



Université d'Oran 2
Faculté des Langues étrangères

MEMOIRE

Pour l'obtention du diplôme de Magister
En Langue Anglaise

**South Africa from Apartheid to Democracy
From 1948 to 1980 s**

Présenté et soutenu publiquement par :
Madame. MESLEM Amel

Devant le jury composé de :

MOULFI Leila	Professeur	Université d'Oran 2	Présidente
OUAHMICHE Ghania	MCA	Université d'Oran 1	Rapporteur
MEBERBECHÉ Faiza	MCA	Université de Tlemcen	Examineur

Année 2016/2017

CONTENTS

DEDICATION

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF ACRONYMS

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
<u>CHAPTER ONE: Historical Background (1652 – 1948)</u>	4
1- The early colonial period	4
1₁.The arrival of the Dutch	5
1₂.The British at the Cape	9
1₃.The Great Trek and the mineral revolution	12
1₄.The Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902)	21
2 - The Act of union (1910).	24
3 – African Nationalism, working class and popular protests (1910 – 1924)	29
4 - The Second World War and its impact (1959 – 1948)	39
5 - The formation of the African National Congress youth league	41
6 - The build up to the 1948 election	42

<u>CHAPTER TWO: Apartheid (1948 - 1976)</u>	44
1 - The Apartheid System	44
2 - Resistance to apartheid	48
2₁. The Defiance campaign (195	50
2₂. The Congress of the People and the Freedom charter	52
2₃. Sharpeville massacre 1960	54
3 - Armed resistance and the formation of Umkhonto we sizwe	55
3₁. The Rivonia Trial (1964)	58
3₂. International isolation	60
3₃. The Homelands	61
4 - The liberation struggle, 1967-1976	63
4₁ - The Wankie campaign	65
4₂. Black Consciousness and the student movement	67
4₃. Soweto uprising, 1976	68
<u>CHAPTER THREE: The end of apartheid (1976 – 1990)</u>	71
1. The armed struggle and popular resistance	71
1₁.The Eastern Front	72
1₂.The Western Front	74
1₃. State security	76
2 - Repression and control by South African government forces	77
2₁.Tactics of repression and oppression and their impact	79
2₂.Mandela and the National and International support	83
3 - International responses to South Africa policies	84
4 - South African Mass Democratic Movement	86

CONCLUSION	87
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	89
APPENDICES.....	94
Appendix 1	94
Appendix 2	95
Appendix 3	99
Appendix 4	101

DEDICATIONS

To my beloved parents

To my husband Belkacem

To all the members of my family

To all my friends and colleagues

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I welcome this opportunity to express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Ouahmiche for her help and useful guidance.

My thanks to the members of the jury who had devoted time for the examination of the present work.

My deepest gratitude is sent to Professor Moulfi for her help and support. And I'm most grateful to Dr. Meberbeche for her help.

ABSTRACT

Apartheid describes a system of racist laws and policies of total segregation in South Africa that began in 1948, when the National Party came to power, and ended in the late of 1980s when Mandela was elected President in the first democratic elections. In 1948 the Afrikaner National Party won a national election and began enforcing existing policies of racial segregation under a system of legislation that it called apartheid. The apartheid regime responded with a mix of harsh repression and modest reforms inside South Africa and violent attacks on the liberation movements and their allies outside the country. The Government repression resulted in the banning of the main organizations and to the arrest of Nelson Mandela. But a combination of growing protest, international support changed the balance of power by 1990, when Nelson Mandela was released from prison and negotiations for new democratic South Africa began. The object of the following work is to see how far South Africa could be considered as an instance whereby on a basis of natural superiority, a minority of whites imposed itself on a large majority of blacks through segregation and exploitation of the people and the mineral resources. In fact, through this dissertation, an attempt is made to understand the historical process through which different circumstances and conditions led to the implementation of apartheid policy by 1948. It also tries to answer the following questions: How far the arrival of whites to South Africa was to affect the future destiny of its people? How did Africans manage to resist the white's repressive laws and discriminatory laws up to 1980s?

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: The first White settlers (1652-1795)	6
Map 2: The white and the Black settlement in South Africa (1800).....	10
Map 3: Boer migrations (1896 – 1910).....	15
MAP 4: South Africa and the Bantustans (1966 – 1977).....	62
Map 5: Southern Africa (1980s).....	73
Map 6: ANC sanctuary and transit states (1977 – 1987).....	75

LIST OF ACRONYMS

- **AAC**: All African Convention
- **AMWU**: African Mine Workers' Union
- **ANCWL**: ANC Women's League
- **ASUSA**: African Students' Union of South Africa
- **AZASO**: Azanian Students' Organization
- **BAWU**: Black Allied Works' Union
- **BCM**: Black Consciousness Movement
- **BOSS**: Bureau of State Security
- **BPC**: Black People's Convention
- **BWL**: Bantu Women's League
- **CNETU**: Council of Non-European Trade
- **COSAS**: Congress of South African Students
- **COSATU**: Congress of South African Trade Union
- **CPSA**: Communist Party of South Africa
- **DEIC**: Dutch East Indian Company
- **EPG**: Eminent Person Group
- **FEDSAN**: Federation of South African Women
- **ICU**: Industrial and Commercial Union
- **LP**: Labour Party
- **MDM**: Mass Democratic Movement
- **MK**: Umkhonto We Sizwe
- **NP**: National Party
- **NRC**: Native Representative Council
- **NUSAS**: National Union of South Africa Student's

- **PAC**: Pan-African Congress.
- **PAC**: Pan-African Congress
- **PAFMECA**: Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa
- **SABC**: South African Broadcasting
- **SACP**: South African Communist Party
- **SADF**: South African Defense Force
- **SAIC**: South African Indian Congress
- **SANNC**: South African National Native Congress
- **SAP**: South African Party
- **SASA**: South African Student Association
- **SASO**: South African Students Organization
- **SDU**: Self-Defense Units
- **UDF**: United Democratic Front
- **UN**: United Nations
- **UNB**: University of Natal Black Group
- **ZAPU**: Zimbabwe African People's Union

INTRODUCTION

After the World War two Africa was a rapidly changing continent. Decolonization became the driving force of change and the colonial power was replaced by indigenous control that had either been granted or obtained by force. As decolonization gained rack, hundreds of years of colonial rule by Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and Belgium came to an end. The rapid advance of decolonization left South Africa isolated on the continent.

During World War two many blacks entered the urban areas to work. whites believed they would be swamped by black Africans and they would be forced to surrender economic and political power. Afrikaners, who were white South Africans whose ancestors were Dutch colonists, felt disempowered by Blacks and by the power and economic success of the British South Africans. They believed that the government which was led by the latter would not be able to apply the policies of segregation to advance the living conditions of Afrikaners and to protect the “poor whites”.

As the result apartheid philosophy became a platform of both Afrikaner affirmative action to protect their interests and a doctrine of racial segregation. In fact, the earliest roots of this race discrimination can be found in the seventeenth century when whites first colonized the Cape of Good Hope, but apartheid as a full fledged political ideology developed much later, following the transition to an industrial economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The ideological foundation of apartheid was that the different races in South Africa needed to be separated for their own mutual benefit. Thus, the apartheid thinking was based on the philosophy of “scientific racism”. According to Afrikaners’ mind it was impossible and ungodly for the different races and cultures to live together.

Moreover, the white settlers in South Africa were from the class of people who genuinely thought they were above other races and colours. Those people genuinely thought that they were in the hands of God and that the lands discovered were their for taking.

The native people began to demand rights and campaigns were launched against white settlers who made trade and life more uncomfortable. The question was what to do about this situation? Rapidly, segregation was the answer and so apartheid was born. A policy of separate development was introduced by the white government and a structure of laws and regulations was designed to guarantee the superior economic status of whites, and to perpetuate a master-servant relationship between the races in all aspects of life. However, what the white people did not realise is that they were storing more trouble for the future.

The rise of apartheid in 1948 was a complex phenomenon. Some historians view it as a 20th century development, closely linked to the peculiar evolution of South African Capitalism, with its strong reliance on cheap black labour. Other scholars believe that Apartheid was a product of earlier racial prejudices and policies imposed by Dutch and British settlers. Recent explanations point to a combination of several factors colonial conquest, land dispossession, economic impoverishment, and exclusion from citizenship of Africans that paved the way to Apartheid.

In this thesis an attempt is made to highlight the nature of the apartheid system and its ideological foundation that had an impact on the growth of the national resistance in South Africa that began earlier in 1948 and continued after when the national Party came to power. The end of apartheid occurred when Nelson Mandela was elected President in the first democratic elections in the late of 1980s.

In this thesis the following questioned will be examined:

- What was Apartheid?
- What impact did Apartheid system and its ideological foundations had on the growth of national resistance in South Africa?
- Did Apartheid system come to an end?

This research work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is a historical background of South Africa from the colonial occupation of the Cape in 1652 the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, and the segregation period from 1910 to 1948.

The second chapter is devoted to the rise of apartheid and its subsequent development, and it also deals with the activities of twentieth century political movements who fought for freedom and gained mass support at home and abroad.

The third and the last chapter shed light on the end of apartheid and the birth of democracy. The Apartheid regime responded with a mix of harsh repression and modest reforms inside South Africa and violent attacks on the liberation movements and their allies outside the country. A combination of growing protest, international support and significant changes in the political context of the region changed the balance of power by the late of 1980s when Nelson Mandela was released from prison and negotiations for a new democratic South Africa began.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(1652-1948)

South Africa can be depicted as a country where on the basis of natural superiority and economic interests, whites practiced segregation towards the natives. For centuries, harsh and inhuman methods were being used to maintain white domination in order to control the economic and social system. So, several factors seemed to pave the way to apartheid among them colonial conquest, land dispossession, economic impoverishment, and the exclusion from citizenship of Africans. In order to understand this policy, it is necessary to examine the historical roots of apartheid, from the colonial occupation of the Cape in 1652 through the creation of the Union of South Africa and the period between the formation of the Union and the National Party coming into power (1910 - 1948).

1-The Early Colonial Period

The Portuguese were the first Europeans explorers who discovered South Africa. At that period of time Portuguese were known as seafarers, who pioneered the sea route to India in the late fifteenth century and who were regular visitors to the coast of South Africa during the sixteenth century.

In 1507 Vasco Da Gama was the one who led an expedition from Europe to India through the Cape of Good Hope, where he made the first contact with the Khoikhoi¹. However, with the area's fierce weather and rocky shoreline, the Portuguese felt the threat to their ships; they stopped trading with the local Khoikhoi. Then, the Portuguese found the Mozambican coast more attractive to use as way stations.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese met a competition from the Dutch and English ships that started challenging them about their trade routes. By 1647 the Portuguese lost everything in that region, and the Dutch were there in Table Bay at Cape Town, as the first Europeans to attempt settlement in the area. They built a fort and they stayed for a year. (See Map 1)

1.-THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH

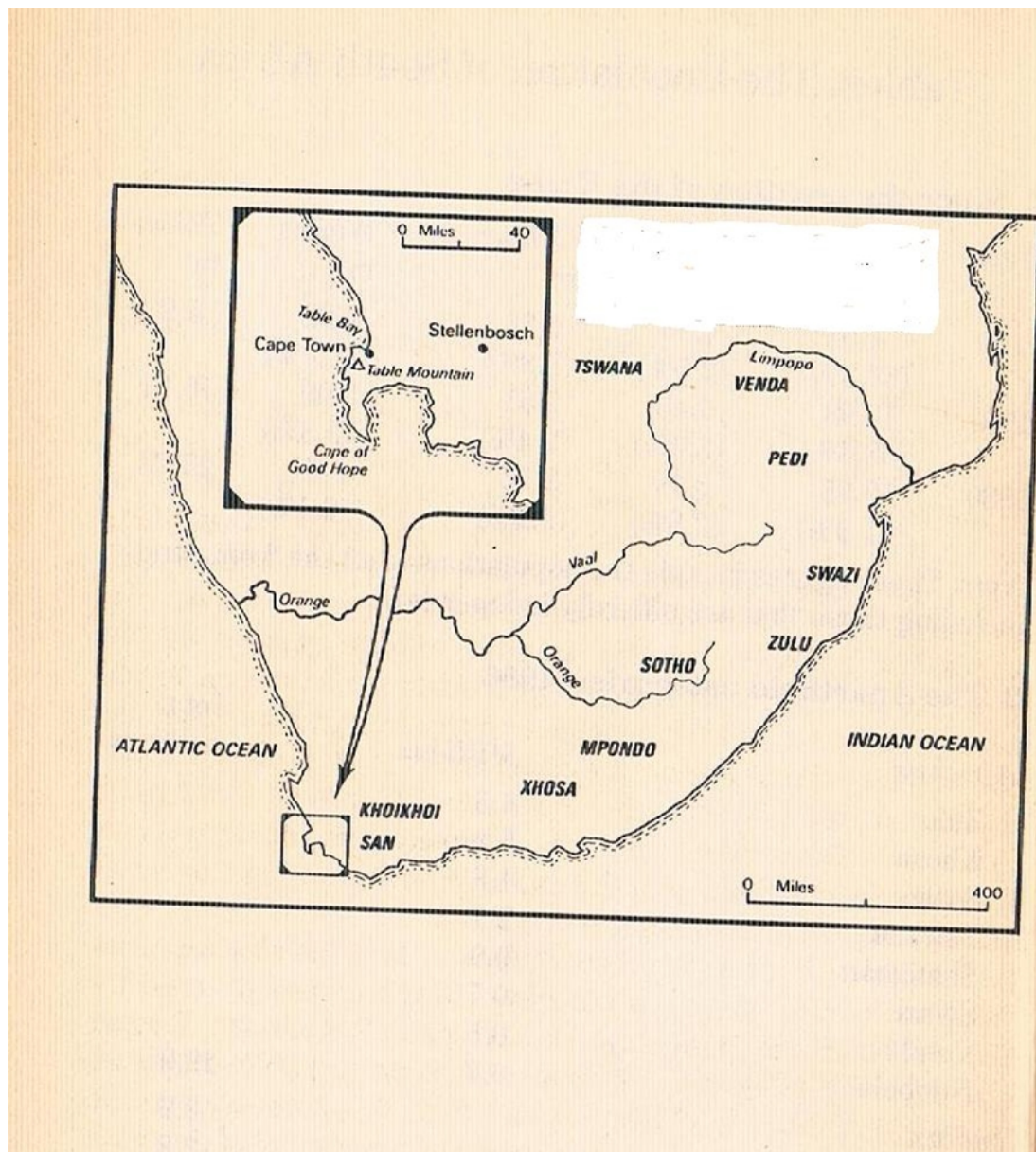
The Dutch were the first who appreciated the importance of the Cape on the way to India and in 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed. Several Dutch trading companies were united against the Portuguese and their monopoly that collapsed after five years of the formation of the Union of South Africa.

In April 1652, the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) set up a station in Table Bay (Cape Town) and appointed Jan Van Riebeeck² as a commandant of the Cape. His duty was to provide the company's vessels with fresh meat and vegetables. Simply, the southern tip of Africa was used as a refreshment station for the ships sailing to the rich spice lands of the Indies.

¹Khoikhoi were pastoralists and hunters who first inhabited southern Africa along the Orange River and the highlands of the western escarpment. They initially resisted the Dutch, but eventually were wiped out. Survivors were absorbed into colonial society as servants and formed part of South Africa's racially mixed population. N. Worden, *the Making of Modern South Africa : Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid* : Cape town, Historical Association Studies, 1989, p.7.

²Jan Van Riebeeck was born in Culemborg in the Netherlands on 21 April 1619. He was the founder and the first commander of Cape Town. He landed at the southern tip of Africa on 6 April 1652 to create a settlement for the Dutch East India Company (DEIC). www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Jan-Van-Riebeeck.30/04/2009

Map 1: The first White settlers (1652-1795)



Source:

B, Lapping, *Apartheid a History*, London paladin Grafton books, 1987, p. 26.

Thereafter the new settlers established a secure fort, first to acquire cattle from the Khoikhoi, and to develop vegetable gardens to provision passing Dutch ships. They also started to trade with natives and the colonial authorities who worked a lot to maintain the contact and to behave as friends.

The aim of the Dutch was to develop Agriculture, and to maintain their presence in the region. They created for themselves an illusion that Africa was their proper place. And from the beginning they regarded the African people as “aliens”. They believed in the notion of a border behind which white civilization must protect itself against the coming of the “Black barbarians”. At that time, Van Riebeeck saw the Khoikhoi dangerous and savages, therefore, he attempted to apply a policy of social separation of the “civilized” from the “uncivilized”³. This attitude showed that the whites believed in the superiority of their race. These beliefs contributed to the emergence of Apartheid and its attempt to protect the whites and their civilization.⁴

As the demand for land and food increased, Van Riebeeck proposed to release married men from their contracts and to give them farms of their own to cultivate. This development was approved by the Dutch East India Company, and the independent farmers became known as free burghers⁵. Those latter started to move out further upon the land and water sources. And more and more indigenous inhabitants were dispossessed and incorporated into the colonial economy as servants.

It was said that by 1657, Van Riebeeck had concluded that slave labour would be needed for the hardest and dirtiest work, but the idea was rejected because such a policy would be dangerous. The Dutch feared that Khoikhoi people, if enslaved, could always escape into the local community, and foreigners would find it much more difficult to escape their masters.

³ Allister Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa, the Story of The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, England, William Heinemann Ltd, 1990, p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵ Free burghers: Nine Dutch East India Company servants were freed. Worden, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

In 1658, the company landed two shiploads of slaves at the cape. Most of them were brought from Indonesia, India, and Mozambique that later on became the main source of supply. By the mid-eighteenth century, half of the white adult males in the Cape colony owned at least one slave. Until 1707 the Dutch East India Company made some efforts to encourage immigration to the Cape, and by the end of the seventeenth century, the white population had been increased due to the arrival of two hundred French Huguenots fleeing from religious persecution, and the orphan girls that were also sent out by the company from Germany and Holland to marry the lonely men. As a result of these alliances, a new element was growing up in the Cape community which was that of new people of mixed race speaking the same language. Those latter were also offered land like the free burghers; so they started cultivating till their agricultural production increased. The Dutch settlers also started moving away from the coast into vast open expanses that were occupied by San ethnic groups⁶.

The Dutch were living as semi-nomadic herdsmen, fighting the native tribes for their land and their cattle. Consequently, by the 1770s the Dutch nomads had penetrated the region of Great Fish River, they were known as trek Boers⁷, who formed themselves into armed bands of mounted gunmen known as commandos, when they attacked the trilees cattle of the tribes. Therefore, they killed some 2500 san men and women and took 700, mainly children, into slavery⁸.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the free burghers and hosa people faced frequent armed conflicts about land. By the time, the number of the natives and the settlers increased and their desire to take and occupy better lands presented a great threat

⁶ San ethnic groups : Indigenous, nomadic, hunter-gather peoples who inhabited the semi-arid regions of present-day South Africa, Namibia and Botswana and the mountainous areas of the western cape and Drakensburg Mountains. As Europeans settled in the Western Cape, the San were over powered. N. Worden, op. cit., p. 8.

⁷Trek Boers: were nomadic pastoralists who descended from almost equal numbers of Dutch colonists, French Huguenots and German Protestants. The Trek Boers began migrating from the areas surrounding what is now Cape Town during the 17th century and throughout the 18th century. Ibid.

⁸ Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa since 1800*, 4th edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.87.

for both the natives and the Company. When the Boers continued moving and approaching more the fertile territories and they reached the Great Fish River. Consequently, series of frontier wars began in 1779 and the Boers asked help from the British, but unfortunately they gave them little help. (See map 2)

The Boers rebelled in 1795 when Britain took over the Cape colony from them, and the British troop started to approach. This fact pushed the so called Boers to ignore their new governors and they moved them away. They became independent and they refused to accept any outside rule or influence.⁹

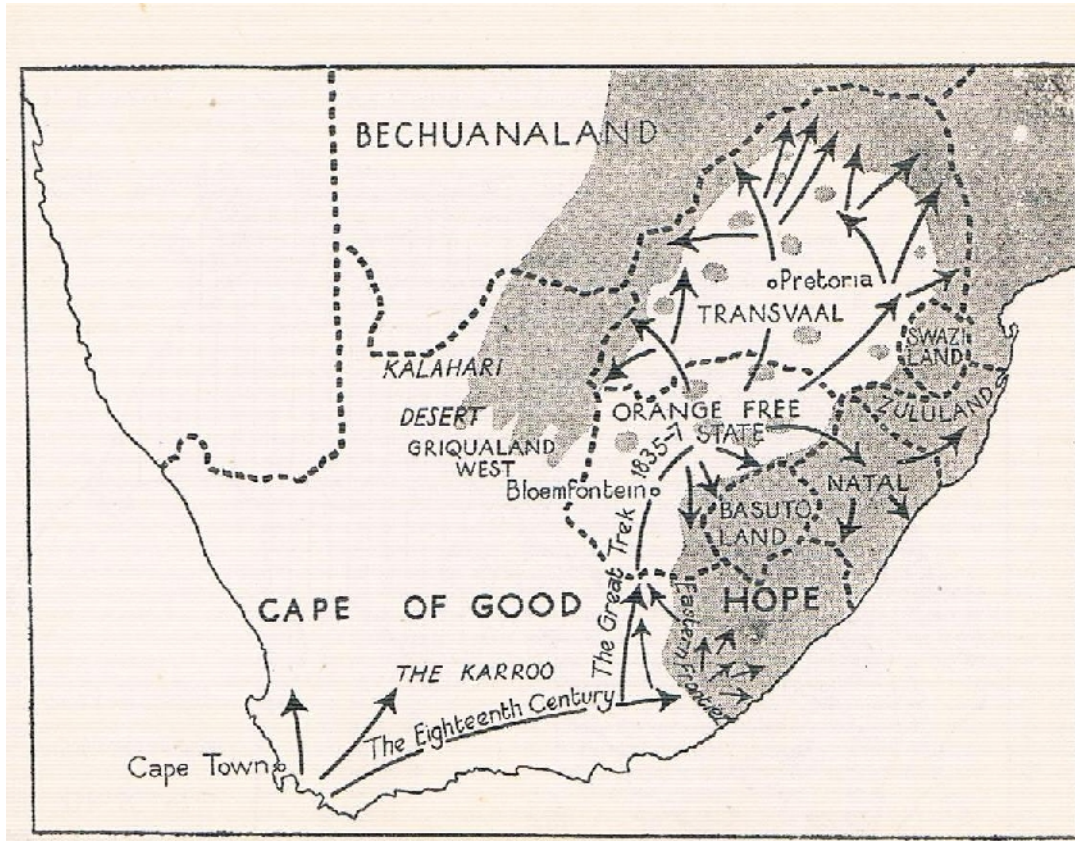
2₂ - THE BRITISH AT THE CAPE

By 1795 Britain seized the Cape at the request of Prince of Orange when French troops invaded Holland, the prince put the Dutch possessions in the hands of the British and Britain in her side occupied the Cape in order to protect its most important overseas possession and the source of its spice trade until 1803. It was restored to the Dutch by the Treaty of Amiens¹⁰. Four years later, in 1806, the Britain occupied the cape again.

