



KEY FEATURES OF **MODERN HISTORY** **2**

5TH EDITION

YEAR 12

 **book**
 **assess**

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Hamish Bragg | Stephen Dixon

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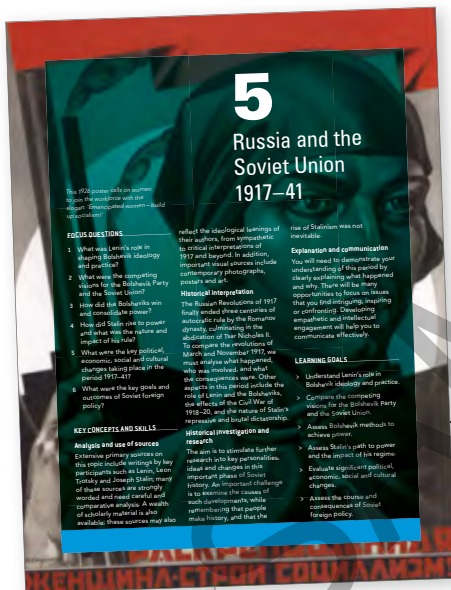
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USING KEY FEATURES OF MODERN HISTORY 2

New South Wales' most trusted modern history series has been updated for the new Stage 6 Modern History syllabus. The second of a two-volume series, *Key Features of Modern History 2* offers complete support for Year 12 teachers and their students, providing unparalleled depth and coverage and a range of new chapter features that will give students of all abilities the best chance of achieving success in Modern History.

Key enhancements:

- > All content has been explicitly aligned to the new Modern History Stage 6 syllabus (Year 12).
- > Subject experts Bernie Howitt, Bruce Dennett, Christopher Kenna, Hamish Bragg and Stephen Dixon have developed comprehensive, engaging and appropriately levelled content.
- > Unambiguous language is used throughout the book, with plenty of visuals to engage students and support learning.
- > obook assess provides comprehensive student and teacher digital support, including answers to every question in the book, assessment and exam preparation support, videos and more.



'Focus questions', 'Key concepts and skills', and 'Learning goals' are clearly stated at the beginning of each chapter to guide teachers and students through the content.

Content includes up-to-date case studies, maps and rich visual and written source material.

Margin glossary definitions help students to quickly and easily find the meaning of unfamiliar terms to aid understanding

amnesty
an official pardon for someone who has been convicted of political offences



SOURCE 28 Security police officer demonstrates torture methods used on Steve Biko during an amnesty application.

The Bantustans

From the time the first white settlers arrived in South Africa in 1652, there was an ongoing attempt to drive the Indigenous Africans from their land. Put simply, white South Africans claimed the best land the country had to offer, and forced the black population onto Bantustans (homelands) – poor land far from the white cities.

As early as the 1940s, the 60 000 inhabitants of Sophiamas in Johannesburg had been moved to a place 50 kilometres away to form the township that would eventually become

As accompanying such formal examples of repression were informal actions such as the establishment of the secret National Management System from 1986. This group involved army generals and police chiefs to secure 'counter-revolutionary' activities. Further terror was created by vigilante groups and secret 'hit squads'. This enhanced repression in the first decade of apartheid.

The role of the South African security forces

SOURCE 27

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) found the state – and in particular to security agencies and affiliated police and army formations – committed and – as to be the primary perpetrators of gross violations of human rights committed during the three-four years in was mandated to investigate (1995–2010).

Source 27 reveals one approach historians can take as they try to assess the role of the South African security police and armed forces in their repression of opposition. The Mandela Government instituted a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to inquire into the many acts of brutality and illegality committed under the apartheid regime. It was designed to allow anyone to make a complaint about past repression, and for perpetrators to come forward to admit their actions and make claims for amnesty. It was hoped that this would allow the new nation to move forward by drawing a line under the past.

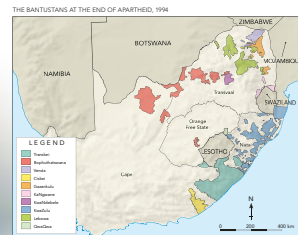
The death of Steve Biko was one of the crimes investigated by the Commission. It revealed close links between the police and politicians as high as the prime minister. Testimony was given that the politicians requested police cooperation in promoting anti-apartheid demonstrations from tarnishing the international image of South Africa. One of the outcomes of this request was the violent death of Biko in police custody. Ultimately, the Commission denied amnesty to four officers who were involved in Biko's death. The Commission found their evidence contradictory and unreliable, although it did reveal more details of Biko's treatment.

Ultimately, the South African security forces were revealed to do the government's bidding. Black members of the forces were arrested more than white representation, and were removed from the Afrikaner decision making that politicised the forces into such effective tools of repression.

known as Soweto. Four million more followed as they were forced into 10 Bantustans, each designed for a specific ethnic group (see Source 29). It was the classic colonial tactic of divide and rule. The legislative framework for the Bantustans was the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, which provided for the establishment of black homelands and regional authorities, with the aim of creating greater self-government. This was followed by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, which separated black people into different ethnic groups. In effect, these Acts were designed to remove as many black people as possible from the proximity of the white population.

SOURCE 29 The 10 Bantustans and their ethnic groups

ETHNIC GROUP	BANTUSTAN
Xhosa	Transkei
Tswana	Bophuthatane
Venda	Venda
Xhosa	Ciskei
Shangana	Gazankulu
Sani	Kalanga
Ndebele	KwaNdebele
Zulu	KwaZulu
Sotho and Northern Ndebele	Lebowa
Basotho	QwaQwa



SOURCE 30 The Bantustans were the territories set aside for the various Bantus, to facilitate the removal of Indigenous Africans from their land.

SOURCE 31 Transkei Bantustan in 1986



KEY FEATURES OF MODERN

Every chapter features a 'Profile' that allows for more in-depth learning about a historically significant person, event or phenomenon.

8.4 PROFILE

THE USE OF WOMEN AS SEX SLAVES FOR JAPANESE OCCUPYING FORCES

Throughout this period of occupation of South-East Asia, the Imperial Japanese Army provided 'comfort stations', at which young women were forced to have sex with Japanese soldiers. Around 200 000 young women served as sex slaves in this way – about 80 per cent of them from Korea, with others from China, the Philippines and Indonesia. The United Nations has estimated that only about 20 per cent of these women survived the war. The women were either forcibly taken from their families or recruited by deception. Resistance was met with violence or even death.

Female prisoners from other countries were also used as sex slaves, as shown in the experience of Jan Ruff O'Hare, who grew up in the Dutch East Indies and was interned with her family in a Japanese prison camp. One day during their internment, all girls aged 17 years and over were made to line up for inspection. Those thought suitable, including Jan, were driven away to a house known as the 'House of the Seven Seas' and told that they were there for the sexual pleasure of the soldiers. They were repeatedly raped. In an effort to make herself unattractive, Jan cut off all her hair, but the soldiers thought her a curiosity and chose her more often. At one point, she asked her fellow sufferers to get their names on a handkerchief she had been given. Today, the handkerchief is preserved in the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

SOURCE 44 Jan Ruff O'Hare's handkerchief, inscribed with the names of Dutch 'comfort women' at the 'House of the Seven Seas', Semarang, Java.

8.4 PROFILE TASK

Research the life of Jan Ruff O'Hare. Explain how she has come to terms with the experience she endured and what she has done to advocate for other survivors.

The effect of the war on the home fronts in Japan

While the Imperial Diet still existed, it had been rendered impotent by the real power in Japan. Political freedom had been destroyed, and there was no police and the Japanese were communitarian. Political parties were dissolved and political life was carried out through the Association of Young Men (AYM), which was established in October 1940. The organisations to perform constantly in people's lives through various districts, official and unofficial, for instance, controls were tightened until civil rights were completely removed. The AYM was strongly enforced, and any way of thinking other than the one considered 'dangerous thought' simply failing to mention such a hot topic appeared in a newspaper could mean arrest. In addition, news of suppression, and so the retreat from Gendaiism became merely a 'year'.

In February 1942, all women's organisations in Japan were brought under 20 million-strong Great Japan Women's Association. The concept of 'women's production' began slowly, but married women were never free. Rice rationing began in major cities on 3 April 1940, and by early 1942, clothing and other basic necessities led to a price controls and then to a black market system, where those with connections could obtain shortages unofficially, that became rampant. By 1944, the production of a new class of 'vegetable slaves'. In August 1944, 30 per cent of the Japanese glass factory were found to be suffering from bedsores, causing the deaths of many. The Japanese Navy and merchant marine, the supplies to both the home islands and the front were choked off. In response, the authorities recommended an emergency diet that included acorns, peanut shells and woodst.

Many farmers engaged in a home trade with city folk, who bought rice, trading kimonos, watches and jewellery for food.

SOURCE 46

One after day we were weary great in the cottage of the farmhouse to which we had been evacuated. Things got even worse, and our daily lives were no longer field games. Harshness, harshness, who represented the way we lived in Japan, spread in Korea. 'Comfort Women' for the Japanese Army. *Journal of Modern Japanese Studies*, 2013, pp. 136–7

In 1945, Japan experienced its worst famine since 1910 and thousands of deaths from malnutrition occurred after the surrender. Unlike American and Australian citizens, Japanese civilians felt the full force of the war. Against one million died, principally in the neighbouring lands of major cities which commenced in 1944 (see Section 6.5).

SOURCE 40 Nuclear units worldwide in 2017

Region	Operating	Under construction
North America	118	0
Europe	115	0
Asia	102	27
South America	13	0
Africa & Middle East	27	0
Oceania	0	0

Source: Nuclear Energy Institute

SOURCE 41

I was struck by how deeply official Cochetron appeared to be for the Chernobyl accident. He continued that it was a grim tragedy which cost the Soviet Union billions of roubles (the Soviet currency) and had only been averted through the heroic efforts of an enormous number of people. Cochetron would have seemingly genuine horror the devastation that would occur if nuclear power plants became targets in a conventional war much less a full nuclear exchange.

13.1 Source of Soviet Cochetron's assessment of the impact of Chernobyl on Soviet Central Europe. Mikhail Gorbachev in 1986, quoted in Richard Rhodes, *Atomic Energy*, 2010, pp. 126

13.8 Check your learning

- Outline the benefits and risks of the application of nuclear technology in the fields of medicine and energy.
- Identify the three levels of nuclear waste. What is your opinion on the safest way to store nuclear waste?
- Compare and contrast the nuclear accidents at Chernobyl and Fukushima and identify the major impacts of the two.
- Write an opinion piece arguing for or against the future of nuclear power for the planet.

