

# FROM APARTHEID TO RECONCILIATION

Part I: Apartheid, resistance, solidarity, and reconciliation  
History and approaches until 1994 and beyond

# Why is South African history important?

2

- Fascinating microcosm that may hold answers to global problems related to racism, xenophobia, and conflict resolution
- Importance for the whole of Southern Africa and promising exemplar of South-South co-operation
- Possible success for western civilization, modernization, and political human rights in a third world region
- Western competition over trade, aid, and a growing middle class market

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# More reasons to study South Africa

3

- People have taken their destiny in their own hands through self-mobilising popular movements
- Revealing the possibilities and limitations of social revolution and revolutionary socialism
- Strings to international solidarity in the North
- Intellectuals had an important part to play in the attempt to heal a divided nation
- Competitive academic environment offering classical cases of structural social studies

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# Event history overview: South Africa's political history I

4

- 1910 - 1924: Early *segregation* period; English alliance with Afrikaner upper class; Gold and Maize
- 1924 - 1933: Pact-government co-opt white workers and boer farmers; segregation
- 1933 - 1939: Party merger (Fusion) NP/SAP; limited liberal influence; late segregation period
- 1939 - 1948: Allied war participation stimulates liberal tendencies and polarisation

## Event history overview: South Africa's political history II

5

- 1948 - 1960: National Party implements *apartheid*
- 1960 - 1973: Boer police state with fascist features; separate development
- 1973 - 1987: Slow, reluctant late apartheid reforms; grand apartheid continued
- 1990 - 1994: Real breakdown of apartheid; negotiations
- 1994 - Democratisation; transformation, and neo-liberal influences

# Event history overview: tradition of revolt

6

- Last armed tribal uprisings 1876/1907
- 1912 Founding of the ANC
- 1920s ICU social movement against land/labour laws
- 1940s CNETU industrial unions, strike waves
- 1946 African mineworkers strike subdued
- 1955 Congress Alliance Freedom Charter
- 1950s Defiance campaigns, bantustan risings
- 1960 Nationwide protests after Sharpeville
- 1960s Exile organisations, sabotage

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# Event history overview: *revolution/transformation*

7

- ❑ 1973 Durban strikes, new independent trade unions
- ❑ 1976 Soweto uprising nationwide, Black Consciousness Movement
- ❑ 1985 Stay at homes, state of emergencies,  
- 90 ungovernable country
- ❑ 1990 Third force violence, democracy  
- 94 demonstrations, the negotiated national democratic revolution

# From apartheid to democracy timeline I

8

- 1983 White voters adopt new constitution. United Democratic Front (UDF) formed in protest.
- 1984 Three-chamber parliament gives franchise to Indians and Coloureds, but excludes Africans. Widespread stay-at-home actions and election boycott.
- 1985 ANC holds mobilizing Kabwe-Conference and adopts revolutionary strategy (June). Black mass resistance. The national union organization COSATU is formed.
- 1985 State President P.W. Botha offers Nelson Mandela conditional release from prison, if he renounces violence.
- 1985, July, Botha announces a state of emergency covering 36 magisterial districts.

# From apartheid to democracy timeline II

- 1985, August, Botha delivers Rubicon speech expected to announce changes, but he disappoints, nothing change.
- 1986 National emergency declared. Thousands in prison, press censorship.
- United Democratic Front meets with ANC in Stockholm.
- 1986 International breakthrough for limited sanctions.
- Influx control reformed. Identity cards replace passports.
- 1986 South African business people (Nafcoc) sends a delegation to Lusaka to meet with the ANC.
- COSATU meets with the ANC and SACTU.

# From apartheid to democracy timeline III

10

- 1987 ANC meets in Lusaka and London with Desmond Tutu, African Council of Churches, Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Van Zyl Slabbert Beyers Naude), World Alliance of Reformed Churches (Allan Boesak), and Afrikaner academics (Wille Esterhuyse).
- 1988 International critique of Total Strategy and South Africa's wars in the Frontline States. Defeat of the South African Army at Cuito Canavale in Angola leads to independence process for Namibia.
- 1988 Talks about talks begin. Formal meetings between Nelson Mandela and government representatives.

# From apartheid to democracy timeline IV

11

- 1989 July, State President P.W. Botha secretly meets with Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuis.
- August, The Harare Declaration, outlining a democratic vision and a guideline for the process of negotiations, is adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).
- December, 4.600 delegates from the Mass Democratic Movement supports ANC's Harare Declaration.
- 1990 February, F.W. De Klerk announces the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.
- May, The ANC and the NP-government begin talks at the Groote Schuur presidential house and commits to a negotiated settlement.