⁹Brian lapping, *Apartheid: A history*, London, paladin Grafton books, 1987, p. 33.

¹⁰Through the Treaty of Amiens signed in 1802 between England and France, the British returned the Cape colony to the Netherlands in February 1803. It was then renamed the Batavian Republic. Although they governed administration of the Cape that was a great improvement upon the rule of the Dutch East India Company, which had lasted from 1652 to 1795. Ibid.

Map 2 : The white and the Black settlement in South Africa (1800)



Source: C. W. de Kiewiet, op. cit., p. 286.

When the British took control in the Cape colony, they met a society in which the use of slaves had long been a part of the established system and in which the local ethnic groups were employed. At that time, humanitarians were campaigning against slavery, and in 1807 they succeeded in persuading Britain to abolish slave trade, making it illegal for British ships to carry slaves to British colonies.

By this decision of abolishing slavery, the British angered the Boers. Although they reduced the impact in 1809 with “Hottentot Law”¹¹ under this law, all blacks were required to carry passes with the name of their employer and any black found without a pass could be taken by any white for labour.

British missionaries, led by John Philip, when first landed at the Cape; brought with them the habits of free expression and the ideals of democracy. They started struggling for these principles in Britain in 1826, and in 1828 the House of Commons passed a resolution for the emancipation of the Cape tribes¹², in the same year the governor of the Cape colony guaranteed complete liberty and equality for all free persons of colour under The “Ordinance fifty” that freed the natives from labour and legal discrimination and placed them on an equal footing with the whites. The Ordinance fifty stated: *“Certain laws relating to and affecting the Hottentots and other free persons of colour... residing in this colony require to be consolidated, amended or repealed, and certain obnoxious usages and customs which are injurious to those persons require to be declared illegal”*¹³.

¹¹ R. Oliver, op. cit., p. 39.

¹² H.H. Hewison Almonds, South Africa, the “Pro-Boers” and the Quaker Conscience, London, David Philip publisher Ltd, 1989, p.5.

¹³ Quoted in B. Lahouel, “*The origins of Nationalism in Algeria, the Gold Coast and South Africa with specific reference to the period 1919 – 1937*”. Phd Thesis, Aberdeen University, England, p. 356.

In 1833 the British parliament outlawed the ownership of slaves throughout the empire. Thus, the British arrival opened the doors to the natives freedom, but in reality, the British government was looking for a policy through which the authority upon the Blacks would be kept. However the Boers thought that the British government was concerned only with giving legal protection to their servants¹⁴

An Afrikaner woman called Elizabeth Steen Kamp mentioned the reasons that pushed the Boers to quit the Cape as follows:

«the shameful and unjust proceedings with reference to the freedom of our shaves : and yet it is not so much their freedom that drove us to such lengths as their being placed on equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke; wherefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity»¹⁵

When the British annexed a large area of land on the eastern frontier and gave it back to the Africans, the Boers as a reaction to the British act trekked towards the East and the Northeast of the country.¹⁶

1₃ – THE GREAT TREK AND THE MINERAL REVOLUTION

The British proclamation of the equality of the races pushed the Boers to move. Between 1836 and 1846, 19000 men, woman and children in wagon left the Cape colony to find land where they could establish their own state and manage the natives in their own old way¹⁷.

¹⁴ A. Sparks, op. cit., pp.95 - 96.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶ B. Lapping, op. cit., p.37.

¹⁷-H. H. Hewison, op. cit., p.08.

However, the Boers grew up with a sense of spaciousness that was part of their concept of freedom, and they hated being enclosed and restricted in their ability to move on and appropriate a new farm for each newly grown man¹⁸. By the time, these farmers started to build a unique identity and started calling themselves “Afrikaners”¹⁹ and using a language known as Afrikaans²⁰. This fact was to show that South Africa was their land, and they belonged to it. And when English language substituted the Dutch that was used as an official language in the year between 1823 and 1828, the Dutch speaking people felt that their identity was being threatened. As a result, their desire for self government increased and the Great Trek started to be a central event of the nineteenth century, and the origin of the Afrikaners nationhood²¹. However, the British were the ones who prompted Afrikaner nationalism into existence, and that sacral nationalism is evolved into the theology of Apartheid. The Boers hoped to restore an economic, cultural and political unity independent of the British power. The only way, they saw open to them, was to leave the colony.

Besides, The Trekkers learned from hunters and traders that fertile parts of Natal had been depopulated by the Zulu and turned into grazing lands²² this report helped them to decide for moving. Thus they hoped moving across the Transvaal and kept new territories in Natal. But two black military powers, the Ndebele and the Zulus²³ were standing in their way and they paid a heavy price in blood and suffering.

¹⁸-A. Sparks, op. cit., p.104.

¹⁹-Afrikaners: Dutch term for “native of Africa”; refers to whites who speak the Afrikaans language.www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrikaners/22.01.2014.

²⁰-Afrikaans is a language derived from Dutch that developed among the white, Khoisan, and slave populations of the Cape colony. Afrikaans was recognized as an official language in 1925 and was further developed with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid. Ibid.

²¹- B. Lapping, op. cit., p. 43.

²² Ibid.

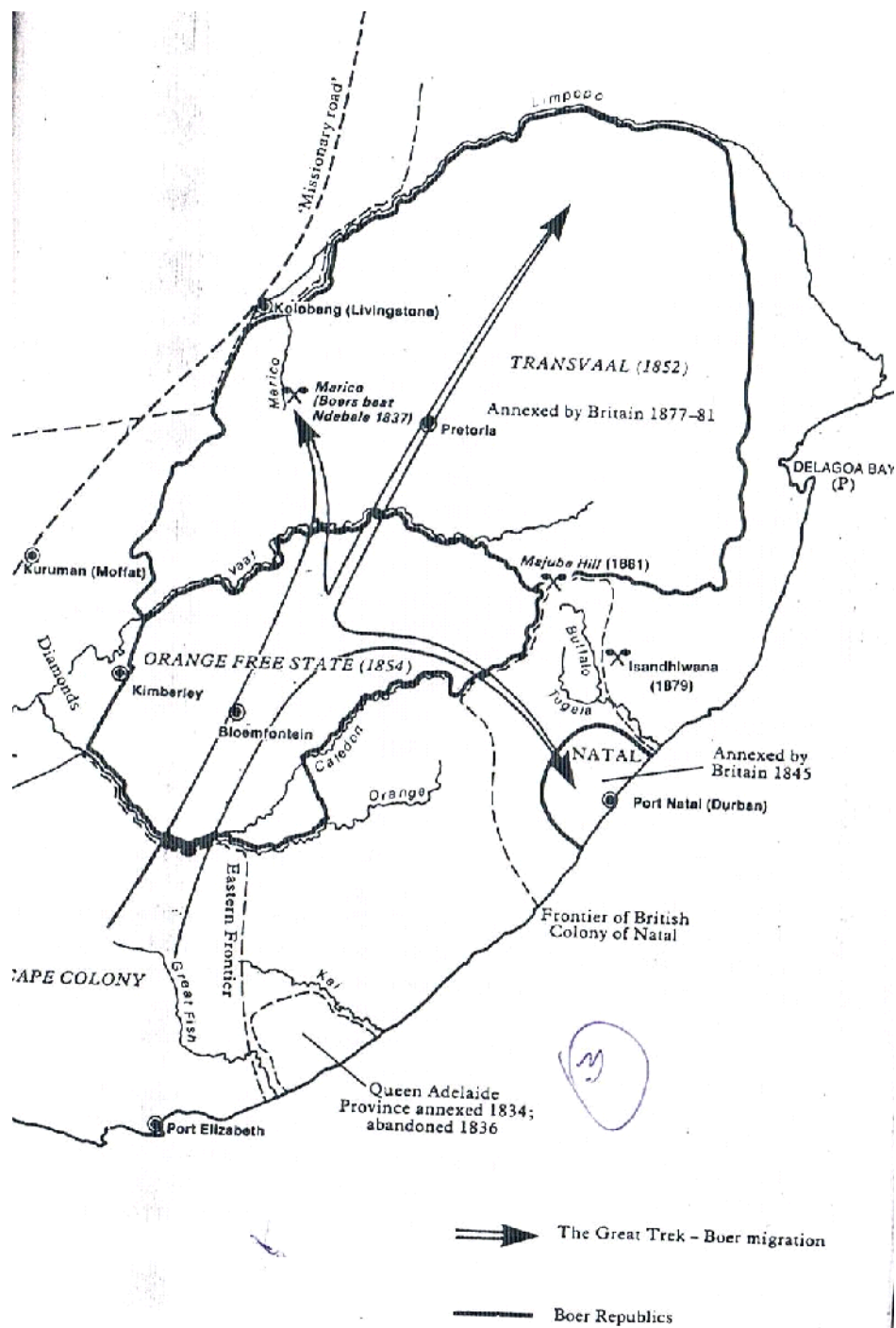
²³ Farmers and herders originally from today’s Kwa zulu – Natal province. Formed a large militarized state under Shaka in the 1810; lost its independence as a result of the Zulu war of 1879, most common African language in South Africa (Isi Zulu, part of the Nguni branch of Bantu languages).www.wikipedia.org 20.01.2014.

In the decade following 1835, thousands migrated into the interior, organized in a number of trek parties under various leaders. (See map 3), p.15. The first group was under the leadership of Louis Trichardt and Hans van Rensburg, they opened up the North of today's Mpuma Langa. There were other groups under the command of Andries Pretorius, Gert Martiz and piet Retief²⁴. In the area around Thaba Nchu in what would become the Orange Free State, a huge Boer camp of 5000 Voortrekkers eventually gathered; they headed for Natal to gain land for settling and grazing. To that end they had to negotiate with Dingane, the King of the Zulus. The Trekkers first major confrontation was with Mzilikazi king of the Ndebele. Two different routes were taken²⁵, those who were heading North into the Transvaal to get as far away from the British as possible, others went to the East across the Drakensberg and into Natal in order to establish a seaport so that they would not be dependent on the British colony. Both groups met the two main black military powers, The Ndebele on the Highveld and the Zulus in Natal.

²⁴ Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, third edition, New Haven: Yale University press, 2001, p. 384.

²⁵ Ibid

Map 3 : Boer migrations (1896 – 1910)



Source: Ronald, O, op. cit., p.97.

The group who moved farther North to the grasslands beyond the Vaal River into the territory, where Mzilikazi had recently established a powerful Ndebele state, soon came into conflict at a place called Battle hill in October 1836 when the Boers circled their wagons' into the famed defensive "laager". This behaviour became the symbol of their military strategy and of their mentality as well. In the end, the Ndebele took thousands of Boer cattle; in return the Boers mounted a punishing attack and drove Mzilikazi and his people out of the country, whereas, the group heading for Natal under the command of Piet Retief decided to negotiate with Dingane for permission to settle in relatively populated areas which were in the south of the Tugela River²⁶.

Dingane was, at first, respective to Retief's entreaties, but then, fearing that the introduction of European settlers would undermine his authority, he had Retief and seventy of his followers killed while they were at his capital in 1838. He then sent out Zulu regiments to eliminate all Voortrekkers in the area; they Killed several hundred men, women, and children and captured many head of cattle and sheep.

Not all of the settlers were killed, but, the survivors, who were reinforced by men from the Cape colony, decided to avenge the deaths Retief and his followers. Under the command of Andries Pretorius, the Voortrekkers met and defeated Dingane's army at the Battle of Blood River, and the Boer Republic of Natalia was established in 1839.

The British, however, feeling that their security and authority were threatened, annexed the Republic as Natal. They did not want to let the Boers to have independent access to the sea and, thereby, be free and able to negotiate political and economic agreements with other European powers. So, in 1842 they sent a force to annex it. The Boers, in their turn, abandoned Natal and moved back to the Highveld in 1843. When the British occupied the two Republics, of Natal and the Orange Free State, they modelled a constitution. Africans could not have the right to vote or even own land, because the laws did not recognize racial equality.

²⁶ A. Sparks, op. cit., p. 111.

The British again, attempted to strengthen their own position by extending colonial control beyond the Cape colony's boundaries. In 1848, after the northern frontier was threatened by fighting between Voortrekkers and Griqua²⁷ on the Orange River and by continued competition for resources among settlers and Africans, the governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Harry Smith, annexed all the land between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. Later on, this area would be called by the British the Orange River, and it would comprise large numbers of Voortrekker communities²⁸.

Sir Smith also annexed the Xhosa lands that the British had first taken and returned in 1835 and 1836. Moreover, he sought to win a military victory over the Xhosa and to break forever the power of their chiefs by pursuing a war against them from 1850 to 1852. And to make an end to Sotho resistance, the British decided to withdraw from the Highveld, but in so doing they recognized the primacy of European rather than African claims to the land. However, the Sand River Convention of 1852 and the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 recognized the independence of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State.

The 19th century was a period of rapid industrialization and economic changes that took place in South Africa as a result of the discovery of minerals especially diamonds and gold at the town of Kimberley in 1867.

The Mineral Revolution was driven by the need to create a permanent workforce to work in the mining industry, and saw South Africa changed from being agricultural and pastoral to highly industrialized society.

The discovery of diamonds led to a rush of prospectors that arrived to seek their fortune. As more diggers arrived in Kimberley, diamond-mining increased in scale, focussing on open-pit mining. In order to excavate deep deposits of diamonds, diggers needed

²⁷ The Griqua people are a sub group of south Africa's heterogeneous and multiracial coloured people, who have a unique origin in the early history of the Cape Colony. They migrated inland from Cape town, and they established several states in what is now modern south Africa and Namibia. Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, *The Oxford History of South Africa: Volume I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 70.

²⁸ Voortrekkers: are any of the Boers, or, as they came to be called in the 20th century, Afrikaners, who left the British Cape Colony in southern Africa after 1834 and migrated into the interior Highveld North of the Orange River. <http://www.britanica.com/topic/Voortrekker.03/05/2014>

machinery credit and a large labour force. These were unavailable to ordinary diggers, and the diamond mines were quickly taken over by the mining capitalists, large corporations with access to credit, machinery, and labour. At Kimberley, the diamond mines fell under the monopoly of De Beers, and number of smaller companies.

The discovery of gold on the wit waters rand Orefields in 1886 transformed Kimberley into important mining and commercial centre with large population. During the early stages of mining, labour had been primarily provided by young men from the African states, they came from Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

As long as the Zulu remained a threat, the Boer accepted British annexation. However, once the Zulu were defeated, the Transvaal Boers claimed that the 1877 annexation was a violation of the Sand River and Bloemfontein conventions of 1852 and 1854. Thus in 1880, the Boers rose and they defeated the British army at the battle of Majuta Hill. The British then withdrew, and let the Boers Victorious in their first war of independence in 1881. The British signed the convention of Pretoria that year, and the convention of London in 1884. these agreement restored Transvaal autonomy but did not recognize Transvaal independence.

In 1886, the balance of power in the region started to turn towards the Boers thanks to the gold discoveries at Witwatersrand. Although older Boers were displeased because the gold threatened their pastoral way of life whereas, younger Boers saw the gold as a means to obtain real political power.

By 1880, Rhodes²⁹ was a multi-millionaire and well known enough to run for election as a member of Parliament in the Cape Colony. He became interested in the land north of the Transvaal specifically Matabeleland and Mashonaland in the modern country of Zimbabwe. He believed that there was gold in the region because of its location

²⁹ Cecil Jhon Rhoods fourth African statsman, he was a buisnessman after whom Rhodesia was named. www.wikipedia.org 20.01.2014

between rich mineral deposits already discovered in Katanga, Congo, and Witwatersrand in South Africa.

The Matabele leader Lobenguela used diplomacy to pit European powers against each other, and granted all of the rights to mining in his territory to Cecil Rhodes in the mistaken belief that all what he wanted was gold. He also wanted to extend the British Empire in order to create a land route from Cape Town to Egypt, which came under control of the British in 1882. Rhodes promoted his plan as means to strengthen the British position in the region, and a way to provide work for England's unemployed.

As a matter of fact, Rhodes chartered a mining company and got several mining companies. He received a charter for his "British South Africa Company" BSAC in October 1889. For the British government, this was a low-cost way to prevent Germans, Boers or Portuguese from occupying Matabeleland.

In September 1890, a fort was established by Rhodes' company at Salisbury in Mashonaland. However, after three years, the British Government concluded that Rhodes had lied about the gold. By then, it was impossible for the government to repudiate Rhodes' charter because it would mean giving up control over the area.³⁰

However, Rhodes' reputation in Britain was damaged by the Jameson Raid in 1895. It resulted from conditions in the Witwatersrand gold fields where the Transvaal government denied civil rights and the vote to the immigrants who came to work in the gold fields. In the hope of annexing the Transvaal, the British encouraged the Uitlanders³¹ to revolt. And to put an end to Kruger's Government³² As a matter of fact, Rhodes sent a detachment of the British South Africa Company's police force, under the command of leader Starr Jameson, to assist the uprising. Unfortunately, the revolt had failed and Jameson was forced to surrender to Transvaal authorities on January 2, 1896. Then, Rhodes was forced to resign as the Cape Colony prime minister.

³⁰ J. Lockhart., Rhodes, London, Richard Clay Company, Ltd, 1963, p. 35.

³¹ Uitlander was the name given to foreign migrant workers during the Witwatersrand Gold Rush in the independent Transvaal Republic following the discovery of gold in 1886. The limited rights granted this group in the independent Boer Republics was one of the contributing factors behind the Second Boer War. <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com>

³² Kruger was a Vootrekker, politician, and president of the Zuid Africaanse Republiek (ZAR), prominent social and political figure in conservation establishment of the Kenger National park. Ibid.

After this fact, Kruger sought to build his country's strength. He engaged in diplomatic relations with Germany, he imported arms from Europe, assisted by a growing sense of Afrikaner identity in the late of nineteenth century after the Victory of Majuba Hill. This nationalistic identity had emerged, when S.J. du Toit, a Dutch reformed minister in the Cape, had published a newspaper, *Die Afrikaans Patriot* –The Afrikaner patriot- which argued that Afrikaners were a distinct people with their own fatherland in South Africa and that they were fulfilling a special mission determined expressly by God. In reality the mineral revolution led to quick spread of European colonization into the interior. By the end of the 19th century, all the indigenous people of South Africa had lost their political and economic independence³³. Furthermore, racist laws enabled the white owners of mining companies to control workers, keep wages very low and gain immense profits from the diamonds and gold that the black miners extracted from the earth. Many African men worked on the mines and farms under dangerous conditions for wages that could not feed and clothe their families. The diamond and gold mines also imposed pass laws, as a means of control that was to continue under apartheid, which required black men to carry documents that identified where they could or could not work and live. Most African miners became migrant labourers, spending nine to eleven months of the year in the mines while their wives and children remained in the countryside.

Despite the benefits it brought, the discovery of gold was one of the principal causes of the second Anglo Boer war. Britain's desire to control the entire Rand region, which overlapped the neighbouring Transvaal, removed potential threats to the mines, and encouraged industrial expansion by replacing the slow and inexperienced Afrikaner administration with British laws and regulations that led to increasing tension between the British colonies and the Afrikaner states, and resulting in the outbreak of war in October 1899³⁴.

In fact, mineral discoveries marked a turning point of South Africa history. The interior of South Africa became so important to the colonialists that the balance of power was tipped in favour of the whites and the African states were eclipsed³⁵.

³³ Ronald Oliver and Anthony Atmore, op. cit., p. 96.

³⁴Ibid

³⁵Ibid.

1.4- THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899-1902)

This war fought between Britain and the two Boer republics was precipitated by the refusal of the Boer leaders. It lasted three years and caused enormous suffering. To the British, this war was a war fought to establish their supremacy in South Africa, while to the Boer Republics it was a defensive war.

This war was declared on 11 October 1899. At the beginning; the British forces thought that the war was easy to be won. But during war, the Boer forces were successful, they invaded Natal and Cape colony. Within few days, they succeeded in surrounding British forces at Ladysmith, Natal and at Mafeking and Kimberly. In December 1899 the British army lost again many men at what was called “The Black Week” under the command of General Sir Rensdell Buller who suffered a humiliating loss and was replaced by Major- General Lord Kitchener³⁶ who was sent from Britain with Lord Roberts. After the arrival of those two officers the British army quickly moved inland and defeated the Boers.

