Changes in South Africa, 1948-1994

a) Features of the apartheid system

Key question: What were the main features of the apartheid system, and what impact did this system have on the people of South Africa?

Central points: The reasons for establishing the apartheid system; the apartheid laws; self-governing homelands and the Bantustans; the impact of apartheid on cultural life in South Africa; the impact of apartheid on life and work in South Africa.

b) Opposition in South Africa

Key question: What were the main methods of opposition to apartheid in South Africa?

Central points: The key personalities, referring specifically to Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela; violent protests – Sharpeville 1960, Soweto 1976; divisions in the opposition to apartheid; ANC and PAC campaigns; opposition to apartheid amongst the white people of South Africa and other groups.

c) International opposition to apartheid

Key question: What were the main features of the international discussion and the opposition to the apartheid system outside South Africa?

Central points: Opposition by the British Commonwealth; the isolation of South Africa; the response of the United Nations, and the role they had to play; the international discussion; economic sanctions; sporting boycotts; other features of the external resistance.

d) The end of apartheid

Key question: How and why did apartheid come to an end in South Africa?

Central points: P. W. Botha and the 'new realism'; change under F. W. de Klerk; the release of Mandela; the ending of apartheid in terms of the law and society; free democratic elections; the return of constitutional democracy; accepting South Africa back into the international community.
he effects of the First World War (see pages 13–14) led to the outbreak of revolution in February 1917.

Key question

What were the main features of the apartheid system, and what impact did this system have on the people of South Africa?

South Africa and the apartheid system - introduction

Although we are studying the history of South Africa between 1948 and 1994, it's important to find out a little about the country's background, for a better understanding of the history.

Until the seventeenth century (17c.), black people lived in the area now called the Republic of South Africa. These people lived in different tribes, and lived very simple and primitive lives. White people arrived here in 1652, when a ship from the Netherlands landed at the Cape of Good Hope.

These white people came from the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden, and called themselves Boers (farmers) or Afrikaners (Africans). Many more white people from different countries, including Britain, gradually landed in the area. By the end of the nineteenth century (19c.), conflict had begun between the Afrikaners and the British over who should rule. In 1899, a war started between the descendants of the people from the Netherlands and Britain, the Second Boer War.

Although Britain won the war in 1902, Britain had promised self-government to the people of the area. In 1910, a new country was created as part of the British Empire. The name of this new country was (the UNION OF) SOUTH AFRICA. The country was given its own government, but only white men over 21 years of age were allowed to vote, with the exception of a small percentage of eligible coloured men.

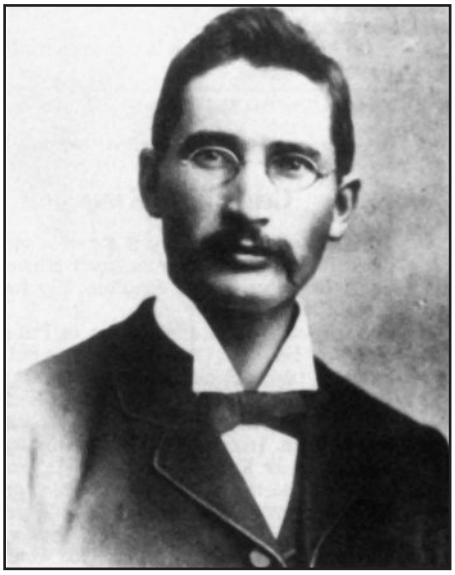
The majority of white people living in South Africa were Afrikaners. Afrikaners did not consider black people and white people to be equal, and did not think they should live together.

The white government of South Africa immediately passed laws helping white people and preventing black people from gaining power and wealth. At the beginning of the twentieth century (20c.), approximately 6 million people lived in South Africa. Of these, 4 million were black. In 1913, the government passed the Natives Land Act, under which:

- the black people (4 million) were given 7.3% of the land in South Africa
- the white people and the coloureds (less than 2 million) were given 92.7% of the land.

The black people had to live on their share of the land. They were not allowed to own any other land outside those areas designated for black people.

Hertzog's government (1924-1939)



Under the leadership of Prime Minister J. B. M. Hertzog, the government passed further laws giving white people more power.

- In 1925, Afrikaans, the language of the Afrikaners, became the official language of South Africa.
- In 1926, Hertzog's government passed a law prohibiting black and Indian people from gaining skilled work which paid well.
- In 1927, the government passed a law prohibiting a sexual relationship between black and white people.

During this period, the white government took away more and more rights from black people, and passing laws giving more and more power to white people.

Source A: Population

Four main racial groups lived in South Africa. These were the population figures for 1946:

- Black 7,800,000
- White 2,400,000
- Mixed 930,000
- Asian 300,000

(*South Africa*, J. F. Aylett, 1996)

Source B: Language

The Afrikaners used their language as propaganda. For instance, the Africaans' word Afrikaner means African – a white South African, who spoke Africaans.

During the 1960s, whites described the blacks as Bantu. The word, in many black African languages, simply means people. However, in daily life, most whites used terms of abuse when they talked to blacks. They usually called blacks 'kaffir', meaning 'pagan' It described someone you looked down upon. An adult black man was called 'boy' and adult black women as 'girls'. Blacks were expected to call white people 'baas', meaning 'boss'.