13.8 Understanding and using the sources

- Research the Three Mile Island accident and explain why the people shown in Source 34 would be protesting a year after the event.
- Identify the causes raised by Source 35. How would supporters and opponents of nuclear energy describe the source?
- Explain how a historian could use Sources 37 and 38 as evidence in a discussion on the impact of the Chernobyl disaster.
- Identify why Source 39 is evidence of the ongoing impact of the Fukushima accident.
- Analyse Source 40 and argue whether it provides evidence for a positive or negative future for nuclear energy.
- Assess whether you think Source 41 is suitable as the final source in a chapter on the Nuclear Age. Justify your answer.

CHAPTER 14 THE NUCLEAR AGE 1945–2011

'Check your learning' questions are given for each topic.

'Understanding and using the sources' questions throughout each chapter enhance student understanding of how to use and critically analyse historical sources.

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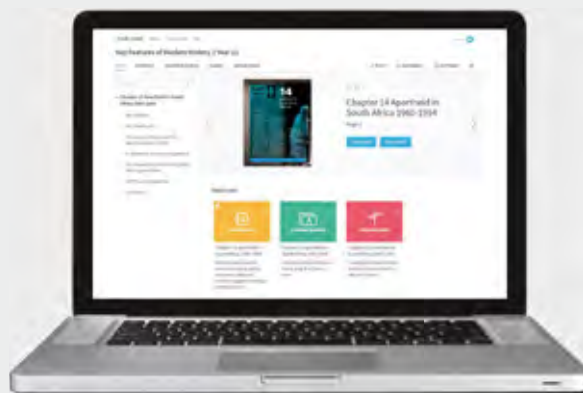
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**BLANKES
WHITES**



14

Apartheid in South Africa 1960–94

A black cleaner sweeps the pavement in front of segregated public bathrooms, which are marked with a sign reading 'Whites' in both Afrikaans and English.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What is apartheid?
- 2 How did the South African Government control society between 1960 and 1994?
- 3 How did South Africans challenge and overcome apartheid?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

In a country that was as decisively and totally divided as South Africa, it is only natural that many historical sources reflect that division. When studying South Africa it is important to look at who is the origin of each source, and to ascertain their background. In a society divided by race, the origin of sources impacts directly on perspectives.

Historical interpretation

The story of South Africa between 1960 and 1994 is a story of a country moving towards momentous change. One of your responsibilities as a history student studying this period is to determine the significance of the events and personalities that can be identified as driving social and political change.

Historical investigation and research

Studying South African history between 1960 and 1994 will encourage you to develop a range of historical questions to help you investigate change on a national scale. When investigating an ideology such as apartheid, you will also have to be aware of your own bias as you explore ideas that may challenge your values and beliefs.

Explanation and communication

In the HSC exam you will be required to provide brief answers to specific questions on the topic of apartheid in South Africa. This will require direct responses to be supported by relevant evidence and examples. It will be important to make sure you have practised writing these types of responses.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Develop an understanding of the nature of apartheid and its role in the historical development of South Africa leading up to 1994.
- > Be able to explain the nature of government in South Africa in the period 1960–94 and the reasons why the government met resistance.
- > Use sources as evidence to explain social and political change in South Africa in the period 1960–94.
- > Communicate an understanding of why apartheid ended in South Africa.

Key features

Differing visions of democracy

The concept of democracy implies the involvement of the citizen body in the direction of the country. South Africa developed a system of government that excluded the racial majority from participation. You will have to consider what white and non-white South Africans considered democracy to be.

Nature and impact of apartheid

Essentially, apartheid was a political system that divided South Africa along racial lines. White people held economic and political power, and excluded the non-white population from opportunity. What sort of society emerges from a system where the minority exploit and exclude the majority? Think about whether such a system could ultimately be sustainable.

Role and impact of state terror and repression

If apartheid was to be maintained against opposition, then non-white South Africans and their aspirations had to be repressed. The South African Government resorted to a regime of extreme brutality

to repress its non-white population. Images of school children killed by their police force brought international condemnation.

Resistance to apartheid

Non-white South Africans felt compelled to resist the restrictions and limitations of apartheid. It is important to consider whether the nature of apartheid created the seeds of its own destruction by excluding non-white people from any hope or opportunity to participate in the success their labour was helping create.

Changes in society

The story of South Africa between 1960 and 1994 is one of dramatic change. In 1960 the National Party, which created apartheid in 1948, was firmly in power and using that power to enforce control over the non-white population. In 1994 the African National Congress (ANC) won the first-ever non-racial elections, bringing Nelson Mandela to power as the country's first black president. You will have to consider the forces that generated such profound change, and consider why they were successful.

SOURCE 1 Nelson Mandela swept to power in the South Africa's first non-racial elections, 1994.

Reasons for the collapse of apartheid

When a country abandons the system that has been the defining feature of its society, there must be significant reasons. As you study South Africa between 1960 and 1994, you must consider the significance of events and personalities in driving such profound change.

International responses to apartheid

In 1960 the ANC made the decision to set up international connections to further its campaign against apartheid. In traditional areas such as politics, through the United Nations, and economics, through boycotts and sanctions, pressure was brought to bear on South Africa to moderate its policies. By the late 1980s, however, sport and music had also played significant roles in galvanising international pressure into a groundswell for change. You will need to think about how important cultural factors can be in contributing to political change.

14.1 Introduction

■ scurvy

a disease caused by a deficiency in vitamin C

On 6 April 1652, a small contingent of Dutch settlers arrived on the southern tip of Africa. They established a settlement to provide fresh produce for the trading ships of the Dutch East India Company, to help their crews avoid the scourge of **scurvy** on their long voyages. The group included an engineer who was to investigate the possibility of digging a canal across the peninsula to isolate the colony from the natives. When this proved impractical, the leader of the settlers, Jan van Riebeeck, planted a double row of wild almond trees to form a barrier. Thus the colony that would eventually develop to become South Africa was founded on racial division from its inception.

The early Dutch settlers expanded north, driven by a deep belief that their God had ordained their success. The conviction that these 'Boers' (farmers), as they referred to themselves, were divinely ordained to possess the land and its peoples became the core of their determination to succeed. Indigenous Africans were merely a potential labour force, controlled through violence, threats and torture.

British imperialism also demanded access to southern Africa. Britain's clash with the devout descendants of those early Dutch settlers evolved into a vicious, full-scale war in 1899, after the discovery of diamonds in the region. The conflict lasted until 1902.

The Union of South Africa was created in 1910 and two years later, in 1912, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) was formed to agitate for black African recognition and representation in the new country. SANNC became the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923 and would remain the key black organisation opposing white supremacy for the remainder of the century.

■ Afrikaner

the term used by the original Dutch settlers and their descendants to describe themselves

In the 1920s and 30s, the **Afrikaners**, as the Boers came to be known, sent their best and brightest young men to Germany. Here they witnessed the rising tide of Nazism, and, heavily influenced by what they had seen, they returned to South Africa determined to create '*Eie Volk, Eie Taal, Eie Land!*' This motto translated as 'Our own people, our own language, our own land!' It became the catchcry of Daniel Malan, who led the breakaway Purified National Party from 1935. The party's ideology was closely linked to Nazi theories of racial purity.

■ apartheid

a theory of racial separation used by South Africans to divide their society

By the 1948 general elections (where only whites were eligible to vote), the Purified National Party had joined with a breakaway nationalist wing of the United Party to become the Reunited National Party. Its election campaign was based on the concept of **apartheid** and the party's success in the 1948 election was crucial in establishing the foundation for South African history in the second half of the twentieth century.

For the next 45 years South Africa would be divided by race and ruled by repression. More than 1750 separate pieces of legislation designed to ensure unbreakable control of the country for its white minority were passed. Apartheid had arrived, and in his first speech as prime minister Malan said: 'South Africa at last belongs to us.'

In a country of 25 million blacks and 5 million whites, the minority had spoken. If apartheid was to be challenged, it would require the overturning of government, legislation and an economy that were all completely dominated by white power.

Key events in the history of apartheid

1652

The Dutch East India Company establishes a settlement on the southern tip of Africa.

1795

The first British colonists arrive in southern Africa.

1899–1902

The British and the Boers fight the Boer War.

1910

The Union of South Africa is established.

1912

The South African Native National Congress (SANNC) is established.

1923

The SANNC becomes the African National Congress (ANC).

1948

Daniel Malan's extreme version of the National Party comes to power.

1949

The legislation to establish apartheid commences.

1952

The Defiance Against Unjust Laws campaign marks the first large-scale, multiracial political mobilisation against apartheid laws under a common leadership.

1953

The Bantu Education Act creates separate educational facilities based on race.

1955

The South African Congress Alliance outlines its Freedom Charter for South Africa.

1956

The Treason Trial of 156 people – including Nelson Mandela – begins. By 1961, all would be acquitted.

1958

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd becomes Prime Minister, refining apartheid into the policy of 'separate development'.

1959

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act creates 10 Bantu homelands known as 'Bantustans'.

Grim housing in the Bantustan at Qwa Qwa





An armed man stands by the body of one of the 69 black South Africans killed by police at the Sharpeville Massacre.

1960

The Sharpeville Massacre leads to a state of emergency, and the banning of the ANC, the Pan African Congress and the South African Communist Party.

1961

South Africa leaves the British Commonwealth and becomes a republic.

Led by Mandela, Umkhonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation'), the military wing of the ANC, commences a policy of guerrilla sabotage in December.

1963

The Rivonia Trial of Mandela and other ANC leaders commences. The following year, Mandela and most of the other leaders are sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island with hard labour.

1966

Prime Minister Verwoerd is assassinated.

1968

The 'D'Oliveira Affair' leads to England withdrawing from a cricket tour of South Africa, after South Africa refuses entry to Basil D'Oliveira, a mixed-race player of South African descent.

1976

During the Soweto Uprising, over 100 school students are shot dead by police.

1977

Steve Biko, a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, is killed while in police custody.

1978

P.W. Botha becomes Prime Minister.

1983

South Africa's new constitution creates a Tricameral Parliament.

1985

Steven Van Zandt creates Artists United Against Apartheid to record 'Sun City', which raises both money and awareness of apartheid. The song is banned in South Africa.