# From apartheid to democracy timeline V

12

- 1990 October, The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act is repealed.
- November, The joint working group agrees that indemnities offered will cover members of all groups, and not just those of the ANC.
- Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (IFP) meets with Andries Treurnicht (CP), Third Force violence begins in Natal.
- 1991 February, ANC suspends armed action.
- May, Mandela and ANC meets 350 business people.
- June, Inkathagate scandal reveals South African Defence Forces death squads. ANC suspends all bilateral meetings.

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13

- 1991 October, The Goldstone Commission investigates police complicity in ongoing political violence.
- November, The first meeting of all party Convention for Democratic South Africa (CODESA).
- 1992 May, CODESA II resumes negotiations.
- June, Mandela is suspending all talks and withdraws from CODESA in response to the Boipatong Massacre, where IFP supporters are attacked by a third force and ANC blamed.
- August, ANC, SACP and COSATU join forces in a massive campaign of mass action involving a two day general strike.
- September, Bisho Massacre at the Ciskei border, 28 die.

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14

- 1992 October, The right-wing, conservative and traditional leaders Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) comes together.
- The National Economic Forum (NEF) develops common positions between government, trade unions, employers.
- 1993 April, The Multi-party Negotiating Process (MPNP) opens at the World Trade Centre with 26 parties.
- June, Negotiating Council sets election date.
- Paramilitary members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) storm the negotiating chambers.
- December, Economic sanctions are formally lifted.

# From apartheid to democracy timeline VIII

15

- 1993 December, delegates in the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum (MPNF) agree on Interim Constitution.
- RDP, socio-economic development plan put forward.
- 1994 27 April, The first democratic elections are held in South Africa.
- 10 May, Mandela is sworn in as president.
- 24 May, South Africa's first representative parliament.
- 1996 Democratic Constitution passed in Parliament. Bill of Rights adopted.
- New nonracial laws on labour relations, schools, etc.
- Truth Commission begin its work.

# From apartheid to democracy timeline IX

16

- 1996 GEAR, Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy takes over from RDP.
- 1997 Thabo Mbeki, already vice-president, replaces Mandela as leader of the ANC.
- 1998 ANC increases support in parliament elections.
- Madiba retires. Thabo Mbeki president.
- 2000 Rising fears of split between government and organised labour. Privatisation speeds up. Critical newspapers branded as racist.

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# Understandings: Changing views of history

17

- English-imperial (Anglo-imperialist, colonial)
- Settler (early nationalist, conservative)
- Afrikaner nationalist (republican, Afrikanerdom)
- Liberal (early segregationist, progressive, Africanist)
- Progressive (popular, communist, ANC, black nationalist)
- Radical (neo-Marxist, revisionist, new school, structuralist, non-structuralist social history, feminist)
- Postmodern (post-structural, post-colonial, anti-positivist, new cultural history)
- Rainbowism (truth and reconciliation, Mandelalism)
- New Patriotism (Mbeki's African renaissance)

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# Classical liberal attitudes to development

19

- Macmillan; Kiewiet; Walker; Frankel; ...
- Unifying, universal implications
- Compassion, empathy, personal happiness
- Development optimism
- Unification process towards shared economy
- Frontier theory explains racism
- Racism as irrational social psychology
- Co-responsible for early “protective” segregation
- Limited rights for Africans until civilised

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# Liberal modernisation theory

20

- Traditional life-expressions modernised/harmonised
- Active rational participation in economy/society
- Fixed positions of status replaced by contracts
- Impersonal conditions of appointment/employment
- Personal wealth determined by own contribution
- Anonymous power relations
- Financial and social mobility maximised and determined by individual skills
- Superstition and racial prejudices become outdated

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# O'Dowd's phase theory (Based on Rostow)

21

## Economy:

- 1. Phase: Pre-take-off, undeveloped infrastructure**
- 2. Phase: First industrialisation stage, slow growth, high capital concentration. Bad living conditions**
- 3. Phase: Second stage of industrialisation. Rapid growth**
- 4. Phase: Third industrialisation stage. Slower growth, weight on research**

## Politics:

- 1. Phase: Political instability, irrationality, possibilities for revolution**
- 2. Phase: Undemocratic and authoritarian regimes secures stability, people unsatisfied**
- 3. Phase: Reform governments and growing, but limited democratisation**
- 4. Phase: Steady development of modern welfare state**

# Liberal reservations towards apartheid

22

- Colour-bar job reservation ignored qualifications
- Market price on labour was regulated/distorted
- Competitiveness and productivity were subordinated to favour stability among white workers
- Influx control curbed workers mobility
- Ultra low wages reduced domestic market
- Big state and closed administrative apparatus lead to misuse of resources