(*South Africa*, J. F. Aylett, 1996)

Source C: Land

The native should only be allowed to enter urban areas when he is willing to enter and *minister* to the White man. He should depart when he ceases to minister.

(South African Government Commission Report, 1922)

Source D: Race

It is dishonorable to mix white and black blood.

(Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, 1919–24)

Source E: Rules

The Natives, often [for] their own protection, are treated by law in many respects as if they were children; they may not be supplied with European liquor; they must not be out after certain hours at night without a special pass ...

(*This is South Africa*, 1947)

Tasks: Hertzog's government

1. **Using the above sources, identify 5–8 ways black people in South Africa were treated as secondary citizens.**
2. **How useful is Source B to a historian studying apartheid in South Africa?**
3. **How reliable is Source D to a historian studying the government's attitude towards black people**

Establishing the apartheid system in South Africa

The year 1948 was a very important year in the history of South Africa. A General Election was held during that year, and the election was won by Dr Daniel Malan's party, the National Party. This political party believed in the racial superiority of Afrikaners over black people.

The Afrikaans word apartheid means 'separateness' or 'being apart'. Dr Malan and his party believed in keeping the black people and the white people apart. They argued that black people, white people and coloureds should live their lives separately, and develop in their own way. Over the next few years, they introduced a series of laws establishing the apartheid system in South Africa.

Before establishing the apartheid system, South Africans had to be placed in different racial groups. The government claimed that three groups of people lived in South Africa:

- White (Afrikaners and other white people)
- Coloureds (children from mixed marriages and Asian people)
- Natives (black people).

The difficulty was that many of the coloureds looked white. Every single person in South Africa was ultimately put in one of these three groups.

The apartheid laws

Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949 – prohibited marriages between white people and black people or coloureds.

Immorality Amendment Act, 1950 – prohibited sexual relationships between black and white people. Punishment – 6 months hard labour.

Population Registration Act, 1950 – categorised everyone in South Africa into one of three groups, WHITE, COLOUREDS and NATIVES, and recorded the race of a person on the national register.

Group Areas Act, 1950 – legislated on exactly where every group was meant to live. It also gave the government the right to say that some areas were 'for white people only'.

Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 – prohibited Communism, and any political groups wanting to 'bring about political change through disturbing the peace'.

Native Laws Amendment Act, 1952 – tightened the rules regarding the movement of black people in and out of the cities.

Abolition of Passes Act, 1952 – in spite of its name, this Act forced black people living in white areas to carry a passbook. A person caught without his passbook could be jailed. The books also contained information about that person.

Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953 – ensured signs were put up in public places saying 'Europeans Only' in the white areas and 'Non-Europeans Only' in the areas designated for black people or coloureds. These signs were put up everywhere, including train stations, post offices, parks, and beaches. The best facilities and services were reserved for white people.

Bantu Education Act, 1953 – the government could control the education of black people. Black people were taught in their own language, not in English or Afrikaans, and taught about their position in society.

Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, 1956 – removed coloureds from the voters' roll.

Mini Apartheid 1950s – a series of acts controlling all aspects on the lives of black people. For example, white ministers had the right to ban black people from their churches.

Tasks: Establishing the apartheid system

1. **List and explain the impact the laws had on the following:**

   a) black people's political rights

   b) black people's social rights

   c) black people's personal rights.

Hendrik Verwoerd and the apartheid system, 1958–1974

Self-governing homelands and the Bantustans
Following the death of Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom, Dr Daniel Malan's successor, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd became the Prime Minister of South Africa.

Verwoerd had always believed strongly in the rights of the Afrikaners. In 1937, he bacame the founding editor of the new Afrikaans nationalist newspaper Die Transvaler. During this time, he was an avid supporter of Dr Malan's apartheid policies. In 1950, he was appointed a ministerial job in the government. He managed his political party and his country between 1958 and 1966. On 6 September 1966, when Verwoerd had just taken his seat in the parliament at Cape Town, he was stabbed by a parliamentary messenger. He died soon afterwards.

Verwoerd strongly believed in defending the 'rights' of Afrikaners. He believed he was doing God's work on earth, ensuring a South Africa controlled by white, Christian people. He had seen many other countries on the African continent gaining independence from countries such as Britain, and did not want to see his own country in the hands of black people. Verwoerd's answer to South Africa's problems was to offer (or pretend to offer) black people the right to govern themselves, apart from white people, and create self-governing homelands. These small 'countries' in South Africa were called Bantustans.

> *"I am seeking justice for all groups . . . The policy of separate development is designed for the happiness, security and stability provided by their home language and administration for the Bantu as well as the Whites."*
>
> (Hendrik Verwoerd's message to the people of South Africa, 1958)

Therefore, in 1959, the government passed the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act.

South Africa's land would be divided. The white people would control 87% of the land, leaving 13% to the black people. The land designated for the black people would be divided into eight (ten, later on) self-governing homelands – or Bantustans.

The impact of apartheid on cultural life in South Africa
Of course, the Bantustans did not create a fair system in South Africa, but rather ensured white people had more control over black people. Over three million black people were forced to move from 'white only' areas to the Bantustans, where overpopulation was a real problem.