1988

The 'Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute', also known as the 'Free Nelson Mandela Concert', takes place at Wembley Stadium in London. It is broadcast to a worldwide audience of 600 million, and is credited with hastening the release of Mandela from prison.

1989

F.W. de Klerk becomes President of South Africa.

1990

Unbanning of opposition organisations, and the freeing of political prisoners – including Mandela, who becomes the de facto leader of the ANC – and the dismantling of apartheid legislation commences.

1993

De Klerk and Mandela win the Nobel Peace Prize.

1994

The first-ever non-racial elections are held. Mandela is elected president, and apartheid is officially abolished.

14.2 Survey: The nature of the apartheid system in 1960

The only way that the history of South Africa in the twentieth century can be understood is through an analysis of the nature of the apartheid system. From the election of the National Party under Daniel Malan in May 1948, South African society was legally divided along racial lines. The National Party had won the election – in which only white South Africans could vote – campaigning about *swart gevaar* ('the black danger'), and using the slogans '*Die kaffirop sy plek*' ('The **kaffir** in his place') and '*Die koelies uit die land*' ('The **coolies** out of the country').

kaffir

a derogatory term used by white South Africans to refer to black South Africans

coolie

a derogatory term used by white South Africans to refer to Indians

SOURCE 3 Basic South African demographics based on census data

YEAR OF CENSUS	TOTAL POPULATION	% BLACK AFRICAN	% COLOURED	% WHITE	% ASIAN	% OTHER
1904	5 175 463	67.5	8.6	21.6	2.4	N/A
1960	16 003 139	68.3	9.4	19.3	3.0	N/A
2011	51 770 560	79.2	8.92	8.86	2.49	0.54

The numerical advantage people of colour held over the white population was huge. At the 1948 election, only about one in five South Africans could vote, and they were voting to preserve their political, economic and social superiority over their demographic inferiority. Apartheid was the system designed to perpetuate their advantage.

SOURCE 4

Malan's platform was known as apartheid. Apartheid was a new term but an old idea. It literally means 'apartness' and it represented the codification in one oppressive system of all the laws and regulations that had kept Africans in an inferior position to whites for centuries.

Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, p. 111

SOURCE 5

A common sign in Johannesburg, South Africa, in the 1950s



The apartheid system was essentially an ever-growing set of laws that separated South African society into two separate groups: white people and non-white people. The white population controlled wealth, power and education. In committing non-white people to **‘separate development’**, the white population allocated them fewer resources to ensure they remained in ‘their place’ – serving white supremacy and power.

Political issues

The heart of apartheid was the Population Registration Act 1950, which required the classification of all South Africans along racial lines. Your classification decided your **life chances** in a society that so rigorously embraced discrimination. If you disputed your classification, experts used a range of tests, usually based on observation of skin colour, pigment around the nails, or hair type, to establish your status. Your future could be decided by the notorious ‘pencil test’. This involved white officers placing a pencil in a person’s hair and asking them to shake their head. If the pencil remained in the hair, the person was classified as black.

Other legislation prohibited sexual relations between white and non-white people. By legislating to create and perpetuate racial purity, the Malan Government was drawing on the previous decade’s Nazi experience in Germany. A number of South Africa’s white leadership had travelled to Germany to further their education in the 1920s and 30s, drawing influence from Hitler’s rise to power and racial purity theories.

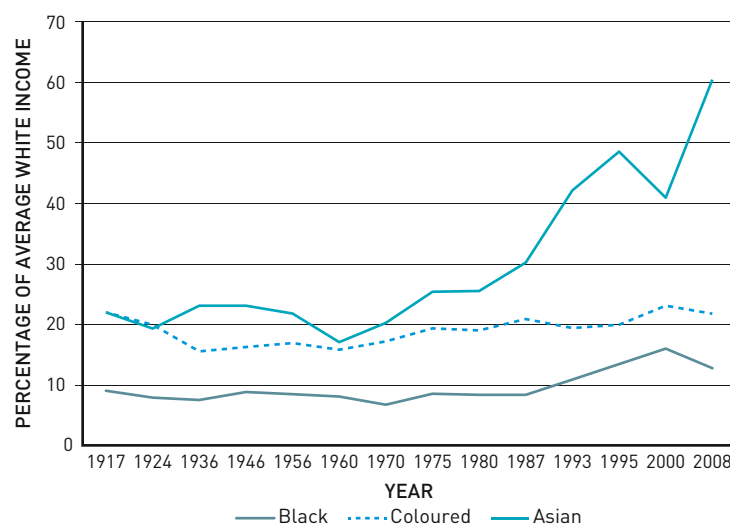
Arguably the most hated of all apartheid legislation was the system of reference books, known simply as ‘passes’. These were documents that had to be carried at all times by non-white South Africans, officially documenting their racial status and restricting their ability to travel freely. Frustration with these documents boiled over into a protest at Sharpeville in March 1960, which left 69 protestors dead, many of whom were shot in the back as they tried to flee armed police.

Economic issues

South Africa was a country split by economic inequality in 1960. At that time, the black population’s average income level was less than 10 per cent of that of the white population. Other people of colour and Asian people earned less than 20 per cent of the white income, but still twice as much as black South Africans. French author Dominique Lapierre described South Africa at this time as a country ‘that produced more steel, coal, copper, uranium, and precious woods than India and Brazil consumed, but ... failed to provide millions of its children with a daily dish of corn or sweet potato’.

■ **‘separate development’**
the main idea behind apartheid; it argued that non-whites would develop their own societies separate from white people, interacting only when it benefited whites

■ **life chances**
the opportunities each individual has to improve their life



SOURCE 6 Income levels in South Africa as a percentage of white average income, 1917–2008

Demographic issues

As with all aspects of South African life, race dominated social issues. Prior to 1948, mixed-race relationships had been possible, but two of the first laws made after the 1948 election changed this: the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949 and the Immorality Act 1950. The rare areas where non-white and white people had interacted freely and without incident – such as Sophiatown near Johannesburg, and Cape Town's District Six – were broken up. 'Upright' white citizens were encouraged to spy on people and report transgressions. It quickly became a society based not only on race, but also fear, violence and repression.

Apartheid: ideology, policy and practice

The ideology of apartheid was very simple: racial division to maintain the supremacy of the white population of South Africa. The policy was implemented by ongoing legislation designed to maintain division and inequality.

To Hendrik Verwoerd – Minister of Native Affairs from 1950, and Prime Minister from 1958 until his assassination in 1966 – apartheid was simply 'good neighbourliness'. Verwoerd said apartheid accepted that 'there were differences between people', and that separate development would work 'when you acted as good neighbours do' to each other. His cheery description ignored the death, misery and lack of opportunity for most of the population.

In practice, apartheid condemned non-white South Africans to forced removals, manual labour, little or no education in segregated and underresourced schools, and no prospect of improvement. Indeed Verwoerd, when speaking about the South African education system in 1954, argued

that: 'The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open.'



SOURCE 7 A 1965 cartoon by John Frith

The impact of apartheid on rural and urban communities

In 1959, Verwoerd enacted the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act. This enshrined his idea of separate homelands, or '**Bantustans**', land that non-white South Africans were forced to relocate to. The Bantustans were in parts of the country that were of no use to white South Africa, and very little money and attention was spent on them in terms of facilities, infrastructure or education.

Bantustan
land set aside for native South African ethnic groups, or Bantus, under the apartheid system

The reality of Bantustans was that they saw people dislocated from their families, communities and past. Movement was strictly regulated by the pass system, and previously thriving multiracial communities such as Sophiatown and District Six were destroyed. Sophiatown was rebuilt with housing for white South Africans, and renamed Triomf, which translates simply as 'Triumph'. Five-hundred-yard buffer zones were established between the poor black Bantustans and the white cities that profited from their cheap labour. These townships would continue to grow and suffer under apartheid. The appalling conditions there provided rich recruiting grounds for organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) (see Section 14.3).

14.2 Check your learning

- 1 Describe the apartheid system in your own words.
- 2 Explain how the demographics of South Africa impacted upon its historical development.
- 3 Why was the 'pass' so hated by non-white South Africans?
- 4 Research the career of Hendrik Verwoerd. Should he be described as the 'father of apartheid'? Explain your answer.
- 5 Explain why Sophiatown and District Six were threats to apartheid.



SOURCE 8 A family waits for relocation from Sophiatown with their possessions, 1955.

14.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Source 3, and use the statistics to describe the history of South Africa between 1904 and 2011 in terms of continuities and changes. What would you regard as the major continuity and major change?
- 2 Explain how Nelson Mandela's description of apartheid in Source 4 either supports or challenges Verwoerd's description of it as 'good neighbourliness'.
- 3 Discuss how Source 6 could be used as evidence to help explain why there was such resistance to apartheid in South Africa during the twentieth century.
- 4 Because of its placement here, Source 7 appears to be making a comment about apartheid. It is actually a drawing by Australian cartoonist John Frith that appeared in the *Melbourne Herald* newspaper on 19 February 1965, commenting on the Australian Freedom Ride (a movement for civil rights of Indigenous Australians).
 - a Explain how the placement of any source can impact upon its interpretation.
 - b Discuss how this cartoon could help you understand society in both South Africa and Australia in 1965.
- 5 Create your own caption for Source 8, and describe what is happening in the photo.



SANDRA LAING (b. 1955)

Sandra Laing was born to white parents in the town of Piet Retief in 1955. Her black curly hair and dark skin made her look different, but she was brought up as a white child in a white family. Laing's childhood was that of a typical white child in 1950s South Africa, until she started attending an all-white school. Here she was teased by fellow students and their parents, who suspected that Laing's mother had committed one of the greatest crimes that a white woman could commit under apartheid: having an affair with a black man. It was later proven to be untrue, but following complaints to the principal that Sandra was too dark, the principal notified the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs. As this was before the invention of DNA testing and

SOURCE 9 Sandra Laing with her husband, Johannes Motloun, at a screening of the film *Skin* in 2008

there was no knowledge of the phenomenon of dormant genes, Laing's family could offer no evidence to explain why their daughter looked different from them.

Officers visited Laing at school, and withdrew her from class. Confused by her skin colour and family background, they conducted a 'pencil test' to decide her classification. The pencil remained in her curly hair, and in that instant, Laing's life was changed forever.

Laing's parents fought for her to be recognised as their white child, but the courts refused to overturn the results of the pencil test. Ultimately, Laing was forced to attend a school 900 kilometres from her home. By the time the law had been changed to allow a child of two white parents to be recognised as white, Laing had eloped with a black man, which led to her father disowning her. She also lost contact with her mother, whom she did not reunite with until 2000, shortly before her mother's death.