On 13 March 1900 Bloemfontein was occupied by the British army. After this event, some Boers felt that it was hopeless to continue the war, while others refused to surrender and they chose to pursue a guerrilla war. At that time, British victory upon the Boers proved short lived, because the Boer leaders among them Louis Botha³⁷ and Jan Christian smuts³⁸ planned guerrilla warfare against the British troops.

³⁶ Lord Kitchner was a commander in chief of the Boer war, where he fought the guerrillas by burning farms and herding women and children into disease-ridden concentration camps. These ruthless measures helped weaken resistance and bring British victory. Packenham, T., *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902*. Johannesburg. South Africa, 1979. Reprinted in 1992, pp. 119-120.

³⁷ P. W. Botha was a former state president of South Africa who took the first step to change some Apartheid measures. Ibid.

³⁸ Jan Christian smuts was a politician, he started his first term as prime minister of the Union of South Africa after the death of General Louis Botha on 27 August 1919. Ibid.

Thus, the fighting continued for one year and was finally stopped through the severe tactics of the British commander Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener, who decided to cut off the supply of food to the Boers. And when they were helped by the people on the farms, he initiated the “scorched earth” policy³⁹, and he placed black Africans and Afrikaner women and children in concentration camps⁴⁰, where 26,000 Boer women and children died from disease, and more than 15,000 black people died⁴¹.

Heavy loss of life for both the Boers and the British resulted from the second Anglo-Boer war. And when the Boers lost the war, peace negotiations started in March 1902. In May 1902 at Vereeniging, which meant “union” in Dutch, the treaty to stop the war was agreed upon and the British annexation of the Boer republics was confirmed.

The Black people saw the peace treaty as a hope and an opportunity to establish justice and equality for all population groups, but unfortunately it turned out differently, and no provisions were made by the peace treaty as far as voting rights and parliament representation for black people were concerned and the process of segregation was increased and continued. As a matter of fact, the Anglo Boer-war was seen as a radicalising experience for Africans, and especially when the British agreed to leave the matter of Africans rights to be decided by a future white authority.

³⁹ A scorched earth policy is a military strategy which involves destroying anything that might be useful to the enemy while advancing through or withdrawing from an area. It is a military strategy where all of the assets that are used or can be used by the enemy targeted, such as food sources, transportation, communications, industrial resources, and even the people in the area. It was most famously used by Lord Kitchener against the Boers

⁴⁰ A. C Martin, *The concentration camps 1900-1902*, (Cape Town, 1957), p. 6.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Lord Alfred Milner⁴² had been British High Commissioner and governor of Cape Colony since 1897, and in the aftermath of the war, he became High Commissioner for all four colonies. This man believed that political equality of Blacks and Whites was impossible, and that South Africa was a white man's country. His aim was to re-establish white control over the land and to force the Africans back to wage labour.

Milner, in his turn again, intended to breakdown the Afrikaner power, and for this reason, he planned to encourage large numbers from Britain to emigrate so that the majority of South Africans would be English speakers. He also wanted to establish policies of denationalization and of Anglicization among the Afrikaners who would after that lose their sense of a separate identity and would accept British culture. But this pacification failed because the Boers refused to refer to the English culture and started using the Afrikaans language.

For the sake of rebuilding the country, Milner imposed taxes on the African population and he reduced their wages. Such a decision led the Africans to protest in 1906. To protect them from the British authority, Bambatha⁴³ led an armed uprising, but this latter was killed with his several thousand followers. And this was the last armed struggle against colonial rule.

⁴² Lord Alfred Milner was a British High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor of the Cape colony between 1897 and 1899, when the Anglo-Boer war broke out. He played a major role in the reconstruction period that followed the war and the subsequent unification of the four colonies in 1910. Milner was appointed administrator of the two former Boer republics and soon formed the famous "Kindergarten" group of young Oxford educated officials who built the Northern region's shattered landscape. Milner's aim for reconstruction in South Africa was primarily based on creating a united white Government; he appointed the Lagden commission to draw up a native policy that was to put restrictions on land access for Africans. He extended his separatist ambitions to education and political life as means of strengthening white supremacy, which were in turn turned into legislation by successive Governments. He returned to England in 1906.
www.successivegovernments.com/biography/Alfred-Milner.

⁴³ The Bambatha rebellion took place near Grey town in Kwa Zulu-Natal. The first signs of discontent started at the end of 1905, when government introduced a new one pound poll tax on top of existing hut and dog taxes. After the second Anglo-Boer war and before the unification of South Africa, Africa mining Companies suffered from a shortage of unskilled labour. Most African people lived off the land as farmers, tenants on white farms or in reserves created by the colonial government. The tax was instituted to force blacks from rural areas to the cities to fulfil the labour needs of mines. In 1906 a group of Zulus under leadership of Chief Bambatha refused to pay the tax. A white farmer in the camper down district was murdered in January and when some Zulus began killing of their white- coloured animals and destroying European-made tools, whites realised that an uprising was imminent. After the murder of two policemen, martial law was declared and soldiers sent in. Huts of suspected rebels were burned, their possessions taken and a violent rebellion started. Over 7,000 British troops were called out to suppress the Zulu aggression and 4,000 rebels died.www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bambatha-Rebellion.10.10.2011

In order to save the white power in South Africa, both the British and the Boers started working for the unification of South Africa. The British looked to the Afrikaners as collaborators in securing imperial political and economic interests.

2-THE ACT OF UNION, 1910

After the South African war, the British began focussing their attention on rebuilding the country, and specially the mining industry. Whereas, by the end of the 19th Century, the indigenous peoples of South Africa had lost most of their political and economic independence and the systems that were put by the authorities left black, coloured and Indian people completely marginalised. Harsh taxes and reduced wages were imposed on them. At the same time the British administrator encouraged the immigration of thousands of Chinese to stop any resistance by Africans mine workers. Black, Coloured and Indian resentment of government policies exploded in various rebellions and protests, but the British decided rapidly to move a head with their plans for Union.

After the war, the Afrikaners found themselves in dishonourable position of poor farmers in a country where big mining ventures and foreign capital made them irrelevant.

However, when the Act of Union of 1910 brought together the previous by separate Colonies of the Orange Free State, Transvaal, Natal and the Cape to form the Union of South Africa, the British and the Boers put aside war in order to entrench white power and privilege at the expense of all Black Africans.

Before the Anglo-Boer war, relations between Black and white were very strained. The policies of the British colonial administrator, Alfred Milner, engendered considerable resistance from Black people and led to the formation and growth of new political bodies. British segregationist legislation included the Franchise Act of 1892 which limited the black vote by finance and education requirements, the Natal legislative Assembly Bill of

1894, which deprived Indians of the right to vote; the general Pass Regulations Bill of 1905, which denied blacks the vote altogether, limited them to fixed areas⁴⁴.

In 1902, Coloureds in Cape Town formed the African Political Organisation to represent the interests of education Coloured people. Abdullah Abdurrahman the one, who became the President of the organisation in 1904, stressed his organisation's displeasure at the political discrimination to which Coloureds were Subjected.

In addition, discrimination policies assumed new urgency with the formation of the South African Native Affairs Commission in 1903. That year witnessed the introduction of the pass system that would later be the focus of much resistance by Mohandas Gandhi among other people. However, the pass system effectively meant that Africans could not be employed by any farmer, miner or industrialist without a pass. The following year, indentured Chinese labourers were imported to work on the gold and diamond mines with the consequence that Black workers wages were further rubbed. Consequently, poor wages together with inhumane working and living conditions were among the major causes of worker disgruntlement at that time and various working class trade unions and groups struggled against this exploitation.

In 1906, Indian political activist, Mohandas Ghandi⁴⁵, began a passive resistance campaign against the pass laws⁴⁶, leading Indians in Natal and the Transvaal in demonstrations and organising stop-work protests that won thousands of supporters. In its historical development, passive resistance in South Africa has been closely associated

⁴⁴ Nelson, D. Harold, South Africa. A Country Study. Area handbook series. The American University, 1981. p. 21.

⁴⁵ Mohandas (Mahatma) Karamchand Gandhi was possibly the most internationally celebrated Indian. His message of passive resistance and a non-violent approach to the struggle for independence has inspired people across the globe. His message of equality for women and the untouchables put him at the forefront of movements towards social justice in both Indian and South African society. www.biography.com/people/mahatma-gandi.14.07.2010.

⁴⁶ Indians were legally prohibited from living in or entering the Orange Free State.

with Mohandas Gandhi and his philosophy of “Satyagraha”⁴⁷, this term that he coined in 1906. Thus, this was a new technique of fighting social and political injustice, and a campaign method conducted without hatred and without violence.

During the next eight years, Mohandas Gandhi used this method with a measure of success, until 1914, when he reached an agreement with the South African Government and left for India. Gandhi’s comment on the term Satyagraha was as follows:

“I coined the word “Satyagraha” in South Africa in order to give a name to the power with which the Indians there fought for a full eight years (1906-1914). I spoke of Satyagraha in order to force a wedge between this power and the movement which was referred to in Great Britain and South Africa as “passive resistance”⁴⁸.

After the 1906 Passive resistance campaign, there were further passive resistance campaigns in later decades by Indians, Blacks and progressive whites in South Africa⁴⁹.

Constitutional discussions about union took place between 1908 and 1909, and numerous meetings were organized by Africans, coloureds and Indians to protest against their absence from these exclusive white meetings. In 1909, a group of Black delegates from the four provinces attended the South African Native Convention (SANC) in Bloemfontein to propose their objection to the draft South Africa Act of Union. John

⁴⁷ Satyagraha is the philosophy and practise of non-violent resistance formulated by Mohandas Ghandi in the 1890s protest movements by Indians in South Africa and anti-colonial movements in India, and adopted by other social and civil rights movements. Satyagraha is composed of three parts:

-1. Satya: truth, -2. Ahimsa: refusal to inflict injury on others, and 3. Tapasya: willingness for self sacrifice. www.britanica.com/topic/stayagraha-philosophy.14.07.2010.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Brian M. Du Toit, the Mahatma Gandhi and South Africa, *the Journal of Modern African Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 643-660.

⁴⁹ Gandhi believed in the effectiveness of what he called the soul force “in passive resistance, maintaining that the suffering experienced by the resisters inspired a change of heart in the rulers. Ibid.

Dube⁵⁰ and Doctor Walter Rubusana⁵¹ decided to send a delegation to London to convince the British Government not to accept the Union draft but the delegation failed in the end.

In 1910, the South Africa Act was passed in Britain granting domination to the white over African, Indian and coloured races. The Colonies and Republics of Cape Colony, Natal, and Orange Free State were brought under this Act as the Union of South Africa. On May 30, 1910 the Union of South Africa came into being. Under the provisions of the Act, the Union remained British territory, but with Afrikaners' home-rule. Each of the four unified states was allowed to keep its existing franchise qualifications and Cape Colony was the only one which permitted voting by non-whites.

The British Government goal from this unification was to establish an independent state with political control over the territories of South Africa. They pursued this goal in order to consolidate white power to create a new white nation and strengthen South Africa politically and economically. They also hoped to maintain control over what was considered to be an inferior and encroaching black majority⁵².

The result of the 1910 parliamentary elections showed an overwhelming victory for the South African Party (SAP). After the elections, General Louis Botha formed a Government which was committed to bring about reconciliation between Boer and British, and the exclusion of Africans from the political life of the country. This Government took office on 31 May 1910. This day was significant for both the British and the Boers. For the British the formation of a central Government in South Africa ensured political stability for mining capital. For Afrikaners, the formation of the Union represented a great success. Yet, the Act of Union denied the Africans a voice in parliament where decisions were made.

⁵⁰ John Dubean author, a minister of the congregational (American board) church, and a founder member and first president of the South African Native National Congress(SANNC) from 1912 to 1917. www.

⁵¹ Dr. Walter Benson Rubusana was born on 21 February 1858 at Mnandi, Cape Town, South Africa. He was a minister of the Congregational Church, and a president of the South African Native Convention. He led a deputation to London To protest the Ntive Land Act of 1913. He was the first African to be elected to serve as member of the Cape Provincial Council. Potgeiter, D.J et a P. (eds), standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, NASOU: Cape town, 1971, V. 3, p. 620.

⁵² Legassick ? M, British Hegemony and Origins of Racial Segregation in South Africa 1901-1914, in Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa, London, 1995, pp.43-59.

In 1911, the first Prime Minister of the Union General Louis Botha⁵³ and Jan Christian Smuts were involved in the development of the new constitution in which the policy of formal racial segregation was introduced, in order to strip Africans of the means to defend themselves, and to leave them helpless in front of the capitalist exploitation. Therefore, two important laws were passed, the Mines and works Act of 1911 reserved some occupation in the mining industry for whites only, the second law was the Native Labour Regulation Act of the same year, through which the government armed itself with powers of control over the movement of Africans⁵⁴.

By this policy of controlling the African labour movement the Government created what was so called cheap labour in Native reserves⁵⁵. And it entrenched the practice of migrant labour by creating a situation where only the labourer was permitted to take employment in the white areas whereas his family was left in the reserves⁵⁶.

With the passing of the Native land Act of 1913 in addition to the Mines, works Act and the Native Labour regulation Act, the Government established foundations for the system of race oppression and exploitation. As a reaction, a group of professional, intellectual and other educated Africans and representatives of various African organizations formed in 1912 South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in order to eliminate racial oppression and to improve the conditions of their people⁵⁷.

⁵³ General Louis Botha was born on 27 September 1862 at Greytown, Natal, South Africa. A Boer general and statesman, he was the leader of the Transvaal army in the second Anglo-Boer war(1899-1902) from March 1900 and he was one of the architects of the union of South Africa.<http://en.wikipedia.org/Zouli-Botha/25.09.2009>

⁵⁴ Lipton, M. *Capitalism and Apartheid*, Rowman and Allanheld, England: Longman, 1986, p. 109.

⁵⁵ The adaptation of the migrant labour system gave rise in turn to the compound system of housing labour, which had first started in the diamond, gold mines. Walkner, C., Landmarked: Land claims and Land Restitution in South Africa, Ohio University Press, 2008, pp. 113-114.

⁵⁶ S.A.N.N.C was founded in 1912; it initially worked within the law to eliminate racial oppression

⁵⁷ Duboi, B., Conscienceness, Identification and resistance in South Africa. *Journal of African Studies*. Vol. xxi.N03. 1983.p. 375

3 - AFRICAN NATIONALISM, WORKING CLASS, AND POPULAR PROTESTS (1910-1924)

Black communities were successively deprived of their land by the colonial administrations since 1652. The loss of this crucial resource was the most important factor that led to the marginalization of African communities. It was also the most important factor that led to the formation and rise of organized resistance.

The authorities evicted thousands of squatters from farms and forced them into overcrowded reserves. Life in the rural reserves was harsh. As a matter of fact, with the hardening of white racism and segregation, black, coloured and Indian people began to identify themselves as “Africans”, and an “African Nationalism” began to emerge.⁵⁸

What is African Nationalism? Nationalism refers to an Ideology, a form of culture, or a social movement that focuses on the nation. It emphasises the collective of a specific nation. As an ideology, nationalism holds that “the people” in the doctrine of popular sovereignty is the nation. Nationalism ultimately is based on supporting one’s own nation. African nationalism is a political movement for the unification of Africa, Pan Africanism⁵⁹, and for National self determination.

Pixley Ka Isaka Seme was the one who moved in organizing the meeting to establish the Congress and gave the first Keynote in the meeting, he stated:

“Chiefs of royal blood and gentlemen of our race, we have gathered here to consider and discuss a theme which my colleagues and I have decided to place before you. We have discovered that in the land of their birth, Africans are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The white people of this country have formed what

⁵⁸ Walker, C., op. cit., p.114.

⁵⁹ Pan Africanism is the belief in a broad African identity including all those of African descent in Africa and abroad and the need for African unity to fight against slavery, racism, imperialism, and colonial occupation. Legum, Colin, Pan Africanism, N.York, USA, 1962.p. 14.

is know as the union of South Africa- a union which we have no voice in the making of the laws and no part in their administration. We have called you therefore to this conference so that we can together devise ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges⁶⁰”.

Several hundred members of South Africa’s educated African elite met at Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912 to establish a National Organization to protest against racial discrimination and to ask for equal treatment before the law. The founding president was John L. Dube. Pixley Ka Isaka Seme was appointed treasurer, Solomon T. Plaatje became Secretary. In addition, Rev Walter Rubusana, Meshack Pelem, Sam Makgatho and Alfred Mangena were elected Vice Presidents.⁶¹

Overall, the Congress was moderate in composition and practice, their founders felt that British rule had brought considerable benefits, especially Christianity, education and the rule of law, but they also considered that their careers as teachers, lawyers were hindered by racial discrimination.

The most burning issues for the congress was the Native land act of 1913 under which the white population of one and a half million was allotted more than 90 percent of the total land, while the African population of five and a half million got less than 10 per cent.

Moreover, this land Act legislated that black workers could only be engaged as cheap semi –skilled labourers, and prohibiting them from seeking skilled work. For these so-called “unskilled” workers, the political environment created by racist rule ensured that they worked under appalling conditions.

⁶⁰ Quoted in E. Webster (ed.), *Essays in Southern African labour history*, Johannesburg: Ravan Labour Studies, 1978, p.10.

⁶¹ Lapping, B., op.cit., p.89.

As a matter of fact, eligibility to vote was seen as a right belonging to whites who granted it at their discretion as a privilege to non-whites. It meant that, electoral privileges were not extended to blacks. Initially, the ANC provided feeble opposition to the white government, but became a more powerful force in later decades.

Before 1913, Africans lease and purchase land outside reserves. The reason why, and by 1912, white farmers felt threatened by the Africans acquisition of land. So, the land Act was imposed on the Africans in order to control them.

Many discriminatory laws against Blacks were passed by the colonial government, and the most severe was the 1913 “Natives land Act”, through which the large majority of the union’s land was preserved for the use of the white minority.

Moreover, this Act deprived the Africans from the right to own land except in the reserves where the soil was infertile. In fact, this Act forced many Africans to move to the towns. As a result, the struggle against the land Act was a struggle to take back the land that had been robbed by colonialists.

The main objective of the land Act was to create a mass of cheap labour in the rural areas and to make an end to the emerging African peasantry. As a reaction to the Act, the African National Congress mounted a campaign against it. In March 1913, a deputation to present African objections to the Act was formed. The meeting was organized on 5 July 1913, and the members were gathered to discuss the situation and the conditions created by Native land Act, but unfortunately this attempt had failed⁶², because the British were not prepared to involve themselves with the internal affairs of South Africa.

⁶² L. Forman, *The Birth of African Nationalism*, Africa South in Exile London. Jan-Mar.1961, p. 49.

When the congress sent a deputation to London in 1914 to protest the Act, the British colonial secretary told them that he could do nothing for them. This was the year the First World War broke out and the National party (NP) was formed under Hertzog⁶³.

South Africa was involved in the war by the side of Britain and its allies in the hope that their support would bring about an end to the cruel and unjust power of the white. Africans were made to believe that colonialists were going to grant them freedom after the war. But, in reality, all their rights were denied and the effects of the Natives Land Act were felt immediately. They were not only dispossessed of their Land, but within a month of the passing of the Act they were thrown out of white farms and dispossessed of their livestock.

As a matter of fact, the Act caused an extreme pressure on the land, and created poverty among the Africans. On 28 May 1913 a mass meeting of women was held in Waaihoek where they decided to adopt a passive resistance. Those women refused to carry residential permits and they tore up their passes. By this act they provoked the authorities who arrested them and sent them to prison. In 1918 an African women's organisation was formed as a one of the direct consequences of the Bloemfontein anti pass campaign⁶⁴. The Bantu Women's league (BWL) was formed as a branch of the ANC under the leadership of Charlotte Maxeke whom demonstrated widely against passes for women⁶⁵.

The most important social development between World War I and World War II was the massive urbanisation. From 1904 to 1936 the number of city -dwelling Africans more than tripled in thirty years. This urban growth occurred in a context of segregation. Africans in the cities lived in terrible conditions, with inadequate housing, poor health and transport services, and electricity for many decades. Along Segregation also caused gender imbalance, and this when more men working in urban areas than women.

⁶³ Stephen M. Davis, *Apartheid's Rebels Inside South Africa's Hidden war*; London, 1987, p. 50. And in P.L. wickins, *The Natives land Act of 1913: A cautionary Essay on simple explanations of Complex Change*, South African Journal of economics, 49 (February 1981), p. 106.

⁶⁴ T.Karis and G.M. carter (eds), *from protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of Africans in South Africa. 1882-1964*, California, 1972, Vol. 1, p. 40.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.41. Charlotte Maxeke : South African's first women graduate, who had been educated in the USA.

Whites also sought to tighten control of black workers by passing laws in the 1920s that severely curtailed black economic freedom, including a prohibition on forming unions.

During and shortly after world war I, black and coloured people who were absorbed by the emerging industries continued to receive paltry wages and were subjected to sub-standard housing and inferior sanitary facilities, prompting the formation of first African trade union, the Industrial workers of Africa in 1917. After the end of the war in 1919 the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, (ICU) was formed by dockworkers.