The Bantustans were not truly self-governing, and were too small to have their own economy. What Verwoerd's policy did was try to deceive the rest of the world into thinking the government of South Africa looked after black people. From now on, South Africa's white politicians could argue that the black people could govern themselves, and that only white people lived in the areas governed by South Africa's white government.

The impact of apartheid on life and work in South Africa
From now on, black people had no right to live in white areas. They had the right to travel to white areas to work for 11 months of the year, but without their families. They had to live in special single-sex hostels. Every worker who travelled outside of the Bantustans to work had to carry a special passbook under the 1952 Abolition of Passes Act.

Key question

What were the main methods of opposition to apartheid in South Africa?

Opposition to apartheid in South Africa

Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

Biography

Steve Biko's name will be familiar to many. The film Cry Freedom is based on his and others' fight against apartheid. Biko was born in 1946 to a poor family in King William's Town.

After leaving school, he went on to study at Natal Medical School in 1966. Whilst there, he helped establish the South African Student's Organisation (SASO) in 1968. His political activities led to his expulsion from the University, but he continued campaigning against apartheid. Biko was a good speaker and wrote well. His ideas were very popular amongst black people who believed in campaigning for themselves. They were not popular amongst white organisations.

The police arrested Biko several times; from 1973, he was prohibited from doing a number of things, for example, travelling without the government's consent and publishing any work. He was arrested several times, but the police never charged him. In 1977, Steve Biko died whilst being interrogated by the police.

This is one description of how he died:

> The government banned him in 1973 and then detained him without trial for a few months in 1976. In 1977, they had him arrested again. The Port Elizabeth police kept him naked in a cell for eighteen days. A five-man interrogation team beat him up so badly that he went into a coma. 'There was a scuffle,' said the officer in charge. 'Mr Biko hit his head against a wall.' He was then driven, unconscious and naked under a blanket in the back of a Land Rover 1,000 kilometres for treatment in a Pretoria hospital. There he died, aged 30 . . . The police story was that he had hanged himself, using his jeans.
>
> (*South Africa 1948 94*, Martin Roberts, 1996)

Steve Biko's political ideas – I Write What I Like

Steve Biko believed that black people should stand up for their rights. He also believed that they should learn to love themselves as people. He emphasised the idea of black consciousness – that black people should rid themselves of the idea that they were inferior to white people. He argued that decades of living under white rule, in a white society, meant black people had no self-confidence. They had come to believe that they were inferior, and had come to accept the way they were treated.

In the privacy of his toilet, [the black man's face] twists in silent condemnation of white society, but brightens up in sheepish obedience as he comes out in response to his master's impatient call.

(I Write What I Like, Steve Biko, 1988)

Tasks: Steve Biko

1. **What does Biko mean in the quote from I Write What I Like?**
2. **Why did Biko choose this title for his book?**
3. **Research the life and work of Martin Luther King. List similarities between his life and Biko's life.**
4. **What effect did Biko have on the development of black consciousness in the USA?**

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and the ANC

Biography

Nelson Mandela was born into the royal family of the Thembu tribe. His father died when Mandela was young, and so he was raised by the tribe's chief. He went to the University of Fort Hare, and whilst there, in 1940, he took part in a student boycott against the quality of food alongside Oliver Tambo; both were suspended from the university. When he returned in December 1940, Mandela found that the tribe's chief had arranged a marriage for him. Dismayed, he fled to Johannesburg. There, with the help of his friend, Walter Sisulu, he managed to secure a job with a legal firm.

In 1944, Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu established the ANC Youth League. In 1947, Mandela became its secretary. He took part in campaigns against apartheid in 1952, and that same year, he was arrested under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was prohibited from leaving the Johannesburg area and from attending public meetings. However, he continued to work secretly with the ANC (African National Congress).

In 1960, the government banned the ANC and other groups who fought against apartheid.

Mandela spent some time abroad in 1962, seeking more support for the ANC and the fight against apartheid. Upon his return to South Africa in 1962, he was arrested and accused of leaving the country without permission and without a passport. He was sentenced to five years of hard labour.

Before being imprisoned, Mandela was involved in the Johannesburg bombing campaign led by the ANC. When the police broke into ANC headquarters in Rivonia in 1963, they found a number of diaries and documents linking Mandela with the bombing campaign.

Mandela used the nickname the Black Pimpernel. Between October 1963 and June 1964, a famous court case was held, called the RIVONIA TRIAL. Mandela defended himself and others who had also been accused of crimes. He admitted his involvement in the bombing campaign, and whilst defending himself, he read a statement lasting four and a half hours, condemning the apartheid system. He was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mandela's political ideas

We are not anti-white, we are against white supremacy and in struggling against white supremacy we have the support of some sections of the European population . . . It is quite clear that the Congress has consistently preached a policy of race harmony and we have condemned racialism no matter by whom it is professed.

(Nelson Mandela in a speech during the Treason Trial, 1956-60)

Fifty years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing . . . The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices - submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa.

(Nelson Mandela in a speech during the Treason Trial, 1956-60)

I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all. I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people. Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.