Purely because of her skin colour, Sandra Laing was denied participation in society at the same level as her parents and brothers, and was largely condemned to a life of poverty. Her story was told in the book *When She was White, The True Story of a Family Divided by Race* (2007) and depicted in the movie *Skin* (2008).

14.2 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Research Sandra Laing's story and create a timeline that outlines the main events in her life.
- 2 Explain how apartheid impacted upon Laing's life.
- 3 Conduct the pencil test on your own hair. How would you have been classified in apartheid-era South Africa?

14.3 National resistance to apartheid

The premise of apartheid, from a white South African perspective, was that it was the only system that would prevent the non-white population from asserting their numerical superiority. It was designed from its inception to suppress resistance, and if the law failed, an armed police force was willing to use violence to ensure compliance. To resist apartheid in South Africa between 1948 and 1990 was to invite imprisonment, torture and even death.

The ANC (African National Congress) was formed in Bloemfontein in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress. Even its original title indicated the position of subservience non-white people had been relegated to after the union of South Africa in 1910. The creation of an organisation working for the rights of non-whites saw British and Afrikaner descendants combine in a political union to guarantee continued white supremacy. The ANC, as it became in 1923, aimed to defend and advance African civil rights under the existing white government. Some Africans felt that the ANC's focus on attaining civil rights was too passive, and in 1959 the PAC (Pan African Congress) was formed as a more radical offshoot of the ANC.

The election of the Malan National Party Government in 1948 enshrined white supremacy after the formal adoption of the apartheid policy. Ironically, this occurred as the post-Second World War move towards decolonisation and human rights gathered pace in the world beyond South Africa's borders. Indeed, 1948 saw the world adopt the International Court of Justice and International Declaration of Human Rights, while South Africa developed a system to deny the majority of its population these very rights.

The growth and impact of the ANC and the PAC

The ANC had championed non-violent opposition to racism from its inception in 1912. Its members saw their future as citizens in a united South Africa, and hoped that the global move towards decolonisation that helped define the post-Second World War world would impact on the South African Government. The election of 1948 dashed those hopes.

A new, more radical direction for the ANC first emerged in 1944 when Anton Lembede became the president of the ANC Youth League. Under Lembede, the ANC moved towards a manifesto rooted in African nationalism and direct action. His premature death in 1947 saw the emergence of three key figures in the Youth League, who would influence not only the ANC, but also the course of South African history: Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu.

The more activist approach of the new leadership was displayed when the ANC organised an official strike for 26 June 1950 as a protest against the Malan Government's move to ban the Communist Party. Any official action like a strike had serious consequences in apartheid South Africa.

SOURCE 10

Mass action was perilous in South Africa, where it was a criminal offence to strike, and where the rights of free speech and movement were unmercifully curtailed. By striking, an African worker stood to not only lose his job but his entire livelihood and the right to stay in the area he was living.

Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, p. 118

Mandela described the strike as a 'moderate success', and it did serve to show the Malan Government that attempts to impose restrictions would be met with resistance.

■ **non-racial**
an election or society where race does not impact on participation or opportunity



SOURCE 11 On Freedom Day 1952, ANC supporters protested against apartheid by breaking the night curfew that had been imposed upon them.

with cattle culling in 1950, the refusal of Bafarutshe women to carry passes in 1957, the Sekhukhuneland uprising, and the Pondoland revolt. These actions all showed that despite restrictions on news, non-white South Africans in rural as well as urban areas continued to resist apartheid. From 1954 until its banning in 1962, Mbeki was on the editorial board of the *New Age* newspaper. In 1964, he became one of the ANC members jailed for life on Robben Island, the notorious prison in Cape Town harbour.

For most of the 1950s the ANC was led by Albert Luthuli, who attempted to steer the organisation in a traditional liberal democratic direction. The government's response to his leadership was a series of bans, restricting Luthuli's right to travel. He presided over the introduction of the Freedom Charter in 1955, which produced a series of demands that would be the bedrock of non-white action for the duration of the apartheid government. The Charter Movement created an alliance between major non-white groups, the Federation of South African Women and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Luthuli's activism saw him become the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.

By the 1960s, the ANC was attempting to provide leadership of a competing range of opposition organisations that differed in strategies, tactics and outcomes. In 1959 one group of dissenters left the ANC to form the PAC under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe. The PAC's anti-Communist stance during the **Cold War** and its **pan-African** message found international support at a time when much of Africa was moving towards a post-colonial future. Its leadership moved towards a more confrontational approach to the government.

The formation of the PAC and the realisation that the Verwoerd Government was determined to continue its adherence to legislation and violence to enforce apartheid created the circumstances for the ANC to move its own struggle forward. The younger, more aggressive leaders, such as Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu, argued that, particularly after the crushing of protests at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960, the ANC needed a military wing. On 16 December 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation') was launched as an armed wing of the ANC. It would move resistance to apartheid into a new phase.

The date of 26 June became known as Freedom Day during the African struggle for freedom, up until 1994 (when Freedom Day was changed to 27 April to commemorate the first-ever **non-racial** elections in South Africa).

One challenge for the ANC throughout the 1950s was its domination by a largely urban leadership. Much of the thought and action were directed towards the large urban areas such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pretoria. One advocate for the rural black population was Govan Mbeki. In 1964 he published *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt*, which detailed the significant actions of rural Africans during the 1950s in their campaign against the apartheid government. These included the armed refusal of Witzieshoek peasants to comply

■ **Cold War**
the ideological conflict that centred on the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union after the Second World War; it was characterised by threats and propaganda, but not direct conflict – military engagements were largely fought through proxy nations

■ **pan-African**
the idea that all Africans can unite because of their commonalities (shared features or attributes)



SOURCE 12 Robben Island, the notorious prison that held many ANC members

The significance of the Sharpeville Massacre

A decade of rigid control under the apartheid regime had placed pressure on opposition groups. The formation of the PAC in 1959 saw this group portray themselves as a more active and radical alternative to the ANC. At the same time, the ANC leaders who had emerged from the party's youth wing – such as Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu – were also pressing for more direct action.

The pass laws provided the ideal setting for a campaign that would enable the organisers to claim success and loyalty for the changes they hoped were around the corner. Both the PAC and the ANC planned direct action against the pass laws in 1960. The two groups found themselves in competition for support, and the PAC decided to act quickly.

The PAC campaign resolved on the tactic of having thousands of male Africans present themselves at police stations across the country. They would offer themselves for arrest for not carrying their passes, refuse to pay fines, and effectively clog the judicial system and jails. This action, the organisers thought, would mark the PAC as the organisation most likely to bring change, and be the first step in a campaign the PAC stated would bring 'independence' in South Africa by 1963. The day chosen for this action was 21 March 1960.

However, a desire to pre-empt ANC action had led to rushed organisation and a smaller-than-hoped-for number of protestors. Sobukwe led a group of about 100 to the police station in Orlando, where they were told to wait. The whole initiative may have remained a small footnote in the South African struggle had it not been for Sharpeville – a black township that had been created in the 1930s and 40s to move Africans away from the industrial city of Vereeniging.

Thousands of Sharpeville residents joined the pass law protest on 21 March 1960. There is some evidence to suggest that PAC activists threatened people to make them participate. The assembly marched to the police station chanting slogans such as *'Izwe lethu'* ('Our land'), *'Awaphela amapasti'* ('Down with passes') and *'Sobukwe sikhokhele'* ('Lead us Sobukwe'). As the police refused to arrest people on the grounds that their cells were too small to accommodate them all, reinforcements arrived. Academic and Nelson Mandela biographer Tom Lodge wrote that: 'By 1pm ... there were about 400 policemen: 200 were white and armed with guns and about 200 black, equipped with knobkerries (clubs).'

About 1.15 p.m., there was a small scuffle near the police station, and as the crowd moved forward to see what was happening, the fence surrounding the police station started to give way. In the confusion, police started firing, using pistols, rifles and machine-guns. A total of 1344 rounds of ammunition were discharged into the crowd, who at first believed the police were firing blanks. As the reality became clear, the crowd turned to run. Most of those killed were shot in the back as they tried to flee.

When what occurred at Sharpeville was investigated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1996, all evidence suggested that the crowd was peaceful and unarmed. White journalists who had arrived to cover the protest corroborated these accounts. The white armed police were Afrikaner, and were used to immediate compliance with any order when dealing with non-white people. Their reaction to a group of Africans disobeying orders were to have tragic consequences. Where eyewitnesses saw a peaceful, even celebratory crowd, white police officers saw threats and enemies. This was the reality apartheid had created.

After the volleys of firing ceased, police emerged to inspect the bodies. Evidence suggested that the police placed stones and knives in the hands of victims to help build their argument that they acted in self-defence. There were claims made after the end of apartheid that police killed some of those they found lying injured, and mutilated other bodies. Film footage suggests the police gave no help to the wounded.

The official records from Sharpeville show that 69 people were killed and 180 people were seriously wounded. In 1999, former police and medical officers stated that up to two dozen bodies had been removed for secret burial because their badly disfigured bodies were evidence that the police had used exploding bullets known as 'dum-dums'. Thus, the complete toll of the carnage at Sharpeville may never be known.

More deaths followed at the Cape Town township of Langa later that day. As the news of what had occurred at Sharpeville spread, crowds were told to disperse. Protestors at the Langa Flats bus terminus were given three minutes to disperse. When they re-formed, police charged them, leaving three dead and 26 injured.

SOURCE 13 Testimony from eyewitness Carlton Monnagotla

I stood frozen, couldn't believe what was happening. Then I saw the bodies and people fleeing. Right in front of me a pregnant woman was shot. Her unborn baby fell out of her stomach and the next bullet got her. Horrible.

Tom Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, 2011, p. 12

SOURCE 14 Testimony from eyewitness Ruben Rapoetsoe

[W]hen I passed the police station again I heard officers shouting: 'Where is your land now, kaffirs? Where is your land now?' Oh, I forgot one thing. During the shooting, there was a man who, despite the bullets, ran straight towards the police station, shouting: 'It's enough, you've shot enough!' He was shot moments later.

Tom Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, 2011, p. 13



SOURCE 15 Police inspect bodies at Sharpeville, 21 March 1960.

