robben Island in 1964, he was not seen as the great international figure that he would become. Early on, leading ANC figures on Robben Island formed a leadership structure called the High Organ. It comprised Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu and Mhlaba. At first, the High Organ's concerns were predominantly to do with prisoners' conditions. However, there was division within the High Organ. Mandela sought a broad ANC membership in the first against apartheid and called for a negotiated settlement with the government. Mbeki argued, instead, that the ANC should take power by military means. He wanted those guilty of crimes under apartheid to be put on trial after liberation. For a long time, there were lingering suspicions that Mandela might 'sell out'. Following his release in 1990, Mandela was to prove such doubters wrong.

Exercise 9.1

1 – false; 2 – false; 3 – true; 4 – false; 5 – true; 6 – true; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – false; 10 – true

Exercise 10.1

1st – ANC Program of Action; 2nd – Suppression of Communism Act; 3rd – Criminal Law Amendment Act; 4th – Official Secrets Act; 5th – Unlawful Organisations Act; 6th – General Laws Amendment Act; 7th – The Rivonia Trial; 8th – Terrorism Act; 9th – Setting up of BOSS; 10th – Setting up of SSC

Exercise 10.2

1 – decision that black students must be taught in Afrikaans; 2 – it further isolated the apartheid regime due to its violence against the student protestors; 3 – they wanted firmer government action and voted back the Vorster government with an increased majority; 4 – to operate outside of South Africa's borders; 5 – by attempting some minor reforms; 6 – the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission; 7 – a secret group that used brutal methods against the black resistance; 8 – Vlakplaas was a location where assassination and abduction operations were planned; 9 – white vigilante groups that were able to operate free of police intervention; 10 – the reporting of deaths in police custody

Exercise 11.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – false; 7 – false; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – true

Exercise 11.2

Q	**T**	**R**	**A**	**N**	**S**	**K**	**E**	**I**	V
G	T	H	J	Q	V	**A**	Z	**E**	B
H	B	X	Z	W	**K**	**N**	K	**K**	R
S	E	I	U	S	**W**	**G**	O	**S**	E
A	G	**V**	O	T	**A**	**W**	H	**I**	I
N	I	**E**	L	H	**Z**	**A**	J	**C**	Q
A	L	**N**	G	J	**U**	**N**	N	D	L
W	R	**D**	H	E	**L**	**E**	S	F	E
S	**T**	**A**	**H**	**T**	**U**	**H**	**P**	**O**	**B**
N	E	M	X	Z	**A**	Q	R	Y	**O**
P	W	G	K	**W**	L	K	Y	O	**W**
U	I	D	**Q**	V	M	A	D	C	**A**
K	**W**	**A**	**N**	**E**	**L**	**E**	**B**	**E**	**L**
A	**W**	E	G	K	Z	Y	M	C	**E**
Q	**U**	**L**	**U**	**K**	**N**	**A**	**Z**	**A**	**G**

Exercise 12.1

European – Portugal – British – Algeria – 1960s – 1960 – 1962 – Zambia – 1964 – 1966 – Botswana – apartheid – 1965 – Ian Smith – UDI – sanctions – majority – 1980 – Zimbabwe – ANC

Exercise 12.2

1 – there was a revolution ending the dictatorship, Portugal lost control of its colonies; 2 – black liberation movements were able to base themselves in Angola; 3 – civil war between the MPLA and UNITA; 4 – political and military actions to remove ANC/ MK presence; 5 – civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO; 6 – a post-WWI mandate; 7 – it treated it almost as its own colony; 8 – the creation of SWAPO to gain independence; 9 – it opposed South African control and backed Namibian independence; 10 – it gained its independence in 1988.

Exercise 13.1

1st – King George VI's tour of South Africa; 2nd – South Africa leaves the Commonwealth; 3rd – Formation of the OAU; 4th – Basil D'Oliveira affair; 5th – South Africa expelled from the IOC; 6th – The Lusaka Declaration; 7th – Start of the Angolan Civil War; 8th – Soviet/ Cuban backing of the MPLA; 9th – Gleneagles Agreement; 10th – Withdrawal of South African troops from Angola

Exercise 14.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – false

Exercise 15.1

1 – P W Botha; 2 – Desmond Tutu; 3 – Chief Buthelezi; 4 – Anders Treurnicht; 5 – Cyril Ramaphosa

Exercise 15.2

1 – separate parliamentary chambers for whites, coloureds and Indians; 2 – Congress of South African Trade Unions; 3 – a black workers' revolutionary republic; 4 – end of apartheid, a multi-racial future; 5 – Kabwe in Zambia; 6 – there was an intensification; 7 – ANC and UDF; 8 – reform and repression; 9 – a coup led by Bantu Holomisa who was opposed to apartheid; 10 – an extreme right-wing Afrikaner nationalist group

Exercise 16.1

civil war – State of Emergency – SADF – Inkatha – AWB – People's War – Craddock Four – Lusaka – Commonwealth – Botha – F W De Klerk – different – speech – talks – unbanned – Mandela

Exercise 16.2

1st – murder of the Craddock Four; 2nd – F W De Klerk succeeds Botha as NP leader; 3rd – Nelson Mandela freed from prison; 4th – the Sebokeng Massacre; 5th – talks begin at CODESA; 6th – the Boipatong Massacre; 7th – the Bisho march massacre; 8th – the AWB attack on Bophuthatswana; 9th – South Africa's first democratic election; 10th – Nelson Mandela become President

Notes