To a large extent the ICU largely overshadowed the African National congress as the ANC was at the time short of funds and poorly organised. The ICU, founded union in Cape Town, started out as a trade union for the black and coloured dockworkers in Cape Town. However, the ICU soon developed into a more general organisation, including in its membership skilled as well as unskilled workers from industry and the agricultural sector. Unlike the ANC, the ICU did not officially petition the authorities, but adopted a more active approach with a view to obtain better working conditions and higher wages for their members⁶⁶. As a result, their membership increased rapidly mainly because the ICU held out hope for immediate change within the existing socio-economic system. The trade union movement spread to other urban areas, such as Natal. Soon ICU branches were opened throughout South Africa, and in 1925 the union moved to Johannesburg.

The founding conference of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) took place in Cape Town from 30 July to 01 August 1921. It was founded mainly by radical white workers and socialists who had experienced workers struggles in Europe and were inspired by the first Communist state which was founded in 1917 in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution⁶⁷.

⁶⁶B.Lapping, op.cit., p.91

⁶⁷ W.Beinart, *Twentieth Century South Africa*, Oxford University press, 2001, pp. 104 – 105.

The formation of the CPSA marked a decisive turning point in the evolution of labour politics in South Africa. Up to the time then the organised labour movement consisted mostly of white working class members. Throughout the 1920s, the CPSA gave special attention to organise African workers around the subject of trade rights and liberation demands, and by 1925 the CPSA had the largest number of Black members, and called for Black majority rule in 1928.

The Rand Rebellion of 1922 was an armed uprising that is also referred to as the Rand Revolt or Red Revolt. It occurred during a period of economic depression following World War I, when Mining Companies were faced with rising costs and a fall in the price of gold.

The South African war of 1899 to 1902 caused disruption in the Mining Industry. At some stage, mines were closed, and led to considerable loss of Capital. However a racially division of labour had developed in the mining sector where the supervisory and skilled jobs were done by whites, while unskilled and poorly paid labour became to be for African and coloured labourers.

The end of the war saw the entry of large numbers of unskilled white and unemployed men into the urban areas. Therefore the mine-owners had formulated a policy of division of labour that would serve their interests, without disturbing the racist social order that had developed in the mining industry. But this act created a conflict of interests between mine-owners and mine workers. Hence, in the period between 1907 and 1922 there was considerable industrial unrest and action in the mining sector. During the post World War I, the chamber of Mines decided to reduce labour costs by removing the Colour bar⁶⁸ and increasing the number of Black workers.

⁶⁸ Colour Bar: Is the limitations on job availability and restrictions on which jobs, and what salary, one could work due to one's race. <http://en.wikipedia.org/10/10/2016>

As time passed, black miners began to acquire these skills, and their wages remained at very low rates. In September 1918 white mine workers had succeeded in persuading the chamber of Mines to agree that no position filled by a white worker should be given to an African or coloured worker.

When the chamber of Mines gave notice that cheap Black labour would be replacing 2000 semiskilled white men, the white miners reacted strongly⁶⁹ their jobs were threatened by the removal of the colour bar, and they feared the social encroachment on their lives, and the cultural background of the coloured races might make. After negotiations between the chamber of Mines or Mine owners and the South African industrial federation failed, strikes were launched in 1921⁷⁰. On Monday, 6 March, a general strike was proclaimed, and it turned into open revolution⁷¹. The Rand Revolt caused suffering on every section of the community. It cost many lives and millions of pounds.

One of the most important developments in South Africa in that period was the formation of the Pact Government in which the push for independence from Britain was becoming strong. In 1923 the National Party (NP) and Labour Party (LP) formed a pact to win the general elections held in the Union of South Africa in 1924. Their main opposition was the South African Party (SAP) led by General Jan Smuts who had been the prime Minister of the country since Louis Botha's death in 1919. The Pact Government made effort on establishing a new South African Identity with its freedom from British rule. During that period the Government experienced several splits.

Economically; the late 1920s and early 1930 were difficult years. There was a world-wide depression and South Africa did escape its effect. Unemployment rose very fast and there was widespread poverty among the families in the rural areas and especially those in the reserves that suffered most. Thus, Many Afrikaners who were still on the Land moved to the towns, and they created what was called the "poor white" problem.

⁶⁹ R. A. Jones and H. R. Griffiths, *labour legislation in South Africa*, Johannesburg, 1980, pp. 10-110.

⁷⁰ Johnston, *Race, class and gold*, Johannesburg, 1979, p.169.

⁷¹ S.P. Bunting, *Red Revolt: the Rand Strike*, January-March, 1922, The workers' story, Johannesburg. 1922, p.12.and B. Hirson, *the General Strike of 1922*, searchlight South Africa 3.3, 1993, pp. 80-88

During this period as more Blacks moved to urban areas, segregation legislation against Black, Indian and coloured South Africans increased. Moreover, the 1923 Natives Act restricted African migration into towns, and laid down conditions of apprenticeship that excluded them⁷². Throughout this Act, the Government aimed to tighten control of Black workers and to limit their economic freedom for the sake of preventing them to form Unions through which they expressed their growing political awareness. For years the Government tried to prevent the employment of Africans in skilled categories by recruiting white labour from Europe.

As the PACT Government was formed it passed the Industrial conciliation Act in 1924⁷³. And in terms of this law pass bearing Africans were not regarded as employees, they were excluded and whenever they resorted to strike action the police came into break it up violently.

Effectively, the National Party (NP) and labour Party (LP) were prepared to work together because they wanted to force the South African Party (SAP). So, they formed an alliance that was Victorious in the 1924 election.

However, Total segregation was introduced by the NP, while the LP wanted a colour bar in industries to protect skilled and semi-skilled white workers against their replacement by cheap black labour.

Five years later, the Government of Hertzog⁷⁴ won the 1929 election and according to the Government system, the United Blacks posed a threat to white minority rule in South Africa, The reason that led whites to Vote for the Hertzog Government.

⁷² INNES, Dand Plant, M, "class struggle and the state", *Review of African Political Economy*, 1978, pp. 75-76.

⁷³ This Act provided machinery for collective bargaining between employers and trade unions.

⁷⁴ James Barry Munnik Hertzog was a lawyer, judge and South African Prime Minister. At the 1929 general election Hertzog's National Party won enough seats to form a Government on its own. But at the height of the world's recession, Hertzog refused to go off the gold standard and nearly brought the country to economic ruin thereby putting his own political career at risk. In 1933 Hertzog's National Party and Smits's South African Party fused, eventually to form the United South African National Party. D. F. Malan of the cape National Party broke away in 1934 but reunited National with Hertzog and some of his followers in 1939 to form the reunited National Party. In 1940 Hertzog retired from active politics and died in 1942.
www.biography.Com/people/James-Barry-Munnik-Hertzog.20/07/2010

During the 1930s many attempts were done in order to organise workers into trade unions, as the case for the Industrial and commercial union that was organised by 1928 and that did little to offer solidarity among Blacks. In 1930 another union was formed under the name of South Africa trades and labour council. In fact, these organisations were illegal, in that period of time, and were prevented by law from becoming registered. Only white, coloured and Indian workers were allowed to form and join registered unions. Throughout this period, other organisations sprang up all over the country⁷⁵. And all of them had one aim, which was to fight for liberation, but they declined rapidly thereafter as a result of regional factionalism.

In 1923, the South African Native National congress (SANNC) renamed itself, African National Congress (ANC). It aimed at uniting the organisation and be capable of taking the aspirations of oppressed people forward. While the National Party Government acted by introducing the Native urban Act through which they aimed at regulating the presence of Africans in urban areas. A report called stallard report led to the passing of this act, it stated:

*“ it should be a recognized principle that natives _ men, women and children should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for as long as their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population... the master less native in urban areas is a source of danger and a cause of degradation of both black and white... If the native is to be regarded as a permanent element in municipal areas...there can be no justification for basing his exclusion from the franchise on the simple ground of colour”.*⁷⁶

Around this time, the South African Indian congress (SAIC) was formed as an organisation to fight the increased anti-Indian legislation that was imposed by the Hertzog Government. This Organisation had a bit of success and dialogue with the Government.

⁷⁵ There were political organisations, professional organisations, trade unions and civic bodies, religious organisations that were all of them on an individual basis of membership.

⁷⁶ Quoted in T.R.H DAVENPORT, “African History”, African studies, Rhodes University, *South African Historical journal*, Vol.2, Issue 1 November 1970, p. 77.

The years between 1927 and 1936 witnessed the creation of two other pieces of segregationist legislation, The Native Administration Act and the Native Representation Act. The first one, the Natives Administration Act, gave the Government unlimited authority over all Africans outside the Cape Province it means that the British Governor General become chief of all Africans. While the second Act, the Native Representation Act, removed Africans of the Cape Province from the ordinary voters roll, a right they had held in the cape since 1854. Instead, they actually could elect whites to represent them in the house of Assembly and the Senate⁷⁷.

Hertzog through his policy wanted to stop the African threat. According to him if the Africans continued to exercise the vote, he argued, “*it must inevitably lead to the decline of the whites and European Civilization in the Union*”.⁷⁸ Consequently, the onslaught of the Hertzog Bills stirred African people throughout the country. A few of the liberation movement leaders decided to call on the liberation organisations to send representatives to a convention to be held in Bloemfontein in December 1935. However, it was the biggest conference in the liberation struggle’s history and was a truly representative gathering. There were over 500 delegates present with representatives from both towns and rural areas. Delegates had been sent from the reserves, from the Transkei and Zululand, from the protectorates, Bechuanaland (Botswana), Basutoland (Lesotho) and Swaziland.

The all African convention (AAC) was aimed at promoting African rights through boycotts. In 1935 D.D.T Jabavu⁷⁹ called the all-Africans to fight against the Hertzog Bills. But by 1932 this organisation was destroyed.

⁷⁷ Roger B. Beck, *The History of South Africa*, the greenwood.2000.USA, p.114.

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ D. D. T Jabavu was born in King William’s Town, cape colony, the son of John Tengo Jabavu the renowned editor of “Imvo Zabantsundu”, a weekly newspaper for South Africans. Jabavu assumed the role of spokesman for his people and engaged in many undertakings on the National political stage. He sought to realize the liberal ideal of a non-race-based cape Franchise, which involved a Vaguely elitist notion of granting equal rights to all “civilized” men regardless of race. He travelled widely, both abroad and in South Africa, to further the cause of Africans. Beginning in the mid-1920s he also was one of the leading figures in the joint council movement, which attempted to open lines of communication between leaders in the white and African communities. In 1929 Jabavu also helped found the South African Institute of Race Relations, which was dedicated to the same goal, serving as its vice President from 1932 to 1959. In the mid-1930 he assumed leadership of the movement to prevent the passage of the Native Bills, which aimed to abolish African Franchise rights in the cape Province. To this end, in 1935 he established, and assumed the presidency of the all-African convention. www.biography.com/people/Jabavu.20/07/2010

4- THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND ITS IMPACT

In 1934, THE United Party was formed when the NP and SAP merged; Hertzog is leader and prime Minister and smut as deputy leader. The event that led to the outbreak of the Second World War had a direct impact on South Africa. The world was anxious and countries wanted to build allies to protect themselves in case of a war. At the beginning, Hertzog wanted to stay neutral if Britain declared war, whereas smut favoured entry into the war on the side of the British. Thus, after Britain declared war on Germany on 3rd September 1939 South Africa entered the war on the side of Britain causing the United Party to split and smuts to become Prime Minister. However, the ANC and other opposition political Parties were not sure to participate in the war, after that they gave support to the war. Therefore, the hope for the liberation movement was for the war to end in so that South Africa could concentrate on its domestic affairs.

The most important event to mention is that the United Party Government began to relax the implementation of the pass laws, attempted to win Africans over to the war effort and to take seriously for the first time the possibility of a permanently settled African urban population with all the attendant social and political implications⁸⁰.

During the war, some Afrikaner politicians and intellectuals broke away and established the Purified National Party or "*Herenigde Nasionale Party*"⁸¹ under the leadership of Daniel F. Malan in 1934. When Hertzog left the United Party in 1939, he joined the HNP. This Party would play an enormous role after war. It would win the elections of 1948 and institutionalise Apartheid.

⁸⁰ Beinart. W, *Twentieth-Century south Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp.129-130

⁸¹ Purified National Party disputes over South Africa's autonomy and the British Empire led to the formation of the Gesuiwerde (Purified) Nasionale Party in 1934-1935. A coalition made up of both British and Afrikaner whites within the United Party Organized this Party. <http://en.wikipedia.org/20/10/2010>

Economically and socially, the war had a huge effect on South Africa. While gold and mining continued to be the biggest and important industry in the country and manufacturing grew enormously to meet wartime demands. Between 1939 and 1945 the number of people employed in the manufacturing industry, many of them African women, rose sixteen percent. Urbanization also increased rapidly and the number of African town dwellers almost doubled. By 1946 there were more Africans in South Africa's towns and cities than there were whites. Many of blacks lived in squatter communities. Such developments contradicted the segregationist Ideology that blacks should live in their rural locations and not become permanent urban residents.

After the war, the ruling Party, the United Party (UP) under smuts, lost a lot of support. People believed that it was unable of dealing with the post-war problems. So, many white people felt that smuts lacked a clear policy on how to deal with segregation and black people.

The 1940s in South Africa were known by Political and Social resistance Campaigns'. New Black Organizations were developed in order to demand official recognition of their existence and better treatment of their members. However, urban black workers, demanding higher wages and better working conditions formed their own trade unions and engaged in a series of strikes throughout the early 1940s. The Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) was formed in 1941 that claimed 158000 members organized in 119 unions. The most important of these new trade unions was the African Mine Workers Union (AMWU). This latter in 1946 struck for higher wages in the Gold mines and succeeded in getting 60000 men to stop work⁸².

Consequently, increased attacks on the rights of black people and the rise of extreme Afrikaner nationalism created the need for a more militant response from the ANC. Harsher racism also brought greater co-operation between the organisations of

⁸² T. Lodge, "*The ANC and the Development of Party politics in modern South Africa*", *Journal of Modern African studies* (42)2, June 2004, pp. 189-219.

Africans, coloureds and Indians. In 1947, the ANC and the Indian congresses signed a pact stating full support for one another's campaigns.

5- THE FORMATION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE

In the face of oppression, liberation organisations such as the African National Congress Communist Party of South Africa and labour movements emerged in opposition to the white Government, but the question arose whether all these liberation movements were prepared and equipped to challenge the Government and its laws.

The African National Congress in his turn took the leading role in the struggle; it had suffered internal problems and becoming stagnant. However, Dr Alfred Xuma⁸³ was elected President of the ANC and he began to give a new life to the organization in 1940.

Xuma allowed to form the ANC Youth League. The young leaders of the youth league among them Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisul and Oliver Tambo. They believed Africans would be freed only by their own efforts. The Youth League aimed to involve the masses of people in militant struggles. The Congress youth league was formed in 1944.

Many people moved to the cities in the 1940s to work in new factories and industries, they began to form their own community organisations such as trade unions and the squatter's movement.

The Youth League's militant ideas found support among the new population of the cities. The youth league in some how drew up a programme of Action calling for strikes, boycotts and defiance and various forms of civil disobedience. As was the case for the African mineworkers who went on strike in 1946 and 60000 men stopped work in

⁸³ Dr Alfred Xuma was a teacher, and medical doctor. At the ANC conference in Bloemfontein on 16 December 1940, Xuma was elected President of the ANC. Six Months of taking office; he outlined his vision for congress. www.biography.com/Alfred-Xuma. 25/07/2010

demanding conditions. The police crushed the protest, but the workers had succeeded in challenging the system of cheap labour.

6- THE BUILD UP TO THE 1948 ELECTION

By the year 1947, the Native Representative Council (NRC) demanded the removal of all discriminatory laws. A few member of this NRC knew that after the 1948 elections, these laws would become discriminatory under the policy of Apartheid. Meanwhile The Native law or Fagan commission was appointed to look into pass laws to control the movement of people in urban areas. This commission suggested that urban labour should be stabilised, as Workers were needed for industries and other businesses. In other words, the decision that was reported by the commission did not encourage Social or Political intermix of races be impossible. Whereas, the National Party saw that complete segregation could be performed they helped the creation of a migrant labour pool with black people being allowed stays in cities for the purpose of work only. And finally Malan called for discriminatory legislation, like reserving jobs for white people and banning the black trade unions.

Apartheid according to Malan meant prohibiting marriages between Blacks and whites, abolishing African representation in parliament, recognizing the reserves as the true home of the natives, exercising control over their entry into towns, maximizing segregation, and the protection of the white workers. He said:

“Colourds would have a position between white and Natives, but should lose their vote on the common roll, while Indians were a foreign element, who should be repatriated back to Indian”⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ Stultz, N.M, “Afrikaner politics in South Africa, 1934-1948, university of California press. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London. 1974. pp, 136-7.

Apartheid in South Africa started officially in 1948 when the Afrikaner Nationalist party came to power. From 1948 to 1991, the policy of racial discrimination known as apartheid plagued the country of South Africa. The next chapter will explain the Apartheid system and defined the laws and the measures that were designed to oppress the rights of blacks. So what was Apartheid ?.

CHAPTER TWO

APARTHEID

(1948-1976)

In 1948, the National Party won the national elections on a platform of racism and segregation. Apartheid built upon earlier laws, but made segregation more rigid. This latter influenced every sphere of life and denied human rights to the South African population.

Apartheid is an Afrikaners word which means apartness. Apartheid, developed in the 1939 and 1949, and was similar to the policy of segregation. During the 1930s and the 1940s South Africa became a modern industrialized and urbanised nation and Apartheid was a reaction by Afrikaners to this rapid change⁸⁵

1-THE APARTHEID SYSTEM

This system was a social and political policy of racial segregation and discrimination which was enforced by a series of repressive laws and regulations which prohibited social contact between races, enforced segregation of public facilities, the separation of educational standards, created race-specific job categories, restricted powers of non-white unions and curbed non-white participation in Government.⁸⁶ Initially, the aim of such a racist system was to maintain white domination.

The war years witnessed a huge growth of mining, and of manufacturing industries. South African factories became major suppliers of small arms to the Allied forces. As a result, the size of the labour force increased, and most of them, were from the non-white population groups.

⁸⁵ P.Brits, *Modern South Africa: Afrikaner power, the politics of race, and resistance, 1902 to the 1970's*, Pretoria, University of South Africa Press, 2007, p.37.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

After 1945, the wartime government led by Jan Smuts appeared uncertain in front of the mounting political and economic pressures. So, he realised that something would have to be done to alleviate the misery of South Africa's huge African urban Population. In 1946 he appointed the Fagan Commission to inquire into the pass laws, migrant labour and the position of Africans in towns and Industry.

In the 1948 election Smut's United party was defeated by the National Party, led by D.F Malan, some of whose supporters had succeeded in frightening voters with the allegation that some of Smut's ministers were in favour of granting full political equality, which would result in a Coffee-Coloured race. The determination to remain dominant, and the corresponding fear of being "swamped" by the African majority, was one which motivated nearly, all whites.

The National Party leaders, D.F Malan and Hendrik F. Verwoerd, were the architects of Apartheid. Malan used the term from the 1930s as he distanced his party from British traditions of liberalism and the earlier policy of segregation, which he saw as too lenient towards Blacks.

In principle, apartheid did not differ that much from the policy of segregation of the South African government existing before the Afrikaner Nationalists Party came to power in 1948. The main difference was that apartheid made segregation part of the law. Apartheid cruelly and forcibly separated people, and had a fearsome state apparatus to punish those who fought against it. Apartheid was introduced in a period when other countries were moving away from racist policies⁸⁷.

However, the Second World War highlighted the problems of racism and made the World away from such policies and encouraging demands for decolonization. It was during this period that South Africa introduced the more rigid racial policy of apartheid. Various reasons can be advanced for the introduction of the policy of apartheid and support for it. Among the reasons are those of racial superiority and fear. In South Africa

⁸⁷ Ibid

the white people were in the minority, and many were worried that they would lose their jobs.

The ideological foundation, of apartheid was that the different races in South Africa needed to be separated for their own mutual benefit. The bulk of apartheid thinking was based firmly on the philosophy of “scientific racism”. Afrikaners held that it was impossible, impracticable and ungodly for the different races and cultures to live as one people⁸⁸.

One important fact to be mentioned is that all blacks in South Africa would live only on a prescribed Bantustan; they would enter a white area only for the purpose of work and with correct documentation in the form of a passbook. Apartheid became more and more complicated and severe in its control over the blacks during the 1950s.

Apartheid rested on several bases. The most important were racial classification and racial sex laws, group areas for each racial community, segregated schools and universities, the elimination of integrated public facilities, and designated “homelands” for blacks as the basis for preventing them from demanding rights in the common area.

Apartheid became the governing political policy for South Africa until the early 1990s. The Government instituted influx control laws to limit the number of passes issued to black South Africa to leave their homelands and work in the cities or white farms.⁸⁹ Apartheid caused black South Africans to live in poverty compared to whites for whom apartheid provided a paradise of prosperity and comfort.

The main principles of the apartheid policy have been summarized by Professor J.P.Brits as follows:

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Separate development was as the first principle that the government imposed on the black people. The latter was obliged to be separated from the white. Secondly, the black people were also deprived from political rights in white areas. The government also instituted “Influx” control laws to limit the number of passes issued to black South Africans to leave their homelands and work in the cities or on white farms. Indians were also segregated like blacks under the so called apartheid principles⁹⁰.