The repercussions of Sharpeville were profound. For the South African Government it confirmed the necessity of even harsher implementation of apartheid. It revealed the precarious nature of the white stranglehold on power. If there was any letting up in the armed suppression of non-white peoples, they reasoned, the numerical superiority of non-whites would overwhelm the white population. On 30 March 1960 the government declared a state of emergency, detaining more than 18 000 people. Robert Sobukwe was imprisoned on Robben Island, where he was to be kept until 1969. These initiatives were followed by the banning of the ANC, PAC and South African Communist Party. Such actions reveal the simple philosophy of the government that apartheid could be maintained by banning any opposition and violently suppressing attempts to challenge the law.

SOURCE 16 PAC leader Robert Sobukwe in his prison cell on Robben Island, where he was held from 1960 until 1969, after which he was kept under virtual house arrest.





SOURCE 17

A demonstration against apartheid at Trafalgar Square, London, in 1960, calls for boycotts against South Africa – the raising of international awareness of the realities of apartheid began with Sharpeville.

For the non-white population, Sharpeville confirmed what they already knew: that the white government would not concede power without a fight. Thus armed resistance rather than any attempt to negotiate a settlement became the preferred route to bring about change. The ANC had formed Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC had formed Poqo, military wings that would move resistance to apartheid onto a new level. The banning of these organisations by the Verwoerd Government forced them underground, but resistance was to become more violent as the government tightened its grip on security.

The raising of international awareness of the realities of apartheid also began with Sharpeville, and this would become increasingly significant over the next 30 years.

The symbolic significance of Sharpeville to the resistance to apartheid was shown when Mandela signed the South African Constitution there on 10 December 1996, and opened the Sharpeville Memorial that honours the victims of 21 March 1960. The date of 21 March is now celebrated as Human Rights Day in South Africa.

14.3a Check your learning

- 1 Identify the white and non-white perspectives on apartheid.
- 2 Identify why 1948 was such a significant year in South African history.
- 3 Write a brief description of the origin and growth of the ANC and the PAC, including their military wings.
- 4 Create a table that shows the implications of Sharpeville for both white and non-white South Africans.

14.3a Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain how Source 10 helps you understand the difficulties non-white people faced in opposing apartheid.
- 2 Examine Sources 13–15, and discuss their validity. How could they be used as evidence of what occurred at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960? What conclusions can you draw from these sources about the events in Sharpeville?
- 3 Outline why Robert Sobukwe is in the situation shown in Source 16.

Nelson Mandela and Umkhonto we Sizwe

Sharpeville became a line in the sand for those forces opposed to apartheid. Dr Percy Yutar, the white attorney who was the Transvaal prosecutor during the Rivonia Trial against ANC members in 1964, claimed that once banning had pushed resistance underground, the ANC was using sabotage and mass uprising as a precursor to an armed invasion. This claim encapsulated all the paranoia of the Verwoerd Government. Yutar argued that it was Umkhonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation', commonly known as 'MK') that was the engine behind this plan to ultimately bring apartheid in South Africa to a violent end.

When speaking to journalists in a safe house in 1960, Mandela explained that the non-violent approach had been met with bullets. He argued that there was now a need to reconsider tactics. Non-violence had been integral to the ANC's opposition to apartheid since its inception, and the decision to create a military wing was not taken lightly. After much discussion, it was decided that the MK was to operate at arm's length from the ANC to protect ANC members from prosecution. MK was to be led by Mandela and Joe Slovo, a member of the South African Communist Party.

The MK commenced its sabotage campaign in December 1961. The initial aim was to show that there was a clear break with the previous 50 years of non-violent protest. Electricity pylons and pass offices were targeted in actions designed to show the potential for future chaos rather than cause major dislocation. Attacks were carried out at night so as to avoid injuring people. The high command of MK, including Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, based itself at Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, as they planned their sabotage attacks. It was here that members of the high command were captured on 11 July 1963.

Only a month before the arrest, Slovo had managed to leave the country to meet up with Oliver Tambo, who had been sent on a 'mission in exile' in the immediate aftermath of Sharpeville, to establish support for the ANC internationally.

Rivonia Trial

Mandela had been arrested in an operation in Durban in 1962 and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in Pretoria. More than 50 years later, in 2016, a former CIA agent, Donald Rickard, revealed that he had informed the South African Government of Mandela's location because of the United States' fear that Mandela was a 'dangerous Communist'. Despite already being in prison when the Lilliesleaf Farm raid occurred, Mandela was added to the list of accused when the occupants of Lilliesleaf were brought to trial. The charge was sabotage rather than high treason, but despite the lesser charge, the South African Government declared it was seeking the death penalty.



SOURCE 18 Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, was the secret hideaway of the MK leadership, who were captured there in 1963.

The trial attracted widespread international attention when it began on 9 October 1963. The government was forced to rearrest those charged when the judge quashed the original indictment, which had included basic errors such as accusing Mandela of actions that had taken place while he was imprisoned in Pretoria. Charges against one of the 11 defendants, Bob Wolpe, were withdrawn. Wolpe was expected to testify against the others, but fled overseas. The remaining 10 defendants reappeared in court in December, where they all pleaded not guilty.

What became known as the Rivonia Trial became a watershed in the South African resistance. The ANC militants decided that, if they were to be hanged, they would use the trial as their opportunity to speak to the watching world. As the most high-profile accused, Mandela had the responsibility of speaking first.

SOURCE 19 Nelson Mandela on preparing his Rivonia statement

I spent about a fortnight drafting my address ... I felt we were likely to hang no matter what we said, so we might as well say what we truly believed. The atmosphere at the time was extremely grim, with newspapers routinely speculating that we would receive the death sentence.

Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, p. 362

Mandela's speech, known as 'I am prepared to die', has become accepted as one of the great speeches of the twentieth century. He detailed his involvement in the resistance to apartheid, and his reasons for it. He challenged the South African Government's right to sit in judgment on him and his co-accused, and called for equality in South Africa. His final statement, at the end of his four-hour speech, summarised on a personal level the African resistance to apartheid.

SOURCE 20 Nelson Mandela's concluding statement

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal 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 achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, p. 368

SOURCE 21

ANC supporters pray outside the courtroom during the Rivonia Trial.



Two of the 10 accused, Lionel Bernstein and James Cantor, were acquitted. Despite the government's demands for the death sentence, the presiding judge, Quartas de Wet, decided on life imprisonment for the remaining eight. As the only white defendant, Denis Goldberg was sent to prison in Pretoria. Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni were all sent to Robben Island. All of those convicted lived long enough to see the first non-racial South African elections on 27 April 1994.

The aftermath of the Rivonia Trial

The immediate effect of the Rivonia Trial was the removal of the leading figures of the MK and the ANC. But preparations had been made to deal with such an eventuality. Immediately after Sharpeville, Oliver Tambo had fled the country, and by 1962 he was formally the head of the ANC's diplomatic mission, addressing meetings and driving international support for the struggle. External bases were established in African countries such as Zambia (1964), Botswana (1966), Lesotho (1966) and Swaziland (1968), as well as Mozambique and Angola when they became independent countries in 1975. From 1965, Tanzania provided both the administrative (Morogoro) and military (Kongwa) headquarters for the ANC.

The resistance also continued within South Africa. In 1968 the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) was created, followed by the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1972. This period also saw the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement, matched by increased government suppression.

But Rivonia had further brought apartheid policies to international attention, and by 1966 the United Nations had commenced conferences seeking solutions to apartheid, and implemented **sanctions** on South Africa. International sporting organisations also moved to ban South African teams that were selected on racial grounds from participating in events. South Africa was excluded from the Olympic Games between 1964 and 1988, and from football's World Cup across the same period. By the 1970s, the major South African sports of cricket and rugby were also included, and the country was effectively excluded from all international sports competition.

■ **sanctions**
threatened penalties
for a person or
country breaking a
rule or agreed course
of action



SOURCE 22 Alistair Cook of England (left) and Hashim Amla of South Africa pose with the Basil D'Oliveira Trophy in 2015. This trophy is awarded to the team that wins a Test series between the two nations. In 1968, South Africa had refused to accept D'Oliveira, a mixed-race player of South African descent, as a member of the English Cricket Team. This led to England withdrawing from a cricket tour of South Africa, and to further boycotts of South African sport.



SOURCE 23 Nelson Mandela (second from right) joins with fellow Robben Island prisoners on 11 February 1994 to visit the lime quarry where they worked.

■ **banning**
restricting a person's right to freely communicate or mix with other people; banning was an important tool in the South African Government's suppression of those opposed to its policy of apartheid

NELSON MANDELA (1918–2013)

Nelson Mandela was born Rolihlahla Mandela in 1918, and given the Christian name Nelson by his primary school teacher, as was common practice at the time. He became increasingly politicised while studying for his BA, and in 1944 joined the ANC, helping to establish its youth wing. In 1952 he established South Africa's first black law firm with Oliver Tambo. By the end of that year, Mandela was **banned** for the first time as apartheid policies increased the suppression of non-white people. Arrested at the end of 1955, he was one of the accused in the 1956 Treason Trial, but was acquitted in 1961. Following the formation of the paramilitary MK and a new phase of the struggle against apartheid, Mandela spent a great part of 1962 illegally travelling overseas to seek support for the anti-apartheid movement, and also receiving training in guerrilla tactics.

Although he was already a prominent figure within the resistance, it was Mandela's speech at the Rivonia Trial in 1963 that elevated him to a position of great influence in South Africa and globally. Following his conviction, his imprisonment on Robben Island inspired increased resistance to apartheid, both within South Africa and abroad.

From the mid-1980s the South African Government tried to negotiate a release with Mandela, who refused to renounce violence or compromise his beliefs for freedom. By this stage he had emerged as the symbolic leader of non-white South Africa, holding a moral authority the white government lacked.

When Mandela was finally freed on 11 February 1990, he faced his arguably greatest challenge yet. Although progress had been made during his imprisonment, South Africa was not yet a unified country.

On 4 May 1990, the Groote Schuur Minute was signed – an agreement committing the ANC and the South African Government, under F.W. de Klerk, to a peaceful process of negotiation. In September 1991 Mandela signed the National Peace Accord on behalf of the ANC, which also brought the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party into an agreement to end violence. But by June 1992, violence was increasing within South Africa and Mandela withdrew the ANC from negotiations with the government.