Your strength, your discipline, has released me to stand before you today. It's not just the kings and generals who make history; it is the people, the masses, workers, peasants, doctors, clergy, all our people! I have seen them make history and that is why all of us are here today.

(Nelson Mandela, on the day of his release, 11 February 1990)

He was imprisoned for 27 years, during which time the Prime Minister of South Africa offered to release him several times, on condition that he change his position on apartheid and the use of violence. He refused. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Nelson Mandela symbolised the fight against apartheid. He was released from prison in February 1990. Between 1990 and 1994, he discussed the future of South Africa with Prime Minister F. W. de Klerk. He once again became the leader of the ANC, and in 1993, Mandela and de Klerk won the Nobel Peace Prize. In May 1994, following the first free election for black people in South Africa, Nelson Mandela became the President of South Africa.

Tasks:Nelson Mandela

1. **How did Mandela suffer as a result of the fight against apartheid?**

2. **Why did some countries condemn Mandela and the ANC?**

Violent protests

We have already looked at the history of two very prominent figures in the fight against apartheid, Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko. Both men were outstanding leaders whose names have become familiar to all.

But millions of ordinary people fought with them against apartheid, and did so under the leadership of two organisations in particular:

- The African National Congress (ANC)
- The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

The struggle against apartheid is full of horrific events, two of which have become notorious – the first in Sharpeville in 1960, and the other in Soweto in 1976.

Sharpeville, 1960

One of the most unpopular of the government's policies was the policy forcing every black person to carry a passbook. Black people had protested against these rules in the past, but in March 1960, the PAC decided to launch a huge campaign against them. The usual punishment for not carrying the passbook was a month in prison or a fine of £10.00.

The PAC and its president, Mr Robert Sobukwe, asked black people to leave their passbooks at home and go to the local police station to confess that they were walking around without a passbook, and therefore breaking the law. The idea was that if thousands of black people did this, the police would not be able to throw them all in jail.

On Monday, 21 March 1960, the activity began. There were protests across South Africa. In the township of Sharpeville, 35 miles from Johannesburg, a crowd of black people converged outside the police station to stage a peaceful protest, and to show the police that they were not carrying their passbooks.

There are two versions of what happened next in Sharpeville – the official police and government version, and the version of eyewitnesses and historians.

Source A

It [the crowd] arrived [at the police station] at about 8.00 am. It was a large and excited crowd, however big it was. Some sources claimed it was happy and peaceful and that no one carried any weapons. The police claimed that it was aggressive and that some people did have weapons, including stones, which were thrown at the police.

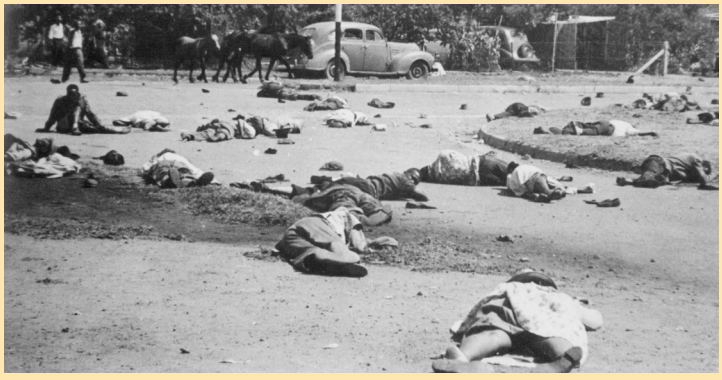
At 10.00 am, aircraft flew backwards and forwards over the crowd, as though they were trying to scare people away . . . At 1.15 pm, Lieutenant-Colonel Pienaar, a senior police officer, turned up.

He was accompanied by a Saracen armoured car and police with automatic weapons. Shortly afterwards, Pienaar lined up 75 white policemen outside the station and ordered them each to load five rounds.

Quite what happened next has never been made clear. No one heard warning shots. Some people claimed there was an order to open fire; others said there wasn't. But that is what the police did. The shooting lasted 10-30 seconds. When it began, the demonstrators quickly turned and fled.

(South Africa, J. F. Aylett, 1996)

Source B



Source C

I saw a policeman taking his rifle-butt to several women who were trying to retrieve bodies. They weren't shot down but they were rifle-butted and kicked and booted.

(Joanmarie Fubbs, a white journalist from South Africa, speaking in 1990)

Source D

I was standing at the door, quite nervous, when two white policemen called me. They asked me to give them water. I took a jug and took the water to them … They said, 'You know, at two o'clock, we are going to start shooting.'

(Modiehi Mahabane, a person who lived in Sharpeville, speaking in 1990)

Source E

This was one of the biggest disasters in the history of South Africa, 70 people were killed and 162 were injured. The police started shooting at protestors in the township of Sharpeville who were there to protest against being forced to carry passbooks . . .

(*Chronicle of the 20th Century,* 1988)

Task:Sharpeville, 1960

1. **Use information from the sources, and your own historical common sense, to write a brief description of what happened in Sharpeville on 21 March 1960.**

Soweto, 1976

The second major event in the history of South Africa, regarding protests which turned violent, is the Soweto uprisinf of June 1976. Soweto was a huge township outside Johannesburg where over a million black people lived. Approximately a quarter of these people travelled on the train to Johannesburg every day, a two hour journey each way.