Numerous laws were passed in the creation of the Apartheid state in the 1950s; this decade can be described as the era of petty Apartheid, when the Nationalists passed many new racist laws to enforce a racially separate and unequal social order. Here are the pillars on which apartheid rested: first, The Population Registration Act of 1950, demanded that people be registered according to their racial group. This meant that the department of home affairs would have a record of people according to their race. People would then be treated differently according to their population group, and so this law formed the basis of apartheid. Secondly, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, was put to ban all marriages between white people and those not deemed white. Under the immorality of this act, marrying a person of a different race was illegal. In addition, with the enactment of the Immorality Amendment Act of 1957, showing or even having intentions to have any type of relationship between members of a different race become a crime. Then, Group Areas Act of 1950, started physical separation between races, especially in urban areas. It also called for the removal of some groups of people into areas set aside for their racial group. Another act was introduced by 1953 this act was Reservation of Separate Amenities. These latter segregated public facilities it provided for segregated buses, train coaches, parks and public toilets. Blacks and coloured people were excluded from white theatres, cinemas, hotels and beaches.

In addition, Bantu Education Act of 1953 was instituted to provide black pupils with different expectations and future goals from white students. These differences were incorporated to make sure that blacks had different syllabus and schooling facilities from white children. For black students, the emphasis of their education was placed on technical education, equipping them for practical work as opposed to the education

⁹⁰ Op. cit., p. 38.

received by white students who were equipped for a professional job. According to Prime Minister H.F Verwoerd, “*The only way blacks would be tolerated near white areas was if there was some need that had to be carried out*⁹¹”. Finally, The Native labour Act of 1953 prohibited registered trade Union from accepting blacks as members, and forbade black workers to strike. Furthermore, black unions had been excluded since 1924 from the industrial councils where bargaining for wages occurred. In 1953 blacks were barred from belonging to registered unions. Those who tried to organise black workers ran the risk of being banned or detained. By 1960 most black unions had been smashed.

Apartheid turned blacks into foreigners in their country. They could not own land, they could not move without their passes, they could not resettle in another district and they could not do skilled work. In fact, they could be arrested at any moment and there was always some law, under which they could be charged and found guilty⁹².

Consequently, such massive intervention in the lives of people invited resistance, but the Government quickly moved against them, particularly against those active in trade unions. Moreover, in 1950 parliament passed the suppression of Communism Act, banning the South African Communist Party, and giving the Government the power to ban publications that promoted the objectives of Communism.

2 - RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID

During the 1950s, while the South African government passed and implemented oppressive apartheid laws, black South Africans responded by intensifying their political opposition. The ANC dramatically increased its membership under the leadership of Albert Luthuli⁹³ and Nelson Mandela⁹⁴ who became one of the organization’s principal organizers.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Ibid.,p.41.

⁹² IP.Brits, op. cit., p.38

⁹³ Albert John Luthuli was the Zulu Chief who won the Nobel peace Prize in 1960for fight against Apartheid; he wrote “Let My People Go”.www.biography.com/people/Luthuli.20/07/2010.

⁹⁴ Nelson Mandela is the leader of the **African National Congress(ANC)** and the first democratically elected leader South African imprisoned leader from 1962-1990.www.biography.com/people/Mandela./20/07/2010.

⁹⁵ The membership of the ANC was largely black ; it was a multicultural organization with white and Asian members, some of whom assumed the leadership position.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/about/Umzabalazo.html>.

After decades of receiving no response to demands for justice and equality, the ANC launched a Defiance campaign against unjust laws campaign in 1952, in cooperation with the South African Indian Congress. This period from 1948 to 1959 was characterised by more militant forms of protest, including immediate and active boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience, and non-cooperation, and African workers were organised into unions. All of the protests were still non-violent, a policy that the ANC advocated during the next era of the liberation struggle.

Members of the ANC Youth League, including Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu, demanded a much more militant programme of action. Their aim was to have mass protest, boycotts of white services and passive resistance against apartheid laws such as the pass laws. This new form of mass protest was known as the Programme of Action. The latter was adopted by the ANC in 1949 becoming its united strategy against the apartheid regime⁹⁶. Mandela and the ANC stuck to their course of non-violence according to them no matter what the authorities did, the volunteers could not retaliate, Mandela stated:

“That the time for passive resistance had ended, that non-violence was a useless strategy and could never overturn a white minority regime bent on retaining its power at any cost. Violence was the only weapon that would destroy apartheid and we must be prepared, in the near future, to use that weapon.”⁹⁷

The ANC leadership contributed positively to the formulation of a new militant policy, and some of their ideas were incorporated in the 1949 ANC programme of action that put emphasis on:

- 1) The principle of self determination.
- 2) Rejection of white domination.

⁹⁶ JP. Brits, op.cit., p.55.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

- 3) Injection of a spirit of self-confidence and pride in being African as opposed to racist theories and paternalistic attitudes of liberals who sought to instil a sense of self-pity, shame in and even excuses for being black.
- 4) Demand for mass action: strikes, demonstrations, protests, and so on.⁹⁸

The ANC was put on a path of struggle with a more concrete and radical programme than ever before. Forman in his work *chapters in the History of the March to freedom* characterized the Youth League as follows:

*These youth leaguers were students and teachers and professional men. They were men thrown up by the national struggle, and not the class struggle, although they were not communists when they initiated and carried through their militant policies.*⁹⁹

Inspired by the desire to achieve national freedom, the ANC was transformed in 1950s; it now became a more militant liberation movement.

2.1. The Defiance Campaign (1952)

The campaign enjoyed the warm support of the ANC and South African Indian Congress. Thus the Preparations were made for the direct participation of the masses of oppressed black African population in joint direct action against racist regime. On July 1952, Africans, Indians, and Coloured met in Johannesburg and agreed to recommend to their followers a campaign of peaceful resistance.¹⁰⁰

Although the defiance campaign was directed against all racially discriminatory laws, however, the object of the campaign was to violate the laws as an act of protest, organized and

⁹⁸ T.Karis and G.M Carter. op.cit.,p.40.

⁹⁹ Forman, *Chapters in the History of the March to Freedom*, Cape town, 1959, a new age pamphlet, p.19

¹⁰⁰ A joint planning council was established with Moroka, Marks and Sisulu representing the ANC, Dadoo and Cachalia, the South African Indian congress. JP. Brits, op.cit., p.55.

undertaken by disciplined volunteers. So over 8000 African, Indian, and white volunteers defied the laws of the racist regime and went to prison.¹⁰¹

The Defiance campaign represented a new phase in South African liberation struggle. It established two principles: First, there can be no liberation of the oppressed without sacrifice and readiness to face imprisonment. As a result, the political Consciousness of the blacks was raised during the defiance campaign and this was to understand that the imprisonment was part of the legitimate process towards liberation.¹⁰² The second important principle that the campaign established was the fact that the liberation of the oppressed people in South Africa could come as a result of extra-parliamentary struggle. It means that struggle was a challenge against the state and could only be conducted outside the legal mechanism of the state.

In fact, this campaign was not effective in the face of harsh Government oppression. The police simply responded with extreme violence and many thousands of peaceful protestors were jailed or fined heavily for violating curfew, failing to carry passes, and entering locations and public facilities designated for one race only.¹⁰³ Although defiance campaign did not achieve its goal, it demonstrated large-scale and growing opposition to apartheid. A number of groups in the struggle against Apartheid joined and formed the Congress Alliance, which consisted of the ANC, South African Council of Trade Unions, the South Indian Congress and the coloured People's Associated.¹⁰⁴

For the remainder of the decade, ANC campaigning only occasionally provoked the same intensity of popular commitment that was evident in the Eastern Cape during the defiance campaign. However, from mid-1953 until early 1955 national leaders were

¹⁰¹ T.Lodge, *Black Politics in South since 1940*, Johannesburg Ravan Press., 1983, pp. 153-187.

¹⁰² In the context of political struggle imprisonment was one of the inevitable paths towards liberation. It had to be recognized that freedom could not be achieved if the leadership as well as the membership was not prepared to fight, go to jail and even die for the principles in which they believed. Ibid

¹⁰³ P.Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, The African National Congress 1912-1952*, Berkely, 1971, p.403.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

strongly committed to attempts to mobilise resistance to the first removals of families from Sophiatown.¹⁰⁵ Towards the end of 1954 the ANC also started planning for protests against the implementation of the Bantu Education Act.

At the same time the movements were engaged in preparations for a congress of the people. This event was held in June 1955 outside Johannesburg, and drew an assembly of 3.000 delegates drawn mainly from ANC branches that approved a freedom charter.

2₂-THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE FREEDOM CHARTER 1955

In 1954 the ANC and its allies established a National Action Council for the Congress of the people. An army of freedom volunteers began collecting demands of all ordinary Africans for a just and free society. These demands were compiled in the Freedom Charter¹⁰⁶

In addition, the document had been written by Lionel Bernstein, who belonged to the Congress of Democrats. At the Congress of people, 3000 delegates assembled on an open patch of ground in Kliptown, on the borders of Soweto. They approved all the draft clauses with a show of hands. The charter was adopted more formally by the ANC in 1956, and the various organisations in the alliance also adopted it at their annual conferences. Thus, the Freedom Charter became the common programme preserving the hopes and aspirations of all the progressive people of South Africa.

The Freedom charter was a statement of aims, and the way of achieving these aims. The introduction to the Freedom Charter states:

“We the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know : that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black

¹⁰⁵ Sophia town was an inner city district in Johannesburg in which blacks had retained freehold landownership and which the Government was determined to expropriate because of its symbolic significance as a centre of cosmopolitan black urbanity. <http://www.britanica.com.04/05/2014>.

and white and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; and therefore we the people of South Africa, black and white together-equal, countrymen and brothers- adopt the Freedom Charter.¹⁰⁷

The Charter contained a list of basic democratic rights. It began by reaffirming that South Africa belonged to all who live within it, black and white.

In 1959 a group within the ANC broke away from the ANC and formed a new organisation called the Pan-Africanists Congress (PAC). The PAC drew much of its support from areas such as SOWETO and other black areas around Cape Town.¹⁰⁸ **The PAC** argued that it differed in its conception of the struggle against Apartheid. The PAC, therefore, was mostly opposed to the Congress Alliance, which also included the white based Congress of Democrats.

Robert Sobuwke¹⁰⁹ argued that the ANC was influenced by the communist Party and must therefore favour a concept of the struggle against apartheid. On the other hand the PAC claimed to stand solely for the liberation of an oppressed Africa and its repressed people.

¹⁰⁶ JP.Brits, op. cit., p 66.

¹⁰⁷ ANC Speaks: *Documents and Statements of the African National Congress, 1959-1976*, p.17.

¹⁰⁸ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.129.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Sobuwke **was** the one who broke away from the ANC and formed a new organisation called the Pan-Africanists Congress (PAC). Ibid

According to the PAC, the blacks alone should be responsible for policy matters without white interference¹¹⁰ this organization formed an underground military unit. This latter was the first black political organization in South Africa which openly accepted the taking of human life as part of its strategy. First, on the PAC's agenda was a series of nationwide demonstrations against the hated pass laws instituted under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. Blacks were excluded from living or working in white areas unless they had a pass nicknamed Dompas.¹¹¹ Without a valid pass, blacks were subject to immediate arrest and summary trial, often followed by deportation to the person's homeland. However, massacres at Sharpeville near Johannesburg and Zanga in the Cape on 21 March 1960 marked an important turning point in South African liberation history.

2.3- SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE, 1960

On March 21, 1960, the PAC organized a protest against the pass laws. The campaign involved large numbers of protestors marching to the police station where they would burn their passes. Over five thousand protestors converged on the tiny police station armed at most with stones. The police opened fire and killed sixty nine protestors¹¹².

Jack Simons went on to comment on the aftermath: "it was the shooting that made March 21st a red letter day. The shots echoed round the globe, caused a panic in ruling circles, sent the share market rocketing downwards, unleashed a storm of criticism of racial policies, produced the state of emergency, precipitated the banning of the ANC and PAC , and changed life for many people".¹¹³

This event became known as the Sharpeville massacre. On the same day, in Langa, two protestors died and 49 were wounded as a result of police action. In the wake of this

¹¹⁰ J.P Brits, *Modern South Africa: Afrikaner Power, the Politics of Race and Resistance, 1902 to the 1970*, (Pretoria, university of South Africa press, 2007, p. 62.

¹¹¹ Dumb pass in Afrikaans. www.wikipedia.org.

¹¹² Of the sixty-nine, eight women and ten children were shot in the back while running away. Ibid.

¹¹³ F. Meli, *A History of the ANC ,South Africa Belongs to us*, Britain, Indiana University Press, 1988, p. 140

event, a massive stay away from work was organized and anti- pass demonstrations continued. Prime Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, declared a state of emergency, giving security forces the right to detain people without trial.

Over 18.000 demonstrators were arrested, including many in the ANC and PAC leaderships. A month after the demonstrations, the government banned both the ANC and the PAC and reports of police opening fire on unarmed demonstrators were flashed around the world. As if the ban was not enough, a more brutal and intensive phase of state repression followed. Its major purpose was to eliminate any internal resistance in the future.

Thus, the apartheid government banned thousands of people. The government's intention was to silence opposition to its apartheid policies and stop their political activity.

In addition, the National Party government believed that by banning the ANC and PAC under the suppression of communism Act would stop them from operating but this was not the case; because some of the leaders went into exile overseas, while others stayed in South Africa to pursue the struggle within the country. They went underground and started secret armed resistance groups.

3 - ARMED RESISTANCE AND THE FORMATION OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

As a result of the ban on their organizations, the ANC and the PAC were forced underground, and new tactics had to be adopted. On 16 December 1961, the first organized acts of sabotage against the South African government installations took place, marking the emergence of Umkhonto We Sizwe,¹¹⁴ or MK for short, which was later to become the armed wing of the ANC. The date chosen for these sabotage acts was of historical significance: It was the victory of the Afrikaner Voortrekkers over Zulu army at Blood River in 1838.

¹¹⁴ Umkhonto We Sizwe meant: Spear of the Nation in Zulu . <http://en.wikipedia.org/20/10/2016>.

To the Africans, this day represents resistance and quest for freedom. Thus, 16 December had been connected with many and various sabotage campaign with bomb attacks on electric power stations and government offices in port Elizabeth that were launched formally by Umkhonto . Thus a leaflet issued by the high command of Umkhonto We Sizwe was distributed throughout South Africa. The leaflet stated that:

“Umkhonto We Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement. The actions of the established National Liberation Organizations. Uu members jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of the movement Umkhonto We Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement.”¹¹⁵

And it added that:

“The people’s patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa we shall not submit and we have no choice but to lit back by all means within our power in defense of our people, our future and our freedomwe are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The government policy of force, repression, and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance alone.”¹¹⁶

It was obvious to Mandela and many others in the ANC executive that decades of non violent resistance had only lead to harsher repression by the white government.¹¹⁷The objective of sabotage was to harm the white economy, and bring national and international attention to the ANC cause. During the ANC’s early period of underground

¹¹⁵ Quoted in T. Karis and G.M Carter, op. cit.,p.716.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ J.P. Brits, op.cit., pp. 58-59.

mobilization, the organization received an invitation to a conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA).¹¹⁸ Mandela in his turn attended this conference in Addis Ababa in 1962, as being a member of the ANC. Part of his mission was to go round Africa and to make direct contact with African leaders on the continent.¹¹⁹ Mandela met many leading African politicians.¹²⁰ And what is remarkable is that these leaders were freedom fighters and their countries were not yet independent, as reminded by Mandela:

*“I had discussions with leaders of political movements in Africa and discovered that almost every single one of them, in areas which had still not attained independence, had received all forms of assistance from the socialist countries, as well as from the west, including that of financial support .I also discovered that some well known African states mall of them non-communists and even anti-communists, had received similar assistanceI made a strong recommendation to the ANC that we should not confine ourselves to Africa and the western countries, but that we should also send a mission to the socialist countries to raise the funds which were so urgently needed.”*¹²¹

On a trip to several other African countries in 1962, Nelson Mandela also went on to visit Britain, where he was received by Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Labour Party and Jo Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party, the aim of Mandela in visiting these countries was to seek support and advice on fighting the apartheid regime. One important fact to be mentioned is that Mandela arranged for ANC recruits to undergo military training abroad, He stated:

¹¹⁸ PAFMECA later became PAFMECSA, including Southern Africa. <http://en.wikipedia.org>.

¹¹⁹ N. Mandela, *The struggle is my Life*, London, 1978, p.169.

¹²⁰ Mandela in his strip across Africa met : African politicians as : Julius Nyerere and Rachidi Kawawa (Tanganyika), emperor Haile Selassie (Ethiopia) , General Abboud (Sudan) , Habib Bourguiba (Tunisia), Modita Keita (Mali), Leopold Senghor (Senegal), Sekou Toure (Guinea),William Tubman (Liberia),Ben Bella and Colonel Boumedienne (Algeria), Ilton Hobo (Uganda), Kenneth Kaunda (Northern Rhodesian Zambia), Oguiga Odinga (Kenya), Joshua Nkomo (Southern Rhodesia), and many others. Ibid

¹²¹ N. Mandela, op.cit., p.170.

*“I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution and ...underwent a course of military training. If there was to be guerrilla warfare, I wanted to be able to stand and fight with my people and to share the hazards of war with themacknowledge that I made these studies to equip myself for the role which I might have to play if the struggle drifted into guerrilla warfare.”*¹²²

In the years 1961 and 1963, MK units undertook over 200 operations, which were homemade incendiary bomb attacks intended to damage public facilities. Their overriding aim was to overthrow the South African government in order to replace it with a democratic order which represented all the people of the land.

In July 1963, the liberation struggle suffered a huge setback. Most of the prominent people in the ANC’s underground movement, who were designing operation Myibye¹²³ were arrested at Lilies leaf farm in Rivonia.

3₁-THE RIVONIA TRIAL

The police found that MK was planning a large scale military operation, so they arrested them including Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Dennis Goldberg, they were all charged with sabotage and treason against South Africa. Mandela was also arrested and was brought from prison to stand trial with them.

The government was determined to see the terrorist, executed for violence against white society.

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

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Operation Myibye meant operation restoring and giving back. JP. Brits, op. cit., p57.

The life sentences of ANC leaders broke not only the leadership of MK but to some extent, its immediate spirit of resistance. The role of Nelson Mandela during the trial was highly significant in recharging the spirit of resistance. Mandela, a trained and articulate lawyer used the trial as a platform to respond to the oppression of white society in South Africa. During the trial, Nelson Mandela made an historic address to the white members of the court:

“I have dedicated my life to the struggle of the African people, I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination.”

I have cherished the idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die”¹²⁴

After the imprisonment of Mandela and seven of his colleagues in June 1964, Oliver Tambo, a senior member of the ANC leadership, managed to escape South Africa to lead the ANC in exile for another thirty years.

The courage of Nelson Mandela to defy white law under the threat of death and to make a stand on universally moral grounds elevated the struggle of black South Africans and their representatives in the ANC .Mandela gained a high international profile and became the focus point and international figure head in anti-apartheid protests.

Verwoerd made attempts to hamper the growing spirit of liberation and the efforts by leaders to establish a unified resistance. South Africa attacked countries that offered support to the liberation struggle in an attempt to isolate these organizations in exile, but this did not work. The state then turned to employ the services of assassins and bombers to invade the headquarters and other ANC structures in various countries, including London. Once again it failed and was met with fierce resistance. The Government, in its

¹²⁴N.Mandela, op. cit., p.438.

part, enacted legislation at this time, trying to slow down the influence of the liberation organizations inside the country. During this period, the leaders were all the time trying to establish more offices in Africa and in Europe.¹²⁵

3₂- INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION

South Africa had captured international attention as early as 1946, when the Indian Government brought a complaint to the United Nations (UN), arguing that discrimination was practiced against Indians living in South Africa under a UN Trusteeship Agreement¹²⁶ There it was argued that South West Africa, like other former mandated territories, should fall under the Trusteeship of the UN. However, Pretoria continued to administer the territory, its claim to sovereignty was rejected by the international community. While that dispute and the clash with India were specific issues, they were soon absorbed into a general attack on South Africa's racial policies. South Africa protested that these policies were domestic affairs and outside the UN's competence, but most states rejected that view. Then Apartheid became a universal symbol of racism and unjust discrimination, and the struggle against it grew into a major international cause. The South African Government was subjected to a variety of sanctions.

As an important issue, the situation in South Africa was caught in the broader Cold War conflict between East and West. The Communist bloc came out in support of the liberation movements' struggle against apartheid, whereas the major western governments vacillated but retained links with South Africa. Those western states with considerable financial and trading stakes in South Africa, like Britain and West Germany, were reluctant to impose economic sanctions, arguing that they would only harden white resolve and that the main impact would fall on blacks. Other Western states, those with

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶ South Africa, which had been a German colony, had come under Pretoria's control after the world war as a League of Nations mandated territory. Following world war South Africa attempted to absorb it as its sixth province, but ran into sustained opposition at the UN. www.en.wikipedia.org

few economic interests, favored sanctions, claiming that this was the only peaceful way to make the whites abandon apartheid.