The bulk of non-white negotiation with the government fell to Mandela, although 1992 and 1993 saw challenges to his control. His calls for peace were booed on occasion as pressure intensified through clashes with competing groups such as the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In 1993 Mandela and de Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, as they negotiated their way towards a date for the first multiracial election. The election took place on 27 April 1994. The ANC received 62 per cent of the vote, and Mandela expressed his relief that the party had failed to gain the two-thirds majority which would have enabled it to rewrite the Constitution without opposition. Instead, a government of national unity was formed, and on 9 May the Constituent Assembly elected Mandela President. Until his retirement in 1999 he used his diplomatic skills to negotiate a path of reconciliation rather than revenge to help prepare a united South Africa for its place in the twenty-first century.

14.3 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Explain why you think Mandela was able to retain his influence during his imprisonment.
- 2 Discuss what you think Mandela's greatest achievements were after his release from prison.

Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

The imprisonment of the Rivonia Trial defendants removed some of the most popular and active anti-apartheid leaders, creating a leadership vacuum. This vacuum gave rise to the Black Consciousness Movement in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The essence of Black Consciousness was young, disenfranchised black South Africans, determined to overthrow apartheid, and drawing pride in their identity and culture. It drew its strength from the formation of the South African Student Organisation, SASO, which was formed by Steve Biko in 1968. Simultaneously, black trade unions were also forming and growing in defiance, despite ongoing repression.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 had emerged as a major battleground for Black Consciousness in the 1970s. The education of black South Africans was designed as a tool of repression. It was chronically underfunded and had a ratio of one teacher to 58 students by 1967. In 1974 the Minister for Education ordered that 50 per cent of subjects had to be delivered in Afrikaans, the language of the white oppressor. This created even greater tensions that would eventually explode in the township of Soweto on 16 June 1976.

On this day, school students began a peaceful march to protest the imposition of Afrikaans. When confronted by police, the students sang songs of protest, and the police responded by opening fire. This was followed by an orgy of violence as armed police fired at will from armoured vehicles. The image of a dying 13-year-old student, Hector Pieterse, being carried from the conflict by fellow student Mbuyisa Makhubu and accompanied by Pieterse's sister Antoinette, became one of the defining images of apartheid South Africa. Over 100 students died in the ensuing days of violence, as the white South African Government won its 'war' against protesting school children, but lost any remaining shreds of moral authority.



SOURCE 24 Antoinette Sithole, sister of Hector Pieterse, stands next to the iconic image taken by Sam Nzima, at the Hector Pieterse Memorial in Soweto.

■ **security police**
the police force
operated by the
South African Bureau
for State Security
from 1969 to 1980; it
was used to repress
the aspirations
of the non-white
population

International condemnation of South Africa was swift, and within the country Black Consciousness became the next target for government repression. The leader of the movement was the charismatic Steve Biko. An intelligent and articulate speaker, Biko demolished apartheid arguments with wit and logic. Apartheid apologists found him impossible to deal with, and responded by banning him.

On 17 August 1977, Biko was arrested and taken to Walmer Police Station in Port Elizabeth. He was kept stripped and manacled for 20 days before being transferred to the **security police** in Port Elizabeth. During a beating between 6 and 7 September, Biko suffered a brain haemorrhage,

but under instructions from the security police, doctors ruled that he did not require treatment. On 11 September, the police decided to drive an unconscious Biko 700 kilometres to Pretoria on the floor of a Land Rover. He died in custody the following day. The Minister for Justice, Jimmy Kruger, announced that Biko had died of a hunger strike, but the truth quickly emerged. The government continued to deny the reality of Biko's torture and death, and it was not until the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission that the truth was finally conceded.

While the murder of Biko removed the one leader capable of uniting competing black groups until the release of Mandela over a decade later, it guaranteed further unrest, protest and underground movements against the government.



SOURCE 25 The body of Steve Biko at his funeral, which became another demonstration against the government

14.3b Check your learning

- 1 Explain the significance of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) for the resistance to apartheid.
- 2 Outline the significance of the Rivonia Trial in the struggle to resist apartheid.
- 3 Research the student uprising in Soweto in 1976. Why could it be argued that this was a turning point in the resistance to apartheid? To what extent did the Black Consciousness Movement influence the Soweto Uprising?
- 4 Prepare a biographical report on the life and death of Steve Biko.

14.3b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain how Sources 19 and 20 help you understand the significance of the Rivonia Trial in the struggle against apartheid.
- 2 Research the career of Basil D'Oliveira, and discuss why his name was an appropriate choice for the trophy shown in Source 22.
- 3 Examine Source 24 and explain the context that led to the photograph of Hector Pieterse being taken. How influential do you think that image was in the struggle against apartheid?
- 4 Discuss why a public showing of Steve Biko's body at his funeral, as shown in Source 25, would be a significant historical moment.

14.4 Repression and control by South African governments

One approach to examining the history of South Africa would be to simply examine government legislation passed between 1948 and 1990. The white government's control of the country rested on two things: repressive legislation that controlled the movement and opportunities of the non-white population, and a well-resourced security police force that had permission to use any force necessary to enforce that legislation.

From its formal inception after the 1948 election, apartheid sowed the seeds of its own demise. By creating a racial elite, it narrowed its economic base. South Africa relied on cheap labour to mine and export its mineral wealth, while maintaining a small privileged class who had the access and wealth to consume its imported consumer goods. This created such inequality that long-term economic stability was always going to be compromised.

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

As the incidents in Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976 showed, repression could quickly turn to a violent and deadly suppression of dissent. The banning of individuals and organisations, and the Rivonia Trial, showed another side of repression. The example of Steve Biko's torture and death in police custody revealed yet another approach. In all approaches the South African Government relied upon its security police to repress the aspirations of the non-white population.

The formal approach to repression taken by the South African Government can be summarised in the following table.

SOURCE 26 The formal approach to repression taken by the South African Government

EXAMPLE OF FORMAL REPRESSION	EXAMPLE OF APPLICATION
Legislation	The Public Safety Act of 1953, which gave the government power to declare a state of emergency
Detention without trial	From 1960, more than 75 000 people were detained without trial
Banning of individuals	The arrest, torture and killing of Steve Biko in 1977 for breaking a banning order
Political trials	The Rivonia Trial of 1963–64 25 000 people in 1985 being charged with 'unrest'
Political executions	The execution of Notemba Bozwana in 1964 for sabotage
Control of passports	The government regularly refusing applications from non-white people for passports to allow them to travel overseas; examples include Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo
Banning of organisations	South African Communist Party (since 1950), ANC (since 1960), PAC (since 1960), Congress of South African Students (since 1985)
Repression of gatherings	Formal ban on all outdoor political meetings since 1976
Repression of publications	The banning of books and magazines at an average of 500 per year, including the <i>New Age</i> newspaper in 1962 Newspapers unable to report on 'unrest'
Repression of political activities	The banning of a broad range of campaigns calling for change

Accompanying such formal examples of repression were informal actions such as the establishment of the secretive National Management System from 1986. This group involved army generals and police chiefs in secret ‘counter-revolutionary’ activities. Further terror was created by vigilante groups and secret ‘hit squads’. This enhanced repression in the final decade of apartheid.

The role of the South African security forces

SOURCE 27

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) found the state – and in particular its security agencies and affiliated policy and strategy formulation committees and councils – to be the primary perpetrators of gross violations of human rights committed during the thirty-four years it was mandated to investigate [1960–94].

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Former South African Government and its Security Forces*, 1998, p. 181

Source 27 reveals one approach historians can take as they try to assess the role of the South African security police and armed forces in their repression of opposition. The Mandela Government instituted a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to inquire into the many acts of brutality and illegality committed under the apartheid regime. It was designed to allow anyone to make a complaint about past repression, and for perpetrators to come forward to admit their actions and make claims for **amnesty**. It was hoped that this would allow the new nation to move forward by drawing a line under the past.

amnesty
an official pardon for someone who has been convicted of political offences



SOURCE 28 Daantjie Siebert, a former security police officer, demonstrates some torture methods used on Steve Biko during an amnesty application.

The death of Steve Biko was one of the crimes investigated by the Commission. It revealed close links between the police and politicians as high as the prime minister. Testimony was given that the politicians requested police cooperation in preventing anti-apartheid demonstrators from tarnishing the international image of South Africa. One of the outcomes of that request was the violent death of Biko in police custody. Ultimately, the Commission denied amnesty to four officers who were involved in Biko’s death. The Commission found their evidence contradictory and unreliable, although it did reveal more details of Biko’s treatment.

Ultimately, the South African security forces were revealed to do the government’s bidding. Black members of the forces never amounted to more than token representation, and were removed from the Afrikaner decision making that politicised the forces into such effective tools of repression.

The Bantustans

From the time the first white settlers arrived in South Africa in 1652, there was an ongoing attempt to drive the Indigenous Africans from their land. Put simply, white South Africans claimed the best land the country had to offer, and forced the black population onto Bantustans (homelands) – poor land far from the white cities.

As early as the 1940s, the 60 000 inhabitants of Sophiatown in Johannesburg had been moved to dry plains 50 kilometers away to form the township that would eventually become