Overpopulation meant that many of Soweto's inhabitants shared houses with other families. Often, over twelve people lived in houses of just four rooms. These houses did not have electricity, did not have an inside toilet, and had no clean water. The inhabitants used cold water from outside taps, and gas or parafin lamps to light their houses. Millions of these inhabitants also lived in single-sex hostels, and their wives had no right to visit (and neither did any other women!). In some Soweto streets, people lived in sheds built from cardboard, pieces of metal or other crude materials.

What made Soweto so unusual was the fact that so many young people lived there. Over half the population were under 20 years old. Young black people in general had more extremist views against apartheid, and were more willing to protest than their parents were. These were the people especially influenced by Steve Biko's ideas on black consciousness. They were ready to face the government and stand up for their rights.

In 1976, the government decided that black people would receive half their education through the medium of Afrikaans. Children at black schools were not happy to be taught through the medium of a language they considered as the 'language of the oppressor'. They saw this as another way of trying to control them. They had been influenced by people like Biko, who told them they should love themselves as black people, and love their own language and culture.

Schoolchildren started refusing to sit their exams. On 16 June, 20,000 schoolchildren and students went on a march, and when they came face to face with the police, the police fired guns at them. Two were killed and many more were injured. Soweto and other areas erupted after this, and violence, riots and protests soon followed. Government buildings were burnt down, cars were attacked, and many black policemen were killed, along with other black people working for the government.

The riots spread from Soweto into other parts of the country. Buildings such as libraries were burnt down, and severe rioting plagued the centre of Cape Town. Schools in many areas were closed for most of 1976, and exams had to be postponed that year. The government tried to restore order, and one of the consequences was that police shot at crowds of protestors.

Consequences of the Soweto riots

The government's official figures state that over 600 people were killed in the Soweto riots, and over 1,500 were injured. The actual figure is likely to be much higher. Amongst those who were killed was a high percentage of schoolchildren. During 1976 and 1977, over 5,000 schoolchildren under 18 years of age were found guilty of various crimes. In one case, an eight-year-old child was found guilty, and was caned for being present.

The destruction was great, nearly all of it in black areas: 350 schools, 250 bottle stores and beer halls, 170 shops, many clinics, banks, libraries, post offices and 200 private homes. More than 700 blacks died. The police killed many of them. Others died at the hands of blacks who believed them to be police informers or to have helped the white government in other ways . . . Soweto let loose by far the largest period of unrest in South Africa's history . . . Soweto also shook white business, which began to put pressure on the government to reform. The riots also provided vivid television pictures which were flashed round the world and turned international opinion even more against white South Africa.

In 1977 Vorster [the Nationalist Party] called a general election. The message of the riots for most whites was the need for a tough government, and they voted heavily for the Nationalists. They won their greatest ever victory . . .

(*South Africa 1948 94*, Martin Roberts, 1996)

I was there among them, I saw what happened. The children picked up stones, they used dustbin lids as shields and marched towrads machine guns. It's not that they don't know that the white man is heavily armed; they marched against heavy machine gun fire, You could smell gunfire everywhere. Children were dying in the street, and as they were dying, the others marched forward, facing guns. No one has ever underestimated the power of the enemy, We know that he is armed to the teeth. But the determination, the thirst for freedom in children's hearts, was such that they were prepared to face those machine guns with stones. That is what happens when you hunger for freedom, when you want to break those chains of oppression. Nothing else seems to matter. We couldn't stop our children. We couldn't keep them off the steets.

(*Part of My Soul Went with Him*, Winnie Mandela, 1985)

ANC and PAC Campaigns

The ANC (The African National Congress)
The PAC (The Pan Africanist Congress)

Two major organisations in South Africa's history have constantly campaigned against apartheid – the ANC and the PAC. The history of the opposition to apartheid can easily be defined in two parts: the period before Sharpeville (1948-1960), and the period after 1960 when these organisations increasingly turned to violence.

The ANC before 1960

When the white government began passing laws against black people back in 1910, many black people decided to come together to oppose these steps. In 1912, the ANC was established to unite black people from different tribes; the organisation would speak on behalf of all, in opposition to apartheid.

Those who established the ANC believed strongly in trying to use non-violent methods to fight apartheid. They were members of the black middle class, mostly ministers and lawyers. By 1939, the ANC had not achieved much. After Dr Daniel Malan's National Party came to power in 1948 and began building a new country based on apartheid, black people were extremely worried about their future.

Divisions in the opposition to apartheid

Before that, in 1943, a Youth League had been formed within the ANC. By the late 1940s, an obvious rift had developed between the older ANC members, and the younger, more radical members. Some of these new young leaders included people like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Anton Lembede. They became very influential figures within the organisation, and successfully pushed their ideas within the organisation. They believed in taking direct action, and believed that the ANC should embark on mass action against South Africa's government. When Sisulu became the organisation's General Secretary in 1949, a new Programme of Action was adopted. This meant the ANC would now be responsible for organising strikes, protests and other methods of taking action – civil disobedience methods.