3₃-THE HOMELANDS

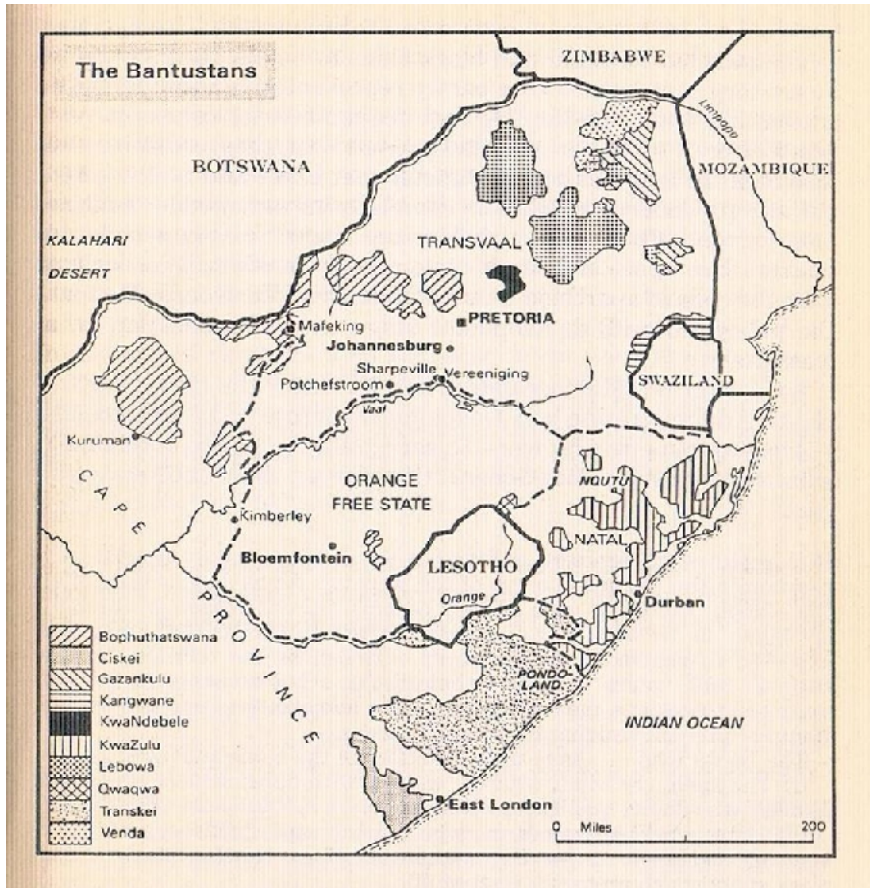
As apartheid legislation was increasingly enforced, separation between the different population groups increased and led to the creation of Homelands or what is so called Bantustans. These Homelands were established out of the old reserves. However, the aim was that the homelands would become independent of South Africa.

In reality, the Government took several measures in the 1960s to make the theory of apartheid work in practice. The Nationalists wanted to establish alternative political structures for Africans in the homelands or reserves, and to eliminate the squatter camps that had grown up around the major cities in the 1930s and the 1940s.

The fundamental step in the implementation of separate development was the turning of the African reserves into Bantustans or Homelands. The first move in this direction came with the promotion of the Bantu self-Government Act of 1959, which was based on the lands occupied by the main tribal or language groups. The Act stated that “the Bantu peoples...do not constitute a homogeneous people, but form separate national units on the basis of language and culture”¹²⁷. Moreover, the National Party ministers based their policy of depriving all blacks of South Africa citizenship and making them residents of Homelands. Thus, critics kept complaining that it was unfair to restrict 70 percent of the population to 13 percent of the land. The ten Homelands were: Transkei and Ciskei (Xhosa), Kuazula (Zulu), QwaQwa (Southern Sotho), Bophuthatswana (Tswana), Gazankula (Shangaan and Tsonga), Venda and Swazi, (See Map 4).

¹²⁷ B.lapping, op. cit, p,205

MAP 4: South Africa and the Bantustans (1966 – 1977)



Source: Ibid.

The Africans were seen as rural dwellers by the South African government, and that they should exercise political rights only in the homelands. In 1976 the government proclaimed the Transkei an independent nation-state and followed this move by granting independence to Bophuthatswana in 1977, to also Venda in 1979, and to Ciskei in 1981. Citizens of these states, including the half who lived outside their borders, were then deemed aliens in South Africa. Another six ethnically based homelands were granted limited self-government in preparation for eventual independence; these states were Kwazulu, Zebowa, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa, Kangwane, and Kwandebele. Thus, Blacks viewed the homelands as a way for whites to perpetuate a form of “divide and rule”.

In 1979, more than 9 million Africans, the double of the white population of South Africa, were living outside the homelands, in what was called white areas. Of these 4 million lived and worked on the white-owned farms, while 5 million lived in the urban areas. These urban Africans were subject to the greatest pressure of the discriminatory policies under which they had to live out their daily lives. Inflation, poverty, social disruption, employment insecurity, an increasing crime rate, a high level of violence, together with the constant threat of deportation to distant and unknown “homelands”, all combined to make people desperate and humiliated.

4 - THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, 1967-1976

The period 1967 to 1976 marked the beginning of a new chapter in resistance politics to the National Party government. The aim of the African National Congress was to train cadres in newly independent African states and friendly socialist countries. Many attempts were witnessed by the African National Congress in the late part of the 1960s, to establish infiltration routes back to South Africa for its fighters. Their efforts culminated in the Wankie Campaign of 1967. As a matter of fact, this operation signaled the beginning of attacks on the Government from outside the country.

By the mid 1960s, Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, was based almost entirely in exile as apartheid policies were further tightened by B.J Voster.¹²⁸ In 1972, the internal security Act gave police powers to detain people without trial for a renewable period of ninety days. With these stricter laws, the apartheid regime succeeded in repressing dissent, until in 1973 a series of labour strikes erupted and were followed by the youth revolt in 1976.

In the early 1960s, it was difficult for Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) to organize external bases from which to conduct its operations. This fact was overcome with the independence of Zambia in 1964, Botswana in 1966, Swaziland in 1968, Mozambique and Angola in 1975. There were co-coordinated efforts to launch guerrilla attacks against South Africa.

When the ANC was banned in 1960, Oliver Reginald Tambo¹²⁹ assumed the ANC set up bases in Dar Es Salam for the training of MK recruits. By 1965 the ANC relocated its headquarters in Morogoro, but its main military camp was at Kongwa. On 25 April 1969, the Morogoro conference was held in Tanzania. Its main task was to bring about organizational changes, a new framework and structure to the movement.

Moreover, the watershed Morogoro conference ushered a new era in the history of the liberation struggle. It opened up membership of other race groups into the ANC. It also embarked on establishing more military bases in other African countries apart from Tanzania. During this period, many efforts were concerted to enter South Africa through neighboring countries in order to launch guerrilla attacks.

¹²⁸ B.J Vorster was the minister of justice, who employed various repressive laws and state organs to silence opposition. <http://www.britanica.com/encyclopedia/Articles>.

¹²⁹ Oliver Reginald Tambo was a member of the National executive committee, who became the acting President after the death of Chief Albert Luthuli. www.biography.com/people/Oliver-Reginald-Tambo.

4₁-THE WANKIE CAMPAIGN

By 1967, trained MK cadres based at Kongowa, an ANC military base, in central Tanzania were becoming impatient at what they perceived as the ANC leadership's hesitancy in deploying them back to South Africa to fight. Although, trained MK fighters were first deployed in a military campaign in 1967 with Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) units in Rhodesia against Rhodesian security forces. Rhodesia was seen by the ANC leadership as the most suitable infiltration route because of common political, cultural, religious and linguistics. South African guerrillas would be able to communicate with the local population and access help from them while in transit. Furthermore, the Wankie or Western front campaign in 1967 marked the first series of contacts between a combined Umkhonto we sizwe and Zimbabwe people's Revisionary Army Unit and the joint security forces of Rhodesia and South Africa¹³⁰.

Yet, despite all the difficulties, the liberation movements learned to live in exile. Alongside their political and diplomatic activities, the liberation movements worked as armed wings. The aims of MK were to penetrate into South Africa, to attack official property and personnel, to challenge the government's forces, to promote mass uprisings, and eventually overthrow the apartheid regime.¹³¹ In order to seek support they found they could expect little or nothing from the west. However, it became clear that the African States could not provide the financial and military support that was needed, so members of the South African Communist Party (SACP) approached the Soviet Union, and the response was positive. This latter was ready to support the South African cause.

From the early 1960s the Soviet bloc backed the ANC and SACP the liberation movement; they gave it material support in the form of academic scholarships,

¹³⁰ Nicolas Southey, *Development in internal black politics (1969-1978)* Pretoria, University of South Africa Press, 2005, p.63.

¹³¹ P. Fister, Roger, "Gateway to International Victory; the Diplomacy of the ANC in Africa 1960-1994; *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2003, p. 55.

clothes and food as well as military training and equipment.¹³² For Moscow it was a small price to pay for an opportunity to attack Capitalism and imperialism.

Therefore, the ANC's strategy to overthrow the Apartheid regime was based on a combination of International pressure, the armed struggle, and the mobilization of the masses at home. But, it faced a strong, determined government. Unfortunately, all attempts that were made to establish infiltration routes to South Africa followed by disaster and in battles the liberation forces were heavily defeated. Thus, the penetration into South Africa was impossible, because of the vigilance of the government forces.

But, this National effort was taking place in the International context, which saw a transition to the Socialist System, and the breakdown of colonialism as a result of national liberation and socialist revolutions. In addition, the members of the Morogoro believed that history was on their side that the balance of forces was moving against capitalism, and in favour of the socialist states and the associate liberation movements.¹³³

An international ANC debate persisted over the balance between military and political action. In 1978, when an ANC and SACP delegation visited Vietnam to learn from its revolutionary experience, after that, The ANC's National Executive Committee decided to meet in Luanda, Angola, and they elected a small Politico-Military strategic Commission chaired by Tambo, Thabo Mbeki, and other ANC's members. Four major tasks were identified for the movement, first, to mobilize the masses inside the country; second to form a united front with other activists; third, to foster underground activity; and finally, to develop military operations.¹³⁴

¹³² Shubin, Vladimir, *Reflections on Relations between the Soviet Union, Russian Federation and South Africa: 1980s, 1990s*, University of the Western Cape, 1996, p. 15.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Hadland, Adrian and Ranto, Jovial, "*The Life and Times of Thabo Mbeki*", Zebra Press, Rivonia, 1999, p. 49.

4₂- BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

In the late 1960s, new youth and Black Consciousness (BC) groups developed in South Africa. Those young men and women were informed by the experiences of African liberation struggles, especially in Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe, and by black theology and the Black Power movement in the United States.

In South Africa, the leading figure in the Black consciousness (BC) movement was Steven Bantu Biko,¹³⁵ who was the main force behind the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement with Indians, colored's and Africans as members.

The movement stressed the need for psychological liberation, black pride and non-violent opposition to apartheid. The emergence of black student groups, inspired by Black Consciousness, was a new and powerful development in the 1970s. The movement demanded change and argued that whites in South Africa would not take the necessary steps to end apartheid and that only pride in black culture and history and an advancement of Black Consciousness could end apartheid.

Steve Biko expressed the theory of Black consciousness in South Africa Student Association (SASA) newsletters entitled "I write what I like". He argued that only blacks could liberate themselves as white society was too accustomed to the racist policies of apartheid. According to him, blacks must end all economic and social dependence on whites and to be free. Nicholas Southey of the department of History University of South Africa states that: "*Black consciousness was the promotion of the view that South Africa was a black country on a black continent and that black leadership, interest and values had to be asserted and had to dominate*".¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Steve Biko was a young medical student at the University of Natal. He was a powerful writer and he was able to express the intellectual theories of Black consciousness which were coming out of the United States and applied it to the struggle against apartheid. Biko formed the South African Students Association (SASA), a break group from the National Union of Students.

¹³⁶ Nicholas Southey, "*Development in Internal Black Politics 1969-1978*," in JP. Brits, *Modern South Africa: Afrikaner Power, the politics of race, and resistance, 1902 to the 1970's* Pretoria, University of South Africa Press, 2005), p. 64.

In order to advance black consciousness and reach more black people, Biko and other University students set up community health clinics, to give free medicine and treatment to those in need. Biko's work in setting up these clinics and his published criticisms of white oppression, gained him national and international attention. As a result the apartheid regime had Biko banned in 1973. He was detained without trial.¹³⁷

From 1973 onwards, Biko come under close scrutiny by the South African police for his political and community programmes. In 1977 he was once again arrested and held naked in a cell for eighteen days. He was interrogated and beaten into a coma. Biko lay dying from internal bleeding and head wounds and was driven over one thousand kilometers to a Pretoria army hospital where he was pronounced dead on arrival. The death of Biko was listed as an accident by prison officials The Minister for police Kruger stated nationally that: "Biko's death leaves me cold" and that it was a mystery:¹³⁸ The BCM was immediately banned and the medical clinics destroyed by the South African Police.

Broadly speaking, the theory and philosophy of the Black Consciousness movement was at first confined to the campuses and then decided to "go out into the community". In fact, this could not be realized because the Black Consciousness movement did not have a clear program of action. There was no strategy for mobilizing the working class, As a matter of fact, it failed to develop roots in the masses, and did not muster the social forces that needed to come together to bring about change in South Africa¹³⁹.

4₃- SOWETO UPRISING, 1976

The philosophy of black self-empowerment espoused by the Black Consciousness Movement, and the actions and death of Steven Biko, influenced many young blacks in South Africa. Steven Biko became a rellying point against the growing oppression of the apartheid regime. In fact, the death of Biko fuelled political militancy in many black youth

¹³⁷ M. Roberts, op. cit, p. 84.

¹³⁸ Bernstein, H, "*Steve Biko*", London, 1978, p. 20.

¹³⁹ Ibid

Particularity students who linked BCM's philosophy of education and independence to defeat apartheid¹⁴⁰.

In June 1976, in SOWETO, a Township southwest of Johannesburg, school children began rioting against overcrowding, lack of resources and high fees. Most black students began to realize that the objective of apartheid policy in education was to prepare black students to be servants. Protestors were also angered by the general poverty in the township and the rising level of unemployment. On 16 June, over twenty thousand students marched in the streets of Soweto, in a peaceful demonstration. The police eventually opened fire on the protestors. A thirteen year old primary school boy, Hector Pieterse was the first child to die in the riots.¹⁴¹ The Historian Peter Walshe states that:

*“By the end of October 1977, continuing disturbances had claimed at least 700 officially recorded deaths a total which in reality probably exceeded 1000.”*¹⁴²

However, many student leaders were arrested and subsequently tried. Thousands were detained or prosecuted for public order and security offences and were sentenced to long jail terms. Following the June 16 uprising there was a huge exodus of young men and women into Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and other African Countries, to join the ANC, for military training. In 1979, the students formed the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Azanian students' organisation (AZASO), which continued the fight at school and University level.

The uprising in Soweto was eventually crushed by the police, but it had a major impact on white society. The Soweto Uprising was the single largest challenge to the government and the apartheid system. However, the government of Prime Minister J. B. Vorster and the white community could no longer ignore the demands for change coming

¹⁴⁰ Nicholas Southey, op.cit; p. 66.

¹⁴¹ P. Walshe, *“church versus state in South Africa: the case of the Christian Institute*, (London, 1983), p. 207.

¹⁴² Ibid

from black people in South Africa. The world also cast it attention on the tactics of oppression used by the apartheid regime.¹⁴³

Soweto was the major turning point in the struggle against apartheid. Some historians, as IP Brits, have argued that it marked the beginning of the end of apartheid.

By the 1980s the psychological, financial, and human costs of maintaining order were increasing as the cycle of repression, black violence, and white counter violence accelerated.

¹⁴³ J.P. Brits, *Modern South Africa: From Soweto to Democracy*, Pretoria, University of South Africa Press, 2007, p. 1.

CHAPTER THREE

THE END OF APARTHEID

(1976 – 1980s)

In 1976 Soweto riots ushered an era of increased confrontation between the state and political organizations fighting for liberation. However, the death of Steven Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, increased tension in the political landscape in the country.

Thus, a new generation of young Blacks, were committed to the struggle against apartheid under the slogan Liberation before education. They were actively involved in politicizing Black communities. So, two questions to be considered in this chapter:

Did the internal pressure and resistance bring down the Apartheid state?

Or was the international criticism and economic pressure that led to the end of Apartheid?

1 - THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND POPULAR RESISTANCE

The struggles of Soweto had a profound impact on the ANC. They resulted in the accelerated expansion of the movement both inside and outside the country, increasing the proportion of youth and students within ANC ranks. Many young people who had little contact with organizations were brought into the ANC. The young cadres, who were ready for the most difficult missions, were put at the immediate disposal of the movement. The message that was given by Soweto was that the liberation struggle in

South Africa had entered a new phase. The events provided a basis for an understanding of the direction the war against apartheid was to take. For most students, joining the armed struggle to fight against an unjust political system became the ultimate goal. Events on the Eastern Front (Mozambique), the Angolan Front and the Western Front (Botswana) opened vital ways for the infiltration of cadres into South Africa. (See map5).

1₁-THE EASTERN FRONT

In 1977, Mozambique became the key for MK military operations. MK structures in Mozambique provided military training in weapon usage and in guerrilla tactics to its recruits. The Mozambican machinery was also responsible for providing MK cadres in Swaziland with weapons required for operations inside the Country as well as for transporting cadres to South Africa. In 1977 the MK Central Operation Headquarters established the Transvaal Urban Machinery (TUM) in Maputo, the first infiltration was by a small unit of MK cadres in October 1976. After operating inside South Africa for less than two months, members of the unit, who were working closely with the underground network, were arrested¹⁴⁴. As a matter of fact, the arrest of the members of the MK unit brought this phase of the military struggle to an end.

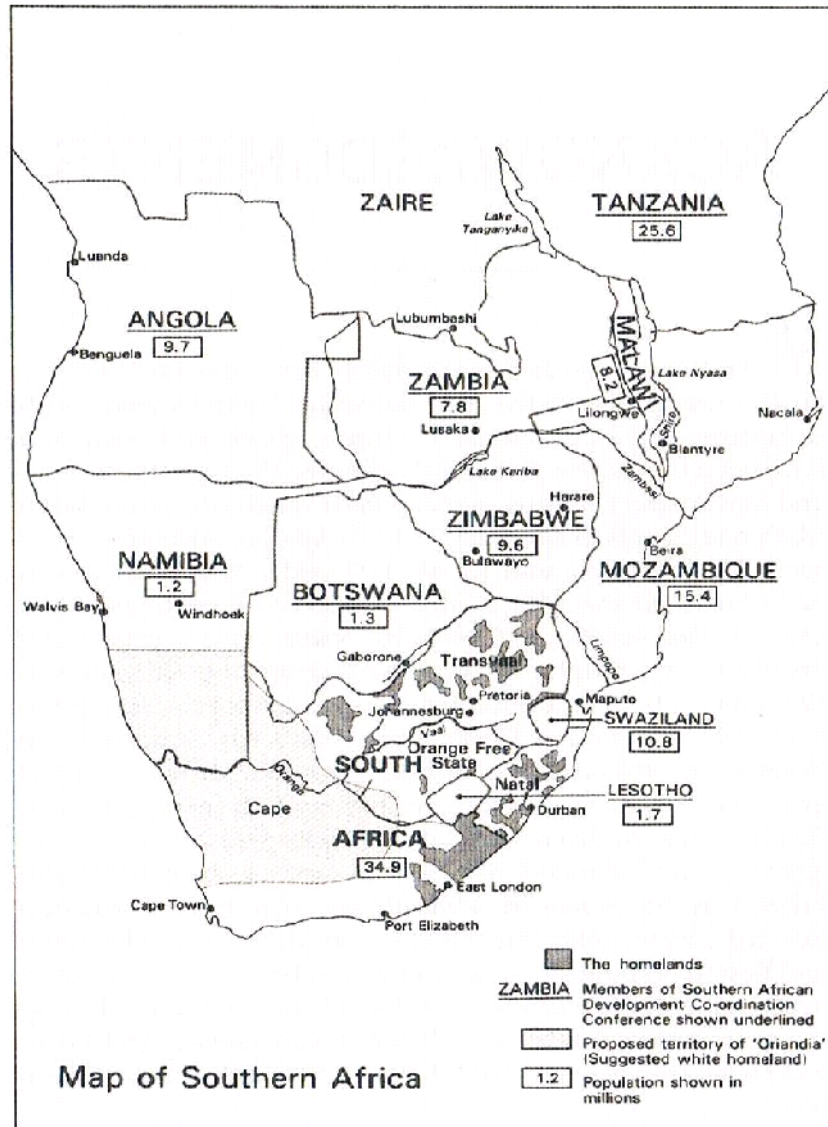
On 16 June 1977, the first mission was undertaken by the members of the MK unit, it was the first anniversary of the Soweto uprising. Its mission was restricted to sabotage and intelligence gathering. M K unit concentrated on the sabotage of rail way lines, industrial installations, attacks on government offices¹⁴⁵. In addition, the unit passed on information about the internal political situation.

The opening of the Angolan Front complemented the efforts at infiltration that were taking place on the Eastern Front. In 1975 both Angola and Mozambique gained their independence providing an added to South Africa's struggle against apartheid. In fact, Angola's freedom provided the ANC with the opportunity to set up military training camps in that country.

¹⁴⁴ A. Stadler, "*The Politics of Subsistence: Community Struggles in War-Time Johannesburg*", in Hindson, Working Papers, p. 61.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

Map 5: Southern Africa (1980s)



Source: Stephen M. Davis, “ *Apartheid’s Rebels* ”, new haven and London, Yale University Press, 1987, p. 40.