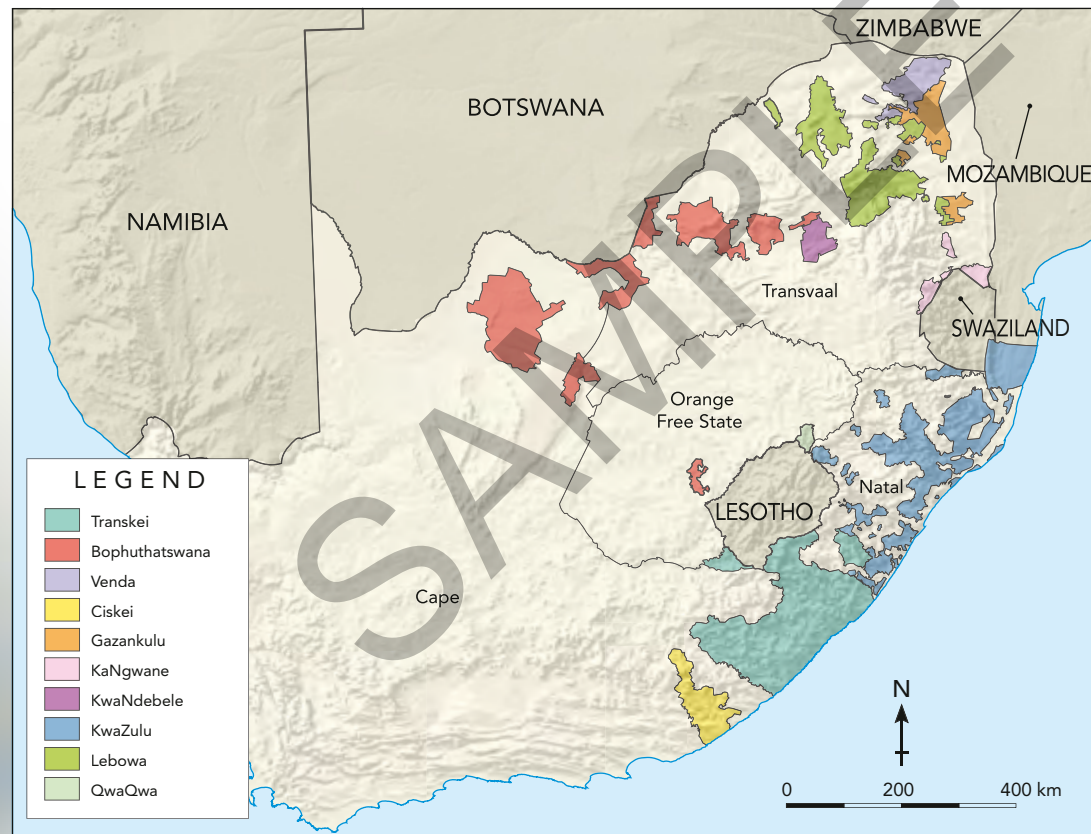
known as Soweto. Four million more followed as they were forced into 10 Bantustans, each designed for a specific ethnic group (see Source 29). It was the classic colonial tactic of divide and rule.

The legislative framework for the Bantustans was the Bantu Authority Act of 1951, which provided for the establishment of black homelands and regional authorities, with the aim of creating greater self-government. This was followed by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, which separated black people into different ethnic groups. In effect, these Acts were designed to remove as many black people as possible from the proximity of the white population.

SOURCE 29 The 10 Bantustans and their ethnic groups

BANTUSTAN	ETHNIC GROUP
Transkei	Xhosa
Bophuthatswana	Tswana
Venda	Venda
Ciskei	Xhosa
Gazankulu	Shangaan
KaNgwane	Swazi
KwaNdebele	Ndebele
KwaZulu	Zulu
Lebowa	Pedi and Northern Ndebele
QwaQwa	Basothos

THE BANTUSTANS AT THE END OF APARTHEID, 1994



SOURCE 30

The Bantustans were the territories set aside for the various Bantus, to formalise the removal of Indigenous Africans from their land.

SOURCE 31

Transkei Bantustan in 1988



Between 1976 and 1981, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were granted 'independence'. The South African Government was trying to legally separate the Bantustans from South Africa, but no nation would recognise them. They effectively became labour reservoirs for white South Africa. As the land was too poor to farm, men instead sought the opportunity to work in menial, low-paying jobs for white employers – jobs that forced them to travel far, leaving their families behind.

Relations with neighbouring African countries and international reactions to apartheid

As Africa decolonised in the 1960s and 70s, the South African Government found itself surrounded by unsympathetic black governments, which had already cast off the type of repression the previous governments had resorted to with increasing frequency. The six countries that share land borders with South Africa all claimed independence between the 1960s and the 1990s: Botswana and Lesotho in 1966; Swaziland in 1968; Mozambique in 1975; and South Africa's only regional ally Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1980. Namibia was under South African control until 1990.

While apartheid built towards its most vicious phase in the 1980s, as an increasingly desperate government tried to cling to power, international pressure for change mounted. Zimbabwe and Mozambique had fought bitter wars for the control of their countries, and together with the former British colonies of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which combined to become Tanzania in 1964, provided material support and access for anti-apartheid activists, who fled from South Africa to mount **guerrilla** campaigns across their borders.

But international borders were no obstacle to the South African security police if neighbouring countries were thought to be harbouring active ANC members. Incursions into foreign territory became a regular aspect of South African military activity.

SOURCE 32 Nelson Mandela on South African military incursions

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

Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, pp. 517–8

The United Nations had ruled that apartheid was based on racial discrimination as early as the 1950s, but its first official call for South Africa to abandon apartheid came in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. This was followed by attempts at sanctions from 1963 onwards. In 1968, the General Assembly of the United Nations requested all states and organisations 'to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid'. A voluntary United Nations embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa became mandatory in 1977. At this time, a movement in the United States for **disinvestment** in South Africa gained momentum. American companies in South Africa were pressured to either treat workers with equality or close down. Calls to boycott companies that had any financial interest in South Africa had a major impact in the United States, and the pressure resulted in Congress passing the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in 1986, despite a presidential veto from President Ronald Reagan. During 1988,

■ guerrilla

a style of fighting where a numerically inferior force fights a larger enemy in ongoing smaller skirmishes without engaging in outright battle; also refers to the fighters who conduct this style of war

■ disinvestment

where countries or companies remove their financial investment or company from a country

5.5 billion **rand** was withdrawn from South Africa, and inflation was rising up to 15 per cent a year. Action in the West was severely damaging the South African economy.

■ **rand**
the monetary unit of
South Africa

International pressure on the Botha Government increased when Archbishop Desmond Tutu was awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize for his work within South Africa, campaigning for a non-violent solution to the country's problems. As Tutu was the first black archbishop of Cape Town, and an advocate of non-violence, the government found it difficult to launch its repressive tactics against him, and he emerged as a significant voice against apartheid in the 1980s.

Boycotts of sporting tours to the country followed, and most musicians rejected large sums of money to tour there. However, some artists, such as Queen, Rod Stewart and Elton John, accepted substantial money in 1983 and 1984 to play in Sun City, a major resort that had opened in the Bantustan of Bophuthatswana. A major campaign led by American musician Steven Van Zandt culminated in the Artists United Against Apartheid recording of the song 'Sun City' in 1985, which brought international scrutiny to this backdoor attempt to break the cultural sanctions.

Musicians and the wider public increased pressure on the South African Government with a massive concert held in London in June 1988 for Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday. This was followed later that year by 'Human Rights Now!', a worldwide tour of Amnesty International concerts – one of which was held in Zimbabwe – to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Zimbabwe. The line-up featured Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band, Sting, Peter Gabriel, Youssou N'Dour and Tracy Chapman. These concerts reminded South African youth what their government was denying them. They also helped push the South African Government towards dismantling apartheid and freeing political prisoners, including Mandela.



SOURCE 33 The 'Human Rights Now!' Amnesty International Concert at Wembley Stadium London, 2 September 1988

14.4 Check your learning

- 1 Explain how repressive legislation and a strong security force aided the South African Government's repression of non-white people between 1948 and 1994.
- 2 Explain how one example of formal repression operated in South Africa.
- 3 Explain why Bantustans existed. How effective were they as a tool of repression?
- 4 Outline the way that international pressure helped drive change in South Africa.
- 5 Discuss how the decolonisation movement in Africa in the 1960s and 70s assisted the ANC.

14.4 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain how Source 27 helps you understand the nature of repression in South Africa during apartheid. Does Source 28 challenge or corroborate Source 27?
- 2 Analyse Source 31 and outline what it reveals about the nature of life in the Bantustans.
- 3 Discuss what Source 32 reveals about the pressure of international actions contributing to destabilisation in South Africa. How does it help you understand the refusal of Mandela to leave jail before South Africa also renounced violence?
- 4 Research the term 'soft power'. Examine Source 33 and explain why it is an example of soft power in action.

14.5 The end of apartheid

The final days of apartheid commenced in 1989. Domestically, the government was going through a generational change. On 15 August 1989, F.W. de Klerk replaced P.W. Botha as leader of the National Party and President of South Africa. At 53, he was 20 years younger than his predecessor, and a different generation to those who had trained in Nazi Germany and perfected the apartheid policy.

The global context in which South Africa operated in also changed dramatically in 1989. The Cold War was ending as communism collapsed spectacularly in Eastern Europe. Anti-communism had been a major ideological underpinning of apartheid and repression. The collapse of communism drained the South African Government of a major reason for its policies, as Soviet support for organisations like the ANC and the PAC also disappeared. What was left was a system that was based nakedly on racial supremacy.

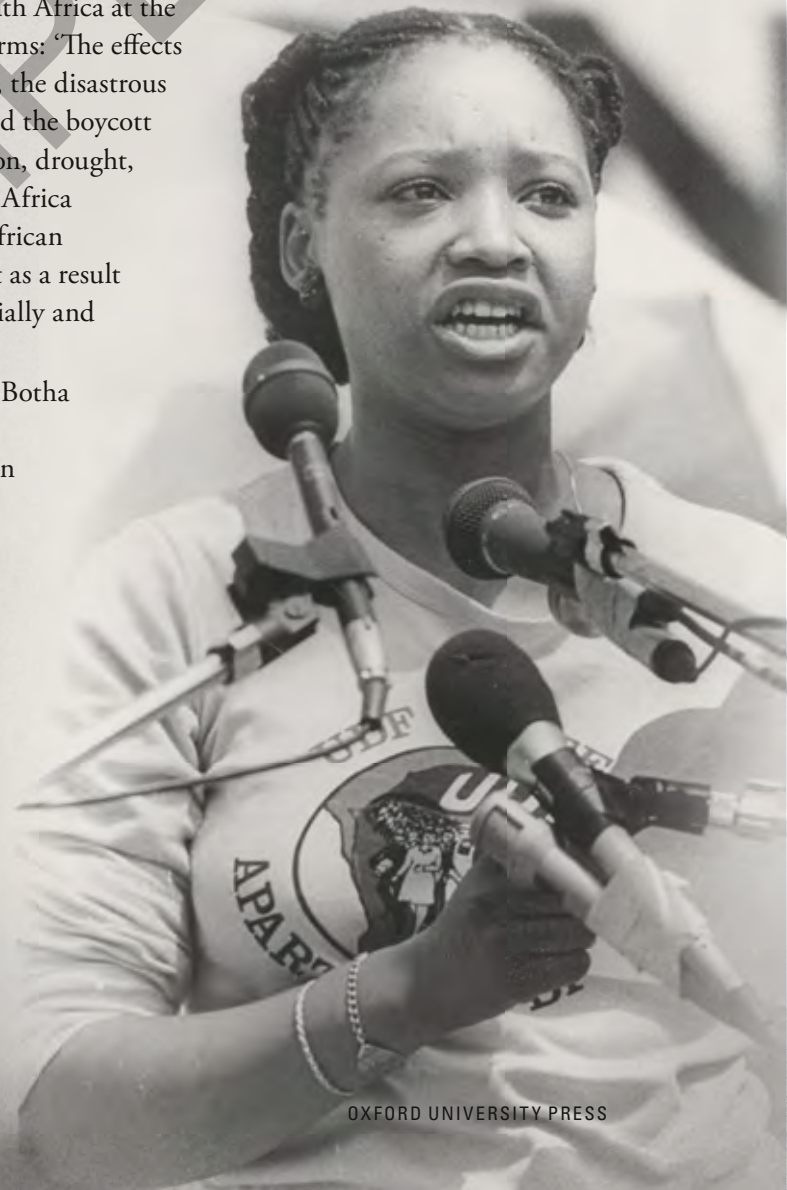
The political, economic and social factors contributing to the end of apartheid

Author Dominique Lapierre described South Africa at the beginning of the 1980s in the following terms: 'The effects of the UN embargo on military purchases, the disastrous consequences of international sanctions and the boycott on South African goods, economic recession, drought, racial violence – the future of white South Africa looked grim indeed.' By 1989 the South African economy was suffering from disinvestment as a result of boycotts, and the country remained socially and politically divided along racial lines.