During the spring of 1950, the ANC arranged a series of protest marches and meetings across the country. It all came to a head on Freedom Day – 1 May – when workers across South Africa went on strike to show their support for freedom. The government's response was to pass the Suppression of Communism Act. Under this law, the government could arrest nearly anyone protesting against it. Leaders of organisations such as the ANC could also be banned, which happened to Biko.

The Defiance Campaign, 1952

South Africa's white government wanted to arrange big celebrations all over the country on 26 June 1952. This was a very important day in the history of white South Africans. It was exactly 300 years since Jan van Riebeeck had landed at the Cape of Good Hope and settled in South Africa. The ANC decided they would oppose these celebrations by organising a major non-violent campaign against apartheid.

The ANC's tactics during the campaign were simple. They would ignore the apartheid laws, and purposefully defy and break them. For example, they would go to the 'White Only' areas at train stations and get arrested for doing so.

During the summer of 1952, over 8,000 black people were arrested for defying the apartheid laws. Although most of the protesting was non-violent, some people were also rioting during this time. The government responded by passing more laws giving them powers to arrest and imprison black people. Those who defied the apartheid laws could be imprisoned for up to three years, and could also be whipped and forced to pay fines.

Although the defiance campaign ended in 1953, its influence on the black South African people was significant. The campaign had also raised the status of the ANC. The leaders of the ANC saw that mass action, although non-violent, could demand the government's attention. After the campaign, the ANC's membership figures soared from 7,000 to 100,000. ANC leaders also realised they needed a clear statement regarding the aims of the campaigns.

Opposition to apartheid amongst other groups

In 1955, the ANC leaders arranged a meeting with leaders of other groups who opposed apartheid. The meeting was held in Kliptown near Johannesburg, and named 'Congress of the People'. Present at the meeting were representatives of South African black people, Indians and white people who were campaigning against apartheid. The FREEDOM CHARTER was launched, which included basic points on freedom and democracy. Chief Luthuli, leader of the ANC, said the Charter would offer ' . . . hope in the dark skies on the road to freedom '.

SOUTH AFRICA'S FREEDOM CHARTER

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

The government arrested 156 people in response to the Freedom Charter, including most leaders of the black and Indian people of South Africa. They were accused of being communists and of planning a revolution in South Africa.

The court case was named the Treason Trial. Although the government failed to find any of the leaders guilty, the court case lasted five years (1956-1961), during which the main leaders of the ANC were in prison, and therefore could not campaign against apartheid.

The ANC, the MK and the PAC, 1960–1990

Until 1960, the ANC arranged non-violent mass action against South Africa's government. However, this changed in 1960 after the massacre at Sharpeville. Two things happened:

- The leaders of the ANC and an organisation called the PAC realised the government was willing to use violence against non-violent protests
- Following Sharpeville, the government banned both organisations, making them illegal.

From now on, black people could not legally protest against apartheid. The ANC had been banned, and the leaders had to go into hiding to avoid arrest. In 1964, Nelson Mandela made an important speech in which he said:

> **. . . fifty years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights . . . The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices - submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa.**

(Nelson Mandela in his speech at the Rivonia Trial, 1964)

The other anti-apartheid movement leaders agreed with him. When accepting the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961, Albert Luthuli, leader of the ANC, said:

> **Who can deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation? . . . the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all.**

(Albert Luthuli speaking in 1961)

Nelson Mandela was one of the main supporters of the use of violence against the government. He said:

> **The attacks of the wild beast cannot be averted with only bare hands.**

(Nelson Mandela speaking in 1960)

Mandela went on to form an underground, illegal organisation called Umkhonto we Sizwe, nicknamed MK. The organisation began arranging violent protests to undermine the government of South Africa.

The purpose of MK was to bomb and destroy tactical targets, avoiding the killing of people wherever possible. In December 1961, there were ten explosions, with targets ranging from post offices to pass offices and an electricity pylon. The MK headquarters was in a fashionable part of Johannesburg called RIVONIA. For 17 months, the Black Pimpernel (Nelson Mandela) slipped the attention of the police. However, Mandela could not avoid the police forever, and in 1963 he was arrested in Rivonia along with seven others. The police found documents containing plans to attack buildings. Mandela was guilty beyond a doubt. Many expected the government to sentence Mandela and the other leaders to death by hanging.

At the end of a court case in South Africa, the defendant is permitted to make a speech. Mandela was the defence for the ANC members, and at the end of the court case against them, he made a four and a half hour speech explaining why he had acted the way he had. Mandela and some of the others were sentenced to life in prison. In his speech he said:

> 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 to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

The speech echoed a statement Mandela made in 1961:

The struggle is my life.

The PAC

The PAC was established by former members of the ANC who did not agree with some of the organisation's policies. They believed that the ANC was not radical enough. They also believed that its members collaborated too much with white people, and were under Communist influence. Robert Sobukwe was the first leader of the PAC.

We have already seen that it was actually the PAC who arranged the campaigns leading up to the massacre at Sharpeville. After being banned by the government in 1960, the PAC went on to establish a terrorist group called Poqo.

The police managed to arrest the leaders of the PAC as well, and they were given a prison sentence. It is important to remember that not everyone who campaigned against apartheid did so through the ANC. The PAC also had a major part to play.