By the end of 1976, the ANC had set up its military camps in the South of Luanda, at Gabela, in the province of Kwanza Sul. The first group of MK soldiers in Angola was sent to this camp. Other camps that were established were Funda camp, Quibaxe transit camp; and the Morris Seabelo Rehabilitation Center, (see Map 6)

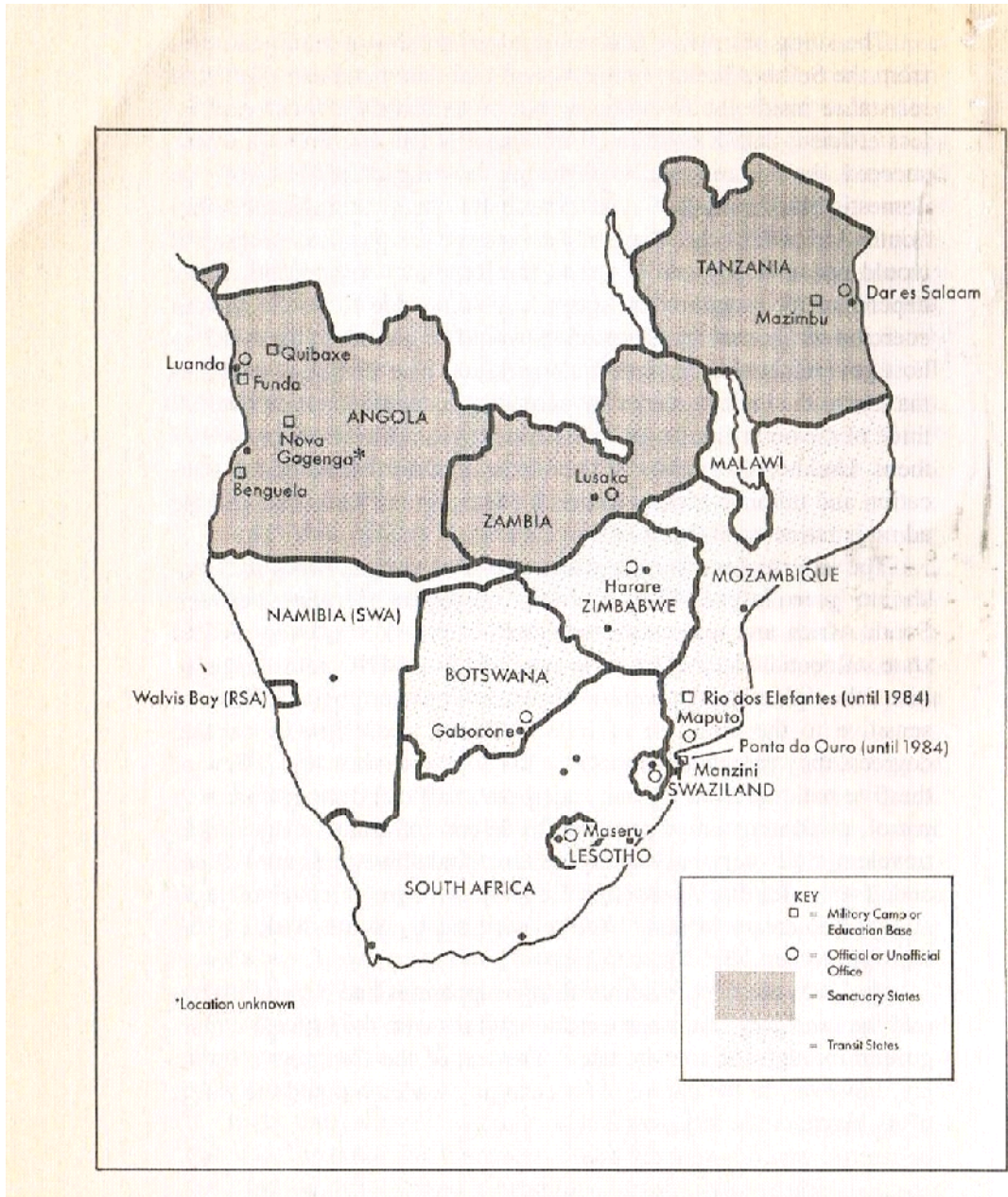
1₂ - THE WESTERN FRONT

The opening up of a third infiltration zone in the west guaranteed further penetration into South Africa by trained guerrillas. As a consequence, in the late 1970s trials of armed cadres increased, and in 1978, political trials in South Africa showed a marked trend away from offences relating to recruiting for the ANC and MK towards prosecutions involving the possession of arms. In response to infiltration along the Transvaal and Natal borders with Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique, South Africa assigned crack anti-terrorist units, the Task Force and counter-insurgency units, to operate along these borders. The units used helicopters to rush to areas where suspected guerrillas were sighted and used foot patrols, dogs, spotter planes and road blocks to pursue retreating guerrillas.

Moreover, by the year 1979 the South African Defense Force (SADF) announced that it was going to clear a 10 kilometer strip along 600 Kilometers of the country's borders for the suppression of terrorism.

In order to curb guerrilla incursions, the South African authorities began to rely on the Botswana government. Since Botswana was no longer a safe route, Oliver Tambo met with Zimbabwe's first post-independence Prime Minister, Robert Gabriel Mugabe in 1980. The object of the meeting was to request diplomatic recognition and to seek permission for the ANC to establish an office in the country. At first Mugabe told Tambo that Zimbabwe would not grant military bases to any of the South African liberation movements. The reasons for this refusal were rather obscure. Mugabe probably feared that his country could be a victim of South African air raids similar to the ones that were being conducted against other front line states. At a subsequent meeting between a high-level Zimbabwean government delegation and of the ANC delegation, the two parties reached

Map 6: ANC Sanctuary and Transit states (1977 – 1987)



Source: Stephen M. Davis, *op. cit.*, P. 48

an agreement to extend diplomatic recognition to the ANC and to allow it to open administrative and propaganda offices in the country¹⁴⁶.

Throughout 1980, in which Rhodesia became a free Zimbabwe, the coloured and Indian youth were up in arms against apartheid and the Freedom charter was revived and popularized. Many people from different walks of life came to associate themselves with the ANC.

1₃-THE STATE SECURITY

At the end of the 1970_s, the situation was changed with the coming to power of Prime Minister P. W. Botha.¹⁴⁷ So under Botha, the state security grew more, and the government began to impose formal measures to protect its interests. States of emergency became the order of the day in the wak of MK attacks on the police and other symbols of apartheid. As states of emergency continued in the 1980s, the government became increasingly dominated by Botha's circle of generals and police chiefs¹⁴⁸.

Arrest of MK member increased and the South African Defense Force (SADF) stepped up the recruitment of white soldiers. By the early 1980s, it was clear that the ANC's strategy was to spread its forces and strikes wherever possible. In this case, the SADF's response was what came to be known as "area defense": It was applied in rural areas¹⁴⁹.

Botha was convinced that South Africa faced a Moscow-directed "total onslaught". The aim of the Soviet Union, Said Botha: "*It is to overthrow the present body politic in the Republic of South Africa and to replace it with a Marxist-orientated form of government to further the objectives of the USSR*".¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Stephen M. Davis, op. cit; p. 41

¹⁴⁷ P. W. Botha is a white minority ruler of South Africa from 1978-1989

¹⁴⁸ IP, Brits, op. cit. p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Grundy, Kenneth, the Militarization of South African Politics, 1986, I. B. Tauris, p. 11.

2 - REPRESSION AND CONTROL BY SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FORCES

In the 1970s, South Africa began to change dramatically. The economic boom of the 1960s began to slow down and unemployment began to rise. The black population was growing at a much faster rate than the white population, resistance from black organizations intensified and International pressure against apartheid increased.¹⁵¹ The complex set of laws and enforcing bodies which were part of the apartheid regime became very expensive. South Africa's neighbours were throwing off their white masters and setting up independent black governments. All this caused great anxiety for the minority white government. The new leader of the National Party and South Africa P.W. Botha declared that, South Africa was facing a "total onslaught" in every aspect of its national life.

P. w Botha was determined to keep South Africa under white minority rule. He wanted to attack the communists, who were helping liberate Mozambique and Angola. Why link with apartheid to counter this threat, P. W Botha declared a policy of "Total strategy" where every aspect of white South Africa would fight to resist the "Total onslaught" of its enemies, both internal and external.

The government also intended to gradually introduce a number of reforms in the hope of winning black support.

The reforms of total strategy included the changes to apartheid laws such as separate amenities and it included also the end of laws against interracial sex and marriage, and the end of some segregation in business and employment.

¹⁵¹ L. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, USA, Yale Nota Bene, 2001 p. 228.

The Government also granted limited independence to four Homelands and planned to reorganize black urban townships by allowing the development of new townships and by providing them with adequate facilities; housing, water and electricity. This was done to reduce the frequency of riots in the townships which were growing steadily¹⁵².

In terms of reforms, the government attempted to build a black middle class, this was an attempt to get blacks to appreciate the White government, but not demand the end of apartheid,¹⁵³ because apartheid was not abandoned but was recast in response to changing circumstances.

In 1983, the South African constitution was changed and gave parliamentary representation to Coloured and Indians. However, Blacks were still denied the right to vote in their own country. All black Africans were still excluded from parliamentary representation at every level.¹⁵⁴

Clearly, the new constitution was not well received by the liberation movement and internal extra-parliamentary organizations. It was viewed by its opponents as an attempt only to modernize the pillars of white domination. For people seeking full black enfranchisement democracy could only be achieved through the overthrow of the South African constitution itself. They argued that these aims could not be achieved by the amendment of racist legislation. Thus, opposition to the new constitution was growing and at the same time international sanctions against South Africa were tightened during Botha's Government. Moreover, most blacks strongly condemned the new constitution. Rather than viewing it as a major step towards reform, they saw it as one more effort to stop apartheid. It reinforced the apartheid notion that Africans of South Africa, despite the fact that they constituted 75 percent of the country's population and the platform of its labour force.

¹⁵² M. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁴ I. Bader, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

In addition, the United Democratic Front members (UDF), which was formed in late 1983, aimed to use nonviolent means to persuade the government to withdraw its constitutional proposals, to do away with apartheid, and to create a new South Africa without the homelands. In early 1984, the UDF claimed a membership of more than 600 organizations, and two respected religious leaders, Bishop Desmond Tutu¹⁵⁵ and the Reverend Allan Boesak.¹⁵⁶ In fact, the Clergymen used their religious influence to denounce an immoral system of governance in South Africa. They played a leading role in community politics.

Black trade unions also took prominent role in economic and political protests in the mid-1980s. They organized strikes in East London and on the Rand protesting against economic conditions as well as the constitutional proposals. By the end of 1985, there had been more than 390 strikes involving 240,000 workers, and industrial unrest was increasing. Conflict was present in the Townships, where residents attacked and burned government buildings and sought to destroy all elements of the Apartheid administration.

2.1- TACTICS OF REPRESSION AND OPPRESSION AND THEIR IMPACT

During 1983, the white government intensified its repression to crush all opposition. Tactics included more banning orders, strengthening of the army and increasing the civil defense forces. Fighting wars in border nations to prevent liberation, and deliberately destabilizing any black government to become part of government policy.¹⁵⁷ The white's government tactics that were implemented included:

First, Additional security measures and legislation were created in parliament. Secondly, included also Internal Security Act Amendment Act 70 of 1976 granted the police powers to deal with individuals who were seen as a threat to the security of state.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵) Desmond Tutu was an Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town who led the nonviolent resistance against apartheid in South Africa. His international fight led to sanctions against South Africa, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize. From 1996-1999, he led the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

¹⁵⁶ Reverend Allan Boesak. ? who was he ?

¹⁵⁷ M. Roberts, op. cit, p. 91

¹⁵⁸ I P. Brits, *Modern South Africa: From Soweto to Democracy*, op. cit, p. 3.

Thirdly, A large number of activists were detained without trial and any died from suicide or hunger strikes. Fourthly, many black organizations were banned¹⁵⁹. Fifthly, The South African Broadcasting Commission, news print and Radio Complied with censorship laws set down by the government. All anti-apartheid news papers could be closed down. All news dealing with “security matters” was censored. Any organization or individual breaking censorship laws would be fined or jailed¹⁶⁰. Sixthly, Gun ownership by white South Africans was higher than any population in the world. Whites privately owned over 2 million guns¹⁶¹. Seventhly, to enforce the Tactics of repression, the military was vastly increased and modern equipment and military technology was purchased from around the world. Total military personnel increased from one hundred and six thousand in 1961 to five hundred and ninety two thousand in 1981¹⁶². And finally, total military spending in 1961 increased from seventy two million Rand to three thousand million Rand by 1981¹⁶³.

Black Resistance to apartheid intensified in the 1980s with numerous violent township riots. The leader of the ANC in exile, President-General Oliver Tambo used the radio station, Freedom to call on all those people fighting apartheid to render South Africa ungovernable. He declared: “*We will reply to reactionary Violence with revolutionary Violence.*”¹⁶⁴

By 1985 continued protest in many townships left the police unable to restore order. In 1986 the South African Defense Force was used to stop the riots and a national state of emergency was declared for all of South Africa. This included strict curfews and saw military patrols in cities and streets. Townships were sealed off by the Army¹. What methods were used to be the security forces to maintain control?

The South African security forces became a combination of the police and army. They were given the task of preventing riots and maintaining law and order in a South

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ G. Cawthra, “*Brutal Force: The Apartheid War Machine*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986, p. 48.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.59.

¹⁶² Understanding Apartheid, op. cit, p.77.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ G. Cawthra, op. cit ; p. 30

Africa that was exploding; the security forces were finding new way of keeping control. Many tactics had been used for some time, but the torture of accused “terrorist” and “disappearances” of others was becoming common place. The South African security forces were also using vigilantes. Thane men were unemployed blacks who they deputized and then let loose on their own people with no restraint¹⁶⁵. The South African security forces also set up counterintelligence operations spying on all South Africans to prevent criticism of the Government. One of the main goals of the Security Forces was to protect key points and important government installation such as South African station of oil refinery which was constantly being targeted by the MK.

A large proportion of the South African national budget was dedicated to making South Africa a military state¹⁶⁶. People were spied on banned, banished, tortured, jailed in secret, made to disappear, vanished, forced to turn states evidence, committed suicide, had an accident or were killed. In fact, it seemed that the government and its agencies would stop at nothing to enforce apartheid and white minority rule.

The second phase of total strategy, that was declared by P. W Botha as a policy to follow, was to protect the borders of South Africa from the neighbouring African countries who were advancing the process of decolonization, gaining independence and instituting black governments. South Africa had always maintained the border countries of Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Botswana as a buffer zone. These countries were being supported by Marsicist governments including the Soviet Union and Cuba who were determined to aid the ANC and other black freedom fighter organizations in their attempt to ride Africa of Apartheid¹⁶⁷

The South African defence Force carried out a policy of forward defence by carrying out undercover cross-border operations against every one of its neighbours.

The South African Defence Force (SADF) also supplied arms and financial aid to the Mozambique National resistance who were an opposition military force in

¹⁶⁵ L. thompson, op. cit ; p. 221.

¹⁶⁶ G. Gcawthra, op. cit ; p81.

¹⁶⁷ IP. Brits, op. cit ; p 10

Mozambique and were causing civil war in the country. The main goal of the SADF and the South Africa government was to destabilize those countries by supporting the opposing revolutionary forces and causing devastating civil wars.

In Mozambique in 1984, after failing to destabilize the newly formed government, accords were signed. South Africa would not interfere in Mozambique's affairs and Mozambique would not assist the ANC. However, South Africa continued to attempt destabilization of its neighbouring countries¹⁶⁸. As her neighbours gained freedom and were determined not to support the Apartheid regime, South Africa attempted to seal her borders and create a ring of steel. The SADF built wire fencing along the border with Zimbabwe and stationed Farmer Commando Units to monitor movement on the border.

During the 1970s, the government wanted to make a number of the Bantustan's fully independent black states. The concept was to preserve white South Africa and oppose the rest of the world. In 1959 the promotion of Bantu self Government Act had been passed. This legislation was designed to create homelands or Bantustans as separate area for black South Africans to live according to their racial group. The Minister for native affairs, Hendrick Verwoerd was determined to push the message of "separate development" for all black South Africans¹⁶⁹. The economic, political and social administration of the Bantustans would eventually come under the republic of South Africa, and all blacks would be prescribed to one of the ten Bantustans as a homeland.

As a matter of fact, many black leaders opposed the homelands, but eventually they came to adopt Government policies. Most people living in the Bantustans saw the black tribal chiefs, and leaders who were appointed by the white Government as means of the Apartheid state.

So, what did the Government hope to achieve by creating Bantustans and encouraging the development of independent black states?

¹⁶⁸ G. Cawthra, op. cit ; pp. 76-77

¹⁶⁹ IP Brits, op. cit ; p. 43

The creation of the Bantustans was the jewel in the crown of the social engineering policies of the Apartheid Government. The Government hoped this would solve the black problem forever because ethnic loyalty in the Bantustans would replace broader African nationalism and split the power base of anti-apartheid groups such as the ANC and PAC. By the 1970s, the Bantustans were a failure, yet the government was determined to make them independent as a demonstration of liberalization and modernization, and a way of stopping domestic and international protest¹⁷⁰

2₂ - MANDELA AND THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

By this time, Black resistance was given a boost when the Nobel Peace Committee announced that Bishop Tutu had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, joining Chief Luthuli as the second South African to receive this prestigious award. Tutu was already engaged in the struggle with the clergy against the government. He gave new hope to both internal and external opponents of the government policy, including the release of political prisoners and the end of the ban on political organizations. By the 1980s, Although Mandela was in prison, Tambo in exile, and the ANC banned and demonized by the government, the organization's stature in South Africa had never been higher. Early in 1985 the government permitted Lord Bethel, a British Conservative Member of Parliament, to interview Mandela in Pollsmoor. Pollsmoor was the mainland prison to which Mandela and five others had been transferred in 1982. Lord Bethel joined many in urging the South African government to release Mandela in the interests of achieving a negotiated solution. On January 31, 1985, President P. W. Botha responded by offering to free Mandela in return for his renouncing the use of violence, an offer that Mandela refused. He would never accept conditional release¹⁷¹. In response, Nelson Mandela's daughter Zindzi delivered publicly to a rally of United Democratic Front re-affirming his commitment to the ANC and its goals. The United Democratic Front demanded that the Government release all political prisoners and end the ban on the ANC. Mandela quickly became the world's most famous political prisoner and emerged as the central symbol of the intensified anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, despite his inability to speak directly to the public.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 46.

3 - INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES TO SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES

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

The apartheid regime was coming under increasing attack not just from the UN, but from the world council of churches, international business and international anti-apartheid movements. Important political figures such as the USA vice president Walter Mondale, President Jimmy Carter and others, began to speak out against the apartheid regime and demand rights for blacks and imposed sanctions on South Africa.¹⁷²

Since the 1960s, South Africa could not compete in either the commonwealth or Olympic Games.¹⁷³ Britain, Australia and New Zealand banned matches with South Africa.

As the world watched the military state crush the opposition of the black people, international pressure increased and action was demanded. In England the Free Mandela campaign grew stronger and many students led anti-apartheid movements and marched on banks such as Barclays in England and Chase Manhattan in New York, to demand disinvestment in South Africa. In 1986 the European common Market banned the purchase of South African iron and steel. By 1987 more than 250 international companies withdrew from South Africa; including IBM, General Electric, General Motor, Ford and Coca-Cola¹⁷⁴. The corporate “dis-investment” in South Africa saw the Rand fall by 35 per cent in value and this caused an immediate financial crisis in South Africa.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Meredith, Martin, *Nelson Mandela: a Biography*, Anish Hamilton, 1997, p. 365.

¹⁷² J. P. Brits, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁷³ M. Roberts, op. cit., p. 56.

¹⁷⁴ I P. Brits, op. cit., P. 58

¹⁷⁵ M. Roberts, op. cit., P. 104

Economic sanctions were probably the most effective method to prove to the whites that the world considered apartheid a crime against humanity. By the late 1980s, South Africa was economically dependent on the world economy for survival. Therefore, on the basis of what has been said so far the sanctions broke the back of apartheid.

To avoid these international sanctions, policies were undertaken by the Government. The Committee for unconventional trade was set up to trade with countries in Latin America, Asia and Israel which would not support the international sanctions.¹⁷⁶ For many blacks the economic recession brought about by international sanctions caused high unemployment and great suffering.¹⁷⁷

On March 7, 1986, however, the government was forced to end the state of emergency and this fact happened when the Commonwealth conference was held in October 1985 and decided to establish a seven-member Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to go in a mission in South Africa to devise a formula for a negotiated Settlement¹⁷⁸. In the end, the EPG worked out a negotiating concept under which Mandela and other political prisoners were to be freed.

In response, on May 19, 1986, the government launched raids against ANC in Gaborone (Botswana), Harare (Zimbabwe) and Lusaka (Zambia), the same day the EPG arrived in South Africa after discussions with the ANC in London.

At the end the EPG mission withdrew from the region because they concluded that the Apartheid government would not engage in any negotiations.

Therefore, Self-Defense Units (SDU) and combat groups were established under the people's army concept that was developed by MK members who were well trained inside South Africa and neighbouring states. In 1989 the MK combatants attacked the South African Air Force's secret radar installation in the Western Transvaal. A few years

¹⁷⁶ J P. Brits, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁷⁷ M. Roberts, op. cit., p. 105.

¹⁷⁸ Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, "Mission to South Africa : Findings of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on South Africa", Penguin, 1986, pp.142-3.

later, negotiations between the ANC and the Apartheid government began. The aim was to find a peaceful solution to the political situation in South Africa.

4 - THE SOUTH AFRICAN MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The MK's role during the 1980s was all the time enforced and complemented by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). This latter was established as an ant-apartheid successor to the United Democratic Front (UDF). The political activities of the UDF had been proscribed and its members were reorganized under the new political movement The MDM, which had no official membership, and no constitution. Therefore, the only condition that was put for affiliation with the MDM was adherence to clauses of the ANC's Freedom charter. This movement was formed with the aim of uniting all resistance groups in the fight against apartheid.

The gradual reforms of the Botha government, delivered no real change in South Africa. The latter, could not change and embrace the modern world while apartheid existed. Festering social, political and economic grievances in all sectors of the South African population left the preservation of apartheid completely untenable by the start of 1990s.