# Liberal reasons for change by reforms

23

- Owners of capital want to realise their resources in a free and rational way
- Trained/educated manpower needed
- Contacts between white and black workers will necessarily become normalised
- Race prejudice will be undermined
- Living standards of whites are threatened without liberalisation
- The whites will decide for economic growth

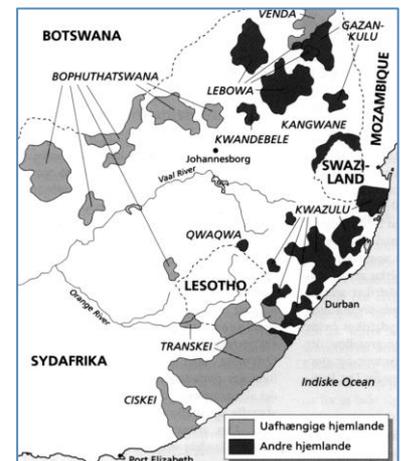
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# Liberal conclusions

24

- Market economy and segregation /apartheid are antagonisms
- Conflict exists between modern capitalism and Afrikanerdom
- Colour-blind capitalism will destroy systematic racism

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# ANC/popular views of black history

25

- Alternative history; peoples history; popular history
- Early literary history, autobiography, and African journalism
- Political party functionary-like history
- Liberatory history; African nationalism; victorious history
- Post-1961 defence of limited use of armed struggle
- Theory supported liberation strategy on four pillars:..
- ...political education and information; armed struggle; international solidarity; underground organisation inside South Africa

# Communist influence and revolutionary strategy

26

- Communist party: CPSA 1921 - 1950; SACP 1953 -
- Theory of two-stage revolution: democratic/socialist
- Popular front strategy and organisational influence
- Theory of Colonialism of a Special Type, 1962
- Theory of history leads to political strategy...
- ...combination of: popular campaign for democracy; anti-colonial armed liberation struggle; and social revolution



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# The Radical-revisionist view on apartheid I

27

- Political mechanism for economic exploitation and labour control
- Functioned mostly as a rational system for the ruling classes
- Special kind of internal colonialism exploiting traditional societies
- Whites kept their privileges through a class breaking alliance
- Forms of racial suppression changed in agreement with the needs of capital

# The Radical view of apartheid II

28

- Capitalist development and racial discrimination were complementary elements
- Afrikaner nationalism was created by Boer small capital, white farmers, and labour aristocracy
- English mineowners accepted redistribution through higher white wages to split workers and gain stability
- Capitalist economic growth sustained white supremacy for a long time
- Long-lasting aversion against reforms from employers, politicians, and white voters
- Progressive research supported the democratic movement

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# Left differences of opinion

30

- Early structuralists were marked by functionalist-reductionist self-restrictions
- Claimed to represent totality of social and political relations
- And they predetermined a working class with an ideal-typical consciousness
- Empirical social history made Marxism more acceptable
- Left academics were Africanists in principle, but uneasy with African nationalism

# Post-apartheid: changed role of intellectuals/activists

31

- Disappearance of socialist alternative meant scattering of the revolutionaries
- From anti-state struggle to nationbuilding assistance
- From non-profit idealism to career professionalism, competitiveness, and pragmatic influence
- From anonymous local attachment to media visibility
- ANC's social democratism often looks like a strange mix of neo-liberalism and Brezhnevism

# Nuances of transformation

32

- African identity and nationhood as a cover for lacking results in the social sphere
- From focus on inequality and class consciousness to focus on poverty in general...
- .. and an elite role of Africans in business
- From non-racialism and the rainbow nation...
- .. to African Renaissance

# Transformation: Main areas of development

33

- Establishing collaborative democracy
- Building democratic institutions
- Conflict solution, violence prevention
- Human rights culture
- Employment situation, education crisis
- Physical infra structure, urban areas
- Health sector, family structures
- Land reforms, agriculture, environment

# Transformation: The apartheid heritage

34

- ❑ Industrial sector not competitive
- ❑ Run-down production apparatus not fit for the unemployed or for producing for the majority
- ❑ Crisis in agricultural sector
- ❑ Scarcity of skilled labour
- ❑ Inefficient hostile administration
- ❑ Overwhelming capital concentration

# Transformation: Redistribution policies, RDP

35

- Building the economy, meeting basic needs
- Developing human resources, basic education
- Democratising the state
- Integrated, sustainable, people-driven process
- Land reform, small-scale farmer development
- Urban housing, water provision
- Public works programme, municipal services
- Free health care, aids awareness

# Transformation: Redistribution policies, GEAR

36

- Growth through exports and investments
- Encourage new investments
- Redistribution through job possibilities
- Flexibility and in the labour market
- Focus on state budget, reduction of fiscal deficit
- Public service restructuring and cut downs
- Sale of government assets
- Low and stable inflation rate
- Relaxation of exchange controls and trade barriers

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# Big questions for further discussion

37

- Is it possible to imagine an alternative, fundamentally different development path for South Africa?
- Which factors are the most important for the emergence of racial discrimination?
- Who was responsible for oppression and exploitation? Should agents of history apologize, pay reparations, be condemned, punished, or forgiven?
- Why did the South African “miracle” turn out to be more of a neo-liberal victory than the national democratic revolution expected by many?