Key question

What were the main features of the international discussion and the opposition to the apartheid system outside South Africa?

International opposition to apartheid

The British Commonwealth

The 1950s and 1960s was a time of major change for many countries in Africa. By 1970, most African countries had gained independence from the European countries which had ruled them; time after time, black people came to power. The change began in the 1950s, and by 1970, only a handful of countries were still under white rule.

In 1960, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan toured the African continent. His journey ended in Cape Town, and there, in front of South Africa's white government, he made a very famous speech, saying:

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

In 1960, South Africa was still a part of the British Commonwealth (countries formerly a part of the British Empire). Although Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd wanted to stay in the Commonwealth, a referendum was held in South Africa in 1961. The white voters of South Africa decided to leave the Commonwealth, and South Africa became a republic with a President, and became completely independent of Britain. Although Verwoerd did not want this to happen, such was the criticism and judgement he faced, he ultimately had to pull his country out of the Commonwealth.

Sports

In countries such as Britain, anti-apartheid organisations put pressure on the government. They wanted the government to enforce economic sanctions and sporting boycotts against South Africa. In 1966, Verwoerd refused to allow Maoris playing for the New Zealand rugby team into the country. Two years later, Basil D'Oliveira, a coloured cricketer from South Africa who lived in Britain, was not allowed on tour to South Africa with the England cricket team, although he was a renowned cricketer deserving a place on the team. People felt he had been dropped because of his skin colour. South Africa would have refused him permission to play and that would have led to ill feeling. It was easier not to include him on the team.

White South Africans were big sports fans, with a particular fondness for rugby and cricket. Many countries therefore decided to take action against South Africa's government by refusing to arrange sporting tours to South Africa, with the intention of isolating the country. Below is a list of the main boycotts:

1959 The West Indies cricket team refuse to go on tour to South Africa
1964 South Africa are banned from the Olympic Games
1969 Protests against the Springbok tour to Britain
1970 The Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) cancels the South African cricket team's tour to Britain
1977 The Gleneagles Agreement: Commonwealth countries ban sporting links of any kind with South Africa.

Although these decisions hurt white South Africans, they were not enough to change things in the country itself. Segregation was still a factor in South African sports, as in all other areas of South African life.

The United Nations

The United Nations (UN) is an international organisation established after the Second World War. Its aim is to achieve a better understanding between countries, to prevent wars, to work against famine, poverty and sickness and to try to ensure human rights for all. The United Nations Charter states that the purpose of the organisation is to achieve international co-operation in:

> “ . . . encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all. ”

Between 1946 and 1980, the United Nations passed 158 decisions on South Africa. The country was one of the topics discussed in the first UN meeting in 1946. The UN condemned apartheid on several occasions, for example in 1960 after the Sharpeville massacre.

However, one of the 'weapons' used by the UN to oppose governments such as South Africa's were economic sanctions. This meant the UN called on the organisation's member countries to refuse to trade with South Africa. They hoped to force the government to change their minds.

Some countries who were members of the UN were eager to see sanctions against South Africa; others were against this. Britain did not support economic sanctions against South Africa until 1964, when the British government agreed to stop selling weapons to the country.

Unfortunately for those countries putting across the argument for introducing sanctions, South Africa's economy was very strong. South Africa was the richest country in the southern part of the African Continent, and it was more or less self-sufficient. The economy of other neighbouring countries depended heavily on South Africa's economy – needing their goods and trade. It was hard to persuade poor countries on the continent to stop trading with South Africa.

Countries such as Britain and the USA were also still eager to trade with South Africa. When the UN proposed the introduction of sanctions on goods, the USA and Britain both refused. In 1971, 70% of the foreign money invested in South Africa came from Britain. British companies were keen to continue investing in the country due to the large profit they could make as wages were so low in South Africa.

A great deal of effort was made by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to see economic sanctions introduced against South Africa. The organisation was made up of a group of African countries led by black people. They tried putting pressure on the UN to introduce sanctions against the South African government. They came together in 1969 in the Zambian capital (Lusaka), and passed the Lusaka Manifesto. However, the efforts of countries to use the UN to introduce sanctions against South Africa failed. The UN protested against apartheid, but did not succeed in changing the minds of those in charge of South Africa or in persuading organisation members to introduce economic sanctions.

The effort to introduce economic sanctions failed. Why?

- South Africa's economy was too strong. The white government of South Africa could ignore the rest of the world. Business people across the world wanted to invest money in South Africa. Britain invested the most, followed by America, East Germany and Japan
- South Africa had rare and valuable resources. It had the four metals listed below:

> It's impossible to do without some important metals. Industrial countries have to have them. The most important four are cromium, cobalt, manganese and platinum metals. You cannot build a jet engine or a car without them, you cannot run a train, build an oil refinery or produce electricity. You cannot process food or run a clean hospital or restaurant. You cannot build a computer . . .
>
> (*South Africa and the Western World*, Arnt Spondau, 1984)

- The economy of other countries in the area were too dependent on South Africa. Workers from neighbouring countries worked in South Africa, and those countries also used South Africa's ports. South Africa had the best and most powerful army and airforce around
- Russia and America were fighting a Cold War, and were keen for their influence on South Africa to continue. America and Britain believed they needed South Africa in order to fight against Communism. South Africa was not only a rich country, but also a country of strategic importance.