To conclude, Prime Minister, P. W. Botha, was forced to resign on August 14, 1989 due to his failure to stop political violence and resistance in South Africa. On 15 August 1989 Frederic Willem De Klerk¹⁷⁹ was sworn in by the National Party to act as state President. In fact, De Klerk was behind the era of negotiation that characterized developments before and after 1980s.

¹⁷⁹ Frederik De Klerk, Willem was the last white minority President of South Africa. In 1989, De Klerk became President and began to dismantle the Apartheid system. He freed Nelson Mandela in 1990, and negotiated with Mandela a peaceful transfer of power and free elections. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize along with Mandela in 1993. www.biography.com

CONCLUSION

Apartheid describes a system of racist laws and policies of total segregation in South Africa that began in 1948, when the National Party came to power, and ended in 1994, when Nelson Mandela was elected President in the first democratic elections. The timeline of this conflict begins with the founding of Cape Town in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company as a way station between the Netherlands and the East Indies. As it developed into a settlement, it was populated by the European ancestors of the Afrikaners, who eventually were the white minority less than 20 percent of the population but who had nearly complete control of the nation's Government and economy. As resistance to the system increased, increasingly restrictive legislation was passed; non whites were forcibly removed from their homes and relocated to segregated areas. After decades of resistance to the explicitly racist system, questions and even defections from the white power elite emerged in the 1980s, as business leaders, aware of the need for a high-quality work force and in an effort to build up a small sector of the black population, began to despair of the failure of modest reforms and increased repression.

The policy of Total strategy that was implemented by the government in South Africa did not stop the anti-apartheid groups such as the ANC, PAC and UDF from protesting for political and social equality for all races in South Africa. Whereas, Poverty for blacks continued in the Townships and homelands, unemployment was on the rise because of the sanctions that were imposed on the system, and education and housing were still of a third world model.

The State of emergency that was suggested by the government to control and maintain security failed in its turn to make South Africa safer for whites. As a matter of fact, many whites were suffering from losing their liberties under the rigid laws of the military state and were becoming disappointed with apartheid and started feeling the rejection of their society and culture by the world.

Moreover, the ANC in exile continued to attack in South Africa and many coloured and Indians were protesting against the white state demanding full democracy for South Africa. In addition to what has been said so far, the gradual reforms of the Botha government gave no real change in South Africa. By 1988, the economic performance of South Africa was poor due to sanctions and it was not able to obtain foreign aids or investment.

In 1984 during townships riots, P. W. Botha declared, “I m giving you a final warning; one man, one Vote in this country is out that is never!”¹. He mentioned the traditional rules of South Africa wanted to hold to power as long as possible. Thus, they wanted “one man, one Vote” to protect the white minority. After the failure of the Total strategy in 1989, he resigned as President and F. W. de klerk came to replace him on 1990.

The transition to democracy was a hard task to be challenged, Both the National Party and the ANC struggled to keep South Africa far away from the civil war in the early 1990s. Since then, many meetings were held to lay out South Africa’s new Democracy entitled a convention for Democratic South Africa.

It is in the meetings that the National Party and The ANC started debating about their different Visions of democracy. Finally, the ANC negotiations and was able to pave the way for a new constitution and national election.

After 1980s, South Africans of all races turned out determined to vote in their first non-racial election. The ANC won the election and Nelson Mandela, after spending his life in jail was released and became President of a free South Africa and F. W. de Klerk, the white man, became the Deputy President.

To conclude, these events marked a new phase in South African history after apartheid system, negotiations, visions of the future and the economic debate were underlined as major themes of that period of transition that South Africa had ever seen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A) BOOKS:

- Allister Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa, The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, England: Heinemann, 1990.
- Beinart, W., *Twentieth Century South Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Benstein, H, *Steve Biko*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund 1978.
- Biko, S, *I Write What I Like* selection of his writings edited with a Personal memoir by Aelred Stubbs, CR, London, 1978.
- Brits, J. P., *Modern South Africa: Afrikaner Power, the Politics of Race and Resistance, 1902 to the 1970's*, Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2007.
- Brits, J. P., *Modern South Africa: Afrikaner power, The Politics of Race, And Resistance, 1902 to the 1970's*, Pretoria: niversity of South Africa Press, 2007.
- Bunting, S. P., *Red Revolt: The Rand Strike, The Workers' story*, Johannesburg. 1922.
- Cawthra, G. *Brutal Force: The Apartheid War Machine*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986.
- Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, *Mission to South Africa: Findings of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Southern Africa*, Penguin, 1986.
- Davenport, T. R. H., *South Africa: A Modern History*, 2nd edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Dekiewiet, C. W., *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic*, London: Oxford University Press, 1941.
- Ellis, Stephen, *Mbokolo: Security in ANC Camps, 1961-1990* Africain Affairs, 1994.
- Eric. A. Walker, *the Great Trek*, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1960.
- Forman, L., *Chapters in the History of the March to Freedom*, Toronto: a new age pamphlet, 1959.
- Gardner F. Williams, *The Diamond Mines of South Africa*, United States: Hard press, 2012.
- Geldenhuys, Deon, *Foreign Policy Implications of South Africa's Total onslaught Strategy*, SAIIS, 1981.
- Grundy, Kenneth, *The Militarization of South African Politics*, I. B. Tauris, 1986.

- Hadland, Adrian and Rantao, Jovial, *The Life and Times of Thabo Mbeki*, Rivonia: Zebra Press, 1999.
- Hewisson, H. H, *The Pro-Boers and the Quaker Conscience*, London: David Philip publisher L T D, 1989.
- James Barber, *Mandela's World: The International dimension of South Africa's Political Revolution 1990-1999*, Cape Town, 2004.
- Johnstone, F.A., *Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and*
- Jones, R. A., and Griffiths, H. R., *Labour Legislation in South Africa*. MacGraw-Hill, Johannesburg, 1980.
- Kane-Berman, John, *Political Violence in South Africa*, SAIRR, 1993.
- Karis T. and Carter G. M., *From Protest to Challenge*, Vol. 3, Britain: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Lee, Emanuel, *To the Bitter End*, New York, Viking, 1985.
- Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, third edition, Yale University Press, 2001.
- Lipton, M., *Capitalism and Apartheid*, Rowmean and Allanheld, England: Longman, 1986.
- Lodge, T., *Black Politics in South Africa since 1940*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983.
- Mandela, N. *Long Walk to Freedom*, London: Abacus, 1994.
- Mandela, N. *The Struggle Is My life*, London, 1978.
- Martin, A. C., *The Concentration Camps 1900-1902*, Cape Town, 1957.
- Maylam, P, *A History of the African People of South Africa: From the Early Iron Age to the 1940s*, Cape Town, David Phillip, 1986.
- Meli, F., *A History of the ANC South Africa Belongs to Us*, Published in Britain: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Meredith, Martin, *Nelson Mandela: a Biography*, Hamish Hamilton, 1997.
- Roberts, M., *South Africa 1948-2000: the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, England: Pearson Educational Limited, 2001.
- Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*, 4th edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Ross, R., *A Concise History of South Africa*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

- Shubin, Vladimir, *Reflections on Relations between the Soviet Union / Russian Federation and South Africa: 1980s / 1990s, South Africa Perspective*, University of the Western Cape, 1996.
- Spence, J. E, *The soviet Union, the third World and Southern Africa*, Bradlow Paper SAIIA, 1988.
- Stadler, A. *The Politics of Subsistence: Community Struggles in War-Time Johannesburg*, Hindson: Working Papers.
- Stephen M. Davis., *Apartheid's Rebels inside South Africa's Hidden War*, London, 1987.
- Stultz, N. M., *Afrikaner Politics in South Africa, 1934-1948*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974.
- T. Karis and G. M. Carter (eds), *From Protest to Challenge: A documentary_History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964*, Vol. 1, California, 1972.
- Understanding Apartheid: *Apartheid Museum*, South Africa, Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Walshe, P. *Church Versus State in South Africa: the case of the Christian Institute*, London: 1983.
- Walshe, P., *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress 1912-1952*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971.
- Warwick, Peter, and S. B. Spies. Ed, *the South African War: the Anglo Boer War 1899-1902*. Essex, Longman, 1980.
- Webster, E., *Essays in Southern African Labour History*, Ravan Labour Studies Johannesburg, 1978.
- Racial Discrimination in South Africa*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976.
- Thompson, L., *A History of South Africa*, USA: Yale Nota Bene, 2001.

B) ARTICLES:

- dawn, *journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe*, Vol. 8, NO. 5, (1984).
- Forman, L, The Birth of African Nationalism, *The Journal of Africa South in Exile*, Vol. 5, NO. 2, London, (January-Mar. 1961).
- Friedman, S., Political Implications of Industrial unrest in South Africa, *working Papers in southern African Studies*, Vol. 3, NO. 2, (Johannesburg, 1983).

- Hirson, B, The General Strike of 1922, *The Journal of Searchlight South Africa*, Vol. 3, N0. 3, (October, 1993).
- Lawrie, G. G. The South African World Position, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 7, n°, (1982).
- Lodge, T, The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 42, N0. 2, (June 2004).
- Lord Selborne, Our Position, *the Rand Daily Mail*, (Johannesburg, 23 December, 1905).
- Pfister, Roger, Gateway to International Victory: the Diplomacy of the ANC in Africa 1960-1994, *the Journal of Modern African Studies*, (2003).
- Saunders, C., Liberated Africans in Cape Colony in the first Half of the Nineteenth Century, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, N° 2, (1985).
- Stulz Newell. M., The Politics of security: South Africa under Vorowoerd (1961-1966), *the Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 4, N°. 1, (1966).
- Tirykian, E. A, apartheid and Politics in South Africa, *the Journal of Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 4, (1960).
- Wickins, P. L, The Natives Land Act of 1913: A cautionary Essay on Simple Explanations of Complex Change, *South African Journal of Economics*, Vol.II, N0. 2, (February 1981).

C) REVIEWS:

- Innes, D., and Plaut, M, *Class Struggle and the State*, Review of African Political Economy, 1978.

D) THESIS:

- Lahouel, B., *The Origins of Nationalism in Algeria, the Gold Coast and South Africa With Specific Reference To The Period 1919-1937*. PHD Thesis. Aberdeen University. England.

E) WEBOGRAPHY:

- [http://www.academia.edu/9175213/Encyclopedia of African History](http://www.academia.edu/9175213/Encyclopedia_of_African_History), Vol. 4.
25/ 05 / 2010
- <http://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-South-Africa>.10 /09 /2010
- www.jstor.org.12 / 04 / 2010
- [www.oldmapsonline.org/en/South Africa](http://www.oldmapsonline.org/en/South_Africa).15 / 01 /2016
- www.huffingtonpost.com/news/south-africa-apartheid/.10/12 /2012
- <http://www.biography.com>
- <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com>

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: the General President and General secretaries of the ANC

Presidents-General of the ANC

1912-17	Dr J.L. Dube
1917-24	S.M. Makgatho
1924-27	Z.R. Mahabane (first term)
1927-30	J.T. Gumede
1930-36	Dr P. ka Isaka Seme
1937-40	Z.R. Mahabane (second term)
1940-49	Dr A.B. Xuma
1949-52	Dr J.S. Moroka
1952-67	Chief A.J. Lutuli
1967-	O.R. Tambo

Secretaries-General of the ANC

1912-17	Sol T. Plaatje*
1917-19	H.L. Bud Mbelle
1919-23	S. Msane
1923-27	T.D. Mveli Skota
1927-30	E.J. Khaile
1930-36	The Revd E. Mdolomba
1936-49	The Revd J. Calata
1949-55	W. Sisulu
1955-58	O.R. Tambo
1958-69	D. Nokwe
1969-	A. Nzo

* In the period 1914-17 Plaatje was in the United Kingdom, so R.V. Seloape Thema took over in 1915.

Source: Francis. Meli, *A History of the ANC, South Africa belong to us*, (Zimbabwe publishing House Harare, p. 205.

APPENDIX 2: The Freedom Charter

The Freedom Charter

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

- that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
- that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
- that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
- that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The people shall govern!

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

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

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

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

All national groups shall have equal rights!

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

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

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

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

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

Source : Ibid, pp.210-211-212-213.

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

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

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

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people.

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

The land shall be shared among those who work it!

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

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

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

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

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

All shall be equal before the law!

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

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

The courts shall be representative of all the people.

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

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

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

All shall enjoy equal human rights!

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

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

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to

town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.
Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security!

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

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

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

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

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

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

The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens.

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

There shall be houses, security and comfort!

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

Unused housing space to be made available to the people.

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

A preventative health scheme shall be run by the state.
Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children.
Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres.
The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state.
Rent, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all.
Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There shall be peace and friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations.
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war.
Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all.
The people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future.
The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

*Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:
"These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."*

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

APPENDIX 3: Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe, issued on 16 December 1961

Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe, issued on 16 December 1961

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new independent body, formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called "Committee for National Liberation" whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation movement, and our members, jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organisations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with the past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces - enlarg-

Source : Ibid ; pp. 214-215.

ing and rearming its armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs - for full-scale military actions against the people. The nationalist Government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did in Sharpeville.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation! Let the Government, its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist Government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought - as the liberation movement has sought - to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do still. We hope - even at this late hour - that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country - black, brown and white - whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people in this country.

Afrika Mayibuye!

Issued by Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

APPENDIX 4: Table of Deaths in Detention 1963-1985

Table 1
Deaths In Detention 1963 - 85

Name	Date of death	Official explanation of death
1. Bellington Mampe	1.9.63	Causes undisclosed
2. "Looksmart" S. Ngudle	5.9.63	Suicide by hanging
3. James Tyitya	24.1.64	Suicide by hanging
4. Suliman Saloojee	9.9.64	Fell out of seventh floor window
5. Nengeni Gaga	7.5.65	Natural causes
6. Pongolasha Hoye	8.5.65	Natural causes
7. James Hamakwayo	8.66	Suicide by hanging
8. Hangula Shonyeka	9.10.66	Suicide
9. Leong Yun Pin	19.11.66	Suicide by hanging
10. Ah Yan	30.11.66	Suicide by hanging
11. Alpheus Maliba	9.9.67	Suicide by hanging
12. J B Tubakwe	11.9.68	Suicide by hanging
13. An unidentified man died at an undisclosed time of an undisclosed cause at an undisclosed place. (Disclosed in Parliament on 28.1.69)		
14. Nichodimus Kgoathe	5.2.69	Bronchopneumonia following head injuries sustained in a shower
15. Solomon Modipane	28.2.69	Natural causes
16. James Lenkoe	10.3.69	Suicide by hanging
17. Calcb Mayekiso	1.6.69	Natural causes
18. Michael Shivute	16.6.69	Suicide
19. Jacob Monakgotla	10.9.69	Thrombosis
20. Imam Abdullah Haron	27.9.69	Fell down a flight of stairs
21. Mthayeni Cutshela	22.1.71	Natural causes
22. Ahmed Timol	27.10.71	Fell out of tenth floor window
23. Joseph Mdluli	19.3.76	Application of force to neck
24. William Tshwane	25.6.76	Gunshot wounds
25. Mapetla Mohapi	15.7.76	Suicide by hanging
26. Luke Mazwembe	2.9.76	Suicide by hanging
27. Dumisani Mbatha	25.9.76	Unknown illness
28. Fenuel Mogatusi	28.9.76	Suffocation
29. Jacob Mashabane	5.10.76	Suicide by hanging
30. Edward Mzolo	9.10.76	Causes undisclosed
31. Ernest Mamasila	18.11.76	Suicide by hanging
32. Thabo Mosala	25.11.76	Internal bleeding
33. Twalimfene Joyi	undisclosed	Undisclosed
34. Wellington Tshazibane	11.12.76	Suicide by hanging
35. George Botha	15.12.76	Fell six floors down stairwell
36. Naboath Ntshuntsha	9.1.77	Suicide by hanging
37. Lawrence Ndzanga	9.1.77	Natural causes
38. Elmon Malele	20.1.77	Heart failure
39. Mathews Mabelane	15.2.77	Fell out of tenth floor window

Source : Ibid, pp.117-178-179

40. Samuel Malinga	22.2.77	Heart or respiratory failure
41. Aaron Khoza	26.3.77	Hanged himself
42. Phakamile Mabija	7.7.77	Fell from window
43. Elijah Loza	2.8.77	Natural causes
44. Hoosen Haffejee	3.8.77	Hanged himself
45. Bayempin Mzizi	15.8.77	Hanged himself
46. Steve Biko	12.9.77	Brain injury
47. Bonaventura Malaza	7.11.77	Hanged himself
48. Mbulelo Rocky James	9.11.77	Shot while escaping
49. Mzukisi Nobhadula	20.12.77	Natural causes
50. Lungile Tabalaza	10.7.78	Fell out of fifth floor window
51. Saul Ndzumo	9.9.80	Natural causes
52. Sifundile Matalasi	10.12.80	Self-strangulation
53. Manana Mqqweto	17.9.81	Undisclosed
54. Tshifhiwa Muofhe	12.11.81	Beaten to death
55. Neil Aggett	5.2.82	Hanged himself
56. Ernest Dipale	8.7.82	Hanged himself
57. Tembuyise Simon Mndawe	8.5.83	Found hanged in cell
58. Molifi Paris Malatji	4.7.83	Bullet at point-blank range through his head
59. Samuel Mugiohela Tshikhudo	20.1.84	No reasons disclosed
60. Ephraim Thamsanqa Mthethwa	25.8.84	Hanged himself
61. Mxolisi Sipele	4.7.84	No reasons disclosed
62. Tatlheho Korotsoane	25.3.85	No reasons disclosed
63. Johannes Ngalo	15.7.84	Internal injuries
64. Jacob Moleleke	29.9.84	Shot in police van
65. Anthony Masunyane	7.9.84	No explanation
66. Samson Maseko	19.9.84	Died of injuries
67. Bheki Mvulane	29.3.85	Tortured to death
68. Siphon Mutsi	5.5.85	Died of head injuries in custody
69. Andries Raditsela	6.5.85	Died of head injuries in custody
70. Mzwandile Muggels	3.7.85	Bleeding from gunshot wounds while in custody
71. Johannes Spogter	5.7.85	Death due to head injuries
72. Sonnyboy Mokoena	16.8.85	Found hanging in his cell
73. Thembaleke George	16.8.85	Tortured to death
74. Loyiso Ndzandze	19.8.85	Tortured to death

«Afrique du Sud de l'apartheid à la démocratie De 1948 aux années 80»

Résumé :

L'apartheid décrit un système de lois et de politiques racistes de ségrégation totale en Afrique du Sud qui a commencé en 1948, lorsque le Parti national est arrivé au pouvoir et s'est terminé en 1994, lorsque Nelson Mandela a été élu président lors des premières élections démocratiques. En 1948 le Parti national Afrikaner a remporté une élection nationale et a commencé à faire respecter les politiques existantes de ségrégation raciale dans le cadre d'un système de législation qu'il appelait l'apartheid. Le régime de l'apartheid a répondu avec un mélange de répression sévère et de modestes réformes en Afrique du Sud et d'attaques violentes contre les mouvements de libération et leurs alliés à l'extérieur du pays. La répression gouvernementale a entraîné l'interdiction des principales organisations et l'arrestation de Nelson Mandela. Mais une combinaison de protestations croissantes et le soutien international a changé l'équilibre du pouvoir d'ici 1990, lorsque Nelson Mandela a été libéré de prison et les négociations pour une nouvelle Afrique démocratique ont commencé.

Mots clés : Afrique du Sud, apartheid, ségrégation, lois, protestations, négociations, démocratie.

« South Africa from apartheid to democracy from 1948 to 1980 s »

Abstract:

Apartheid describes a system of racist laws and policies of total segregation in South Africa that began in 1948, when the National Party came to power, and ended in 1994, when Nelson Mandela was elected President in the first democratic elections. In 1948 the Afrikaner National Party won a national election and began enforcing existing policies of racial segregation under a system of legislation that it called apartheid. The apartheid regime responded with a mix of harsh repression and modest reforms inside South Africa and violent attacks on the liberation movements and their allies outside the country. The Government repression resulted in the banning of the main organizations and to the arrest of Nelson Mandela. But a combination of growing protest, international support changed the balance of power by 1990, when Nelson Mandela was released from prison and negotiations for new democratic South Africa began.

Key words: South Africa, Apartheid, segregation, laws, protest, negotiations, democracy.

« فريقيا فصل العنصري إلى الديمقراطية من 1948 نهاية الثمانينات »

صف الفصل العنصري نظاما للقوانين والسياسات العنصرية للفصل التام في جنوب أفريقيا التي بدأت في عام 1948
تولى الحزب الوطني السلطة، وانتهى في عام 1994 نيلسون مانديلا رئيسا في أول انتخابات ديمقراطية. 1948
فاز حزب أفريكانر الوطني (حزب السكان البيض) في الانتخابات الوطنية وبدأت في إنفاذ السياسات القائمة من العزل العنصري بموجب
نظام من التشريعات التي دعا الفصل العنصري. استجاب نظام الفصل العنصري بمزيج من
جنوب أفريقيا والهجمات العنيفة على حركات التحرير وحلفائها خارج البلاد. وأسفر القمع الذي قامت به الحكومة عن حظر المنظمات
الرئيسية وإلقاء القبض على نيلسون مانديلا. ولكن مزيج من الاحتجاجات المتنامية والدعم الدولي غير ميز
1990 عندما أطلق سراح نيلسون مانديلا من السجن وبدأت المفاوضات نظام ديمقراطي جديد في جنوب إفريقيا.

ية:

جنوب إفريقيا , تمييز عنصري , قوانين , ديمقراطية ,