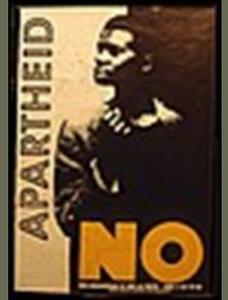
# Further questions for discussion

38

- Could the way in which intellectuals and activists involved themselves in the liberal-radical debate over apartheid be a continuing source of inspiration?
- What is the relationship between authoritarian capitalism and economic growth?
- Should we forget the past?

# FROM APARTHEID TO RECONCILIATION

Apartheid, resistance, solidarity, and reconciliation



# FROM APARTHEID TO RECONCILIATION

Part II: On the international anti-apartheid movement  
and global solidarity

# Anti-Apartheid Movement history

41

- Access to Western anti-apartheid movements' (AAM) archives important for South Africans
- Records registered by NAI, Russian State Archives, ASC Michigan, Fort Hare, UWC...
- Much AAM and official writing is uncritical
- AAM history writing as continued solidarity
- The AAMs was part of a global social movement

# Difficulties of global solidarity I

42

- Western solidarity movements can only seldom portray themselves as directly affected victims of conflict or repression
- The value stream still goes north; the western native country profits by the exploitation of the third world
- No combined victories for the liberation- and solidarity moments to show that have lead to fundamental socio-economic changes

# Difficulties of global solidarity II

43

- Success for the global solidarity movement may inflict higher living costs on people expected to be involved in protests
- A growing part of western populations are feeling uncomfortable by the potential costs of solidarity
- Activists and researchers are often stuck in a tradition of nationalism or localism

# Arguments for continued solidarity

44

- An oblique and unequal world is also an unstable world which produces fugitives and terrorism
- More wealth would transform countries now poor into better trading partners
- Inside research: theory of liberation and social movements theory



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# Roots and history of solidarity I

45

- French activists aided the American Revolution.  
French Revolution influences
- Anti-slavery campaign emerging in England
- African-American missionaries reported on King Leopold's regime in the Congo
- Working class internationalism after 1848
  - Socialist Internationals and Comintern



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# Roots and history of solidarity II

46

- Anti-colonialism and pan-Africanism
- Vietnam, Chile, anti-Americanism
- After 1990 decline in popular solidarity
- Government aid canalised through professionalised NGOs
- Inside research: country AAM case-studies



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# AAM pillars of strength



47

- Concerns about domestic racism in western countries
- AAMs was part of the liberation of Southern Africa through popular aid
- Both broad domestic and international appeal through boycotts and sanctions
- Combination of tactics of the desk and the street, of blockades and conferences
- Basic optimism of freedom struggle

# Support strategies after 1990

53

- Take over of popular solidarity traditions by continued government to government transitional aid
- Deterioration of NGO political solidarity
- From links to RDP's collective enthusiasm to GEAR's individualised demobilisation
- Mix of aid and business interests
- Economic stability, growing social gaps
- Need for continued NGO solidarity



# Nordic transitional aid

54

- Support of civil society organisations too vague and casual
- Poverty orientation should have been increased by development of earlier anti-apartheid funding policies for the organisation of marginalised groups
- Corporate sector business-to-business aid mainly helped Nordic companies

# Foreign government and organisational interests

55

- Social-liberal influence on nation building
- Small-state possibility for market share
- Domestic humanitarian legitimacy
- Organisational profiling
- Individual career interests

# The history of solidarity

56

- Enclaves of African Studies sustained
- Donor governments pointing out their own national merits of solidarity
- Building the historical legend, that the anti-apartheid support of the Nordic countries was especially heroic
- Swedish competitive use of solidarity history
- Holding on to liberatory history for the defence of the ideals of the liberation struggle

# Problems of solidarity for discussion

57

- Is the armed struggle to be viewed as a liberation movement or as terrorism?
- Have ethnic nationalism and social-religious extremism grown stronger because socialist visions has been weakened?
- Has “national” social movements been outdated?
- Can we recognise any of the South African patterns in modern “global apartheid”?

# FROM APARTHEID TO RECONCILIATION

On the international anti-apartheid movement and global solidarity