In 1983, after a successful referendum, Botha introduced a new constitution. Under it, a **Tricameral Parliament** gave representation to the 'Coloured' and 'Indian' population, although in reality power still resided in the whites-only house of parliament. Botha also changed his office from Prime Minister to President in 1984, hoping to secure more power to control events. Black people however remained permanently

■ **Tricameral Parliament**
a parliament with three separate chambers

SOURCE 34 At a rally in Soweto, 1985, Zindzi Mandela, Nelson Mandela's daughter, reads a letter from her father rejecting Botha's offer of provisional release.



excluded. Botha offered the argument that they were not South African, instead belonging exclusively to their allocated Bantustans. That had always been the intention of the Bantustans – to remove black South Africans from any claim on their land.

The black reaction to this political move was massive protest. A major non-racial coalition formed under the banner of the United Democratic Front. It brought together a wide range of groups opposed to the new constitution including churches, students and trade unionists. The government responded with a state of emergency and further repression in 1985. This became the dominant theme of the second half of the decade. Botha attempted to persuade Mandela to accept a provisional release from prison on the condition that he renounce the violence of non-white activists, hoping that would help settle an increasingly desperate situation. Mandela had been moved from Robben Island to Pollsmore Prison in Cape Town in 1982, but continued to resist Botha's overtures. Instead, Mandela sent his youngest daughter, Zindzi, to speak at a rally at Soweto in February 1985. Most South Africans had no idea what Mandela looked like, because his image had been banned in South Africa since his imprisonment.

Through his daughter, he called on Botha to be the one to renounce violence, stating that the ANC had only adopted violence when there were no other forms of resistance left. This message was the reverse of the demand Botha had been insisting on as the price for Mandela's release. Botha responded by calling on white South Africa to 'mobilise against the forces of darkness that threaten to destroy the land of our fathers'.

Botha panicked when Mandela was diagnosed with prostate cancer in 1985. Terrified of Mandela dying in jail, and the forces that would be unleashed, he arranged for Mandela to receive surgery in the elite, whites-only Volks Hospital. The same privilege was extended in 1988 when Mandela was revealed as suffering from tuberculosis. During his recovery, Mandela met with Botha. When Mandela asked for all political prisoners to be released, Botha replied that it was out of the question because 'those men are still enemies of the people God has chosen to reign over Africa'. As it had done since 1652, the Afrikaner belief in the divine right to rule continued to unleash hatred and discrimination.



SOURCE 35 South Africans react to the freeing of Nelson Mandela in 1990.

The circuit breaker that the impending crisis in South Africa required occurred later in 1989 when de Klerk replaced Botha as President after Botha had suffered a stroke. De Klerk was not Botha's preferred successor. On 2 February 1990, de Klerk announced that 'the time for negotiation has arrived'. He included all South Africans in the negotiations, and followed this with the announcement that the ANC, the PAC and the Communist Party were unbanned, and that he was releasing all remaining political prisoners, including Mandela.

Problems facing the National Party and the ANC in the transition to democracy

In May 1990, a meeting occurred that seemed inconceivable only 12 months earlier: the members of the apartheid resistance met face to face with de Klerk and members of his government. The historic significance of the meeting was, as Mandela pointed out, that 'we had come to the meeting not as suppliants or petitioners, but as fellow South Africans who merited an equal place at the table'. Over three days, both sides hammered out an agenda for a peace conference.

But shortly after the meeting South Africa was plunged into yet another explosion of violence. This time, however, the perpetrators were the country's Zulu population. Their Bantustan, Kwazulu, was arguably the strongest of the 10 Bantustans established under apartheid, and the Zulu could see their future as an independent state, separate from South Africa. This kind of division among the different black ethnic groups was exactly what the originators of the apartheid policy had hoped to create. The Zulu had been forged into a powerful group by a royal chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. His power base was the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) he had developed and which was now unleashing a massacre of non-Zulu Africans, including Xhosa, the ethnic group of Nelson Mandela. The attacks were supported by some of the more extreme elements of white South Africa. De Klerk himself saw Buthelezi as a valuable ally against the ANC and the leadership of Mandela. In turn, Buthelezi saw de Klerk as his best chance for an independent homeland. This alliance threatened all the progress the ANC-dominated talks had promised.

On 29 January 1991, Mandela and Buthelezi met and concluded a truce between the ANC and the IFP. Both sides expressed a desire for political tolerance, and this was an arrangement that would hold, despite strains, until 2004. In a democratic South Africa, the anti-apartheid organisations had to develop effective political parties to compete for support. In a country that had been divided for so long, that presented huge challenges.

As for de Klerk, he had the right wing of his party demanding no concessions to black South Africans, while constantly being pressured for concessions by the black organisations. He decided to bring matters to a head by calling an all-white-people referendum on whether to accept the end of apartheid. He promised to resign if the election failed. It was not only the ultimate test of his leadership, but also a moment that would define the path to a democratic South Africa. On 17 March 1992, 88 per cent of white voters produced a 68.73 per cent vote in favour of ending apartheid. It was the decisive moment of the transition period.

On 3 June 1993 it was announced that 27 April 1994 would be the date for the first-ever non-racial elections in South Africa. Twenty million voters would go to the polls, and for non-white people it would be the first time in their history that they would be able to vote to choose their leaders. The IFP had decided to participate in the elections at the last minute, which strengthened its credibility.



SOURCE 36 Inkatha Freedom Fighters, 1990s

It was a massive logistical task to get people to polling booths. Non-white South Africans had only been permitted passbooks as identification. Electoral rolls had never been established before, and black South Africans had no experience at all in voting. At Sharpeville, 93-year-old Miriam Mqomboti declared, 'I never thought I would see this day.' In the Gugulethu township outside Cape Town, Desmond Tutu yelled 'Yippee!' as he dropped his ballot into a voting box. At Ohlange School in Natal, Nelson Mandela joyously announced, 'I have cast the first vote of my life!'

Mandela's ANC won an overwhelming endorsement with 62.65 per cent of the vote, winning 252 seats. The National Party under de Klerk won 20.39 per cent and 82 seats, while the IFP under Buthelezi received 10.54 per cent and 43 seats. Mandela formed a government of national unity with de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki as his vice presidents. Of the 19 parties that offered candidates, seven had candidates elected. The PAC struggled with the transition to a political party and only won five seats. The 1994 elections would be its strongest electoral performance.



SOURCE 37 'Yippee!' Archbishop Desmond Tutu votes on 27 April 1994.

Much more would be needed to achieve equality and an equal distribution of wealth, education and opportunity in the 'Rainbow Nation', as South Africa was referred to after the 1994 election. However, as 27 April had showed, at least all South Africans now had an opportunity to vote in that future. The date is now a public holiday in South Africa. It is simply called Freedom Day.

14.5 Check your learning

- 1 Discuss why the generational difference between P.W. Botha and F.W. de Klerk was significant.
- 2 Outline the global context of the fall of apartheid.
- 3 Explain why Botha's attempts to free Nelson Mandela failed.
- 4 Explain the process of disinvestment, and why it was an important contributor to the ending of apartheid.
- 5 Discuss the significance of South Africa's Freedom Day.

14.5 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Historians have to be careful of imposing their own thoughts and values on a source. Analyse Source 35 and describe the emotion that it reveals. What problems could a source like this present to historians?
- 2 Devise an alternative caption that conveys the significance and meaning of Source 37.

The title of Nelson Mandela's autobiography is *Long Walk To Freedom*. He had started work on it while imprisoned on Robben Island. There was all likelihood that it would be his epitaph, yet he was able to survive his imprisonment and become the first freely elected president of his country. The title captured Mandela's experience, but it was also the experience of South Africa. It was 342 years between the arrival of the first Dutch settlers in 1652 and the first free elections in the country.

Throughout that time, black South Africans were deprived of life, freedom, opportunity and dignity solely on the basis of their race. They were deprived by a group of people who believed God had given them the right to impose their will on the majority of the population. Complicit in that repression were many of the descendants of a wave of British imperialism. Of course, not all white people were evil; nor were all black people innocent. The policy of apartheid was, however, a deliberate and systematic attack on the rights and freedoms of all non-white people in South Africa. It institutionalised brutality, repression and violence, and denied the majority of the population access to decent education, housing or employment. Further, through the policy of removal, it denied black South Africans access to their homes.

The twentieth-century resistance to apartheid is a remarkable testimony to human beings' willingness to fight for freedom against all odds. Desmond Tutu shouted 'Yippee!' on 27 April 1994 as he voted for the first time in his life. He spoke for oppressed peoples everywhere. That South Africa was able to cast off that oppression and move forward into the twenty-first century as the Rainbow Nation reveals that the desire for freedom and justice is truly a key feature of modern history.



SOURCE 38

Headliners from the 'Human Rights Now!' tour of 1988 sing together in Los Angeles: Peter Dinklage, Tracy Chapman, Youssou N'Dour, Sting, Joan Baez and Bruce Springsteen.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

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Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

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Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

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assess quiz

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↓ A French hydrogen bomb explodes above the Fangataufa atoll in the Pacific Ocean during a test on 24 August 1968.

↑ Women protest at an American civil rights rally in the 1960s.

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