The end of apartheid

Key question

How and why did apartheid come to an end in South Africa?

P. W. Botha and the 'new realism'

In 1978, P. W. Botha succeeded John Vorster as Prime Minister. Botha realised apartheid did not work. He also realised change was needed in South Africa, and some of the apartheid laws had to be ignored so that white rule could continue. For example, black workers were needed in the towns, since that was where the main industries were, but apartheid laws prohibited black people from living in the towns. Similarly, South African industries needed skilled black workers, but apartheid education laws prohibited black children from receiving a good education and developing skills, preventing them from becoming skilled workers. In 1978, some black students were given the right to attend an Afrikaner University at Stellenbosch.

Botha's government therefore developed a new policy towards black people. On the one hand, he wanted to use more power to control black violence. On the other hand, he wanted to see a slow change in apartheid. He wanted to see the government developing a more 'realistic' policy towards apartheid. However, Botha had no intention of relinquishing power to black people or of bringing apartheid to an end. He was against the idea of a vote for everyone.

Botha's reforms

In 1979, membership of a trade union became legal. Botha hoped the government could control the trade unions, but he was wrong. In 1984, the National Union of Mineworkers orchestrated a large strike in South Africa, to demand better pay for its members.

The government also began introducing reforms on other elements of apartheid:

- Some public places, such as cinemas, were open to everyone
- In 1981, beaches in Cape Province became mixed
- In 1985, black people were given the right to go to some of the same hotels and restaurants as white people.

However, most public facilities were still reserved for white or black people only, for example, public transport, swimming pools and public toilets.

In addition, South Africa saw a period of political change. In 1983, a new CONSTITUTION was written, and Indians and coloureds were permitted to vote. Black people still could not vote, however, and the other groups had to meet apart from white people. The power to pass important laws lay with white people. The new constitution made sure the power remained in the hands of white people. Only 20% of the Indians and coloureds in South Africa voted in the first elections in 1984.

In 1985, black and white people were given the right to marry, but apartheid laws still prohibited black people from living in white areas. However, by the mid 1980s, it was very difficult for the government to uphold the 1950 Group Areas Act, which clearly stated where everyone was supposed to live. So many black people had moved to the white areas to live, the government simply could not do anything about it.

More pressure to change

Another increase in violence

During the 1980s, changes both within and outside South Africa meant increasing opposition to apartheid. 1979 saw the end of white rule in Rhodesia (one of South Africa's neighbouring countries), which was renamed Zimbabwe the following year. This meant the ANC could use the country as a base for its activities. In 1981, the ANC were responsible for over 80 armed attacks on government buildings in South Africa. Most of these were carried out from Zimbabwe.

White extremists believed that the government should take a firmer stand against the protestors. More sympathetic and moderate white people argued that black people needed more rights.

During the 1980s, Botha used increasing force against black organisations protesting in South Africa – he went so far as to send government spies to other countries in an attempt to assassinate ANC leaders. An ANC officer was killed in Paris, and the ANC headquarters in London was bombed.

The ANC decided to adopt a new tactic. In 1985, Oliver Tambo said black people needed to make it impossible to govern South Africa. He also said that white South Africans sympathetic to the cause of black people should protest more against the government and the apartheid system. Violence, which was very common in the townships, became a daily occurrence. Between September 1984 and January 1986, South Africa's police force and army killed 628 black people; in addition, 327 more black people were killed by other black people – often for working with the government.

Crossroads, 1985

One of the areas most severely affected by riots during this period was Crossroads, an illegal shanty town north of Cape Town, where approximately 100,000 black people lived. Time after time, the government had destroyed black 'homes' and forced black people to move back to the Bantustans in distant rural areas. Time after time, black people had returned to Crossroads so they could live close to work.

In February 1985, Crossroads residents heard that the police and the army were on their way to move them from their homes once again. They began building barricades of concrete and car tyres. Black boys began throwing stones at the police, who responded with rubber bullets and tear gas and even went so far as to shoot at the black rioters. The fighting at Crossroads continued for a year, and around 1,000 people were killed.

Other reforms were also made in 1986. Botha decided the pass laws did not work and these were dissolved. But all these changes did not solve South Africa's problems. Botha's biggest problem was that he was stuck in the middle between two groups, and therefore pleased noone.

- On the one hand, black movements wanted to see the end of apartheid. Violence in the black townships was increasing, and black people were protesting for more rights . . .
- On the other hand, white extremists were protesting because they believed Botha was giving black people too many rights. A new political party, the Conservative Party, was established by a white right-wing group. The party was led by Eugène Terre'Blanche, and party members wanted to see more apartheid, not less.

Therefore, Botha decided to change tactics and turned to Nelson Mandela for help. He hoped Mandela would be willing to speak out against violence and support both Botha and his reforms. Mandela's answer was crystal clear:

> "Professor Dash asked me whether I [was encouraged by] the government's intention of repealing the mixed-marriage laws and certain other apartheid [laws]. 'This is a pinprick,' I said. 'It is not my ambition to marry a white woman or swim in a white pool. It is political equality that we want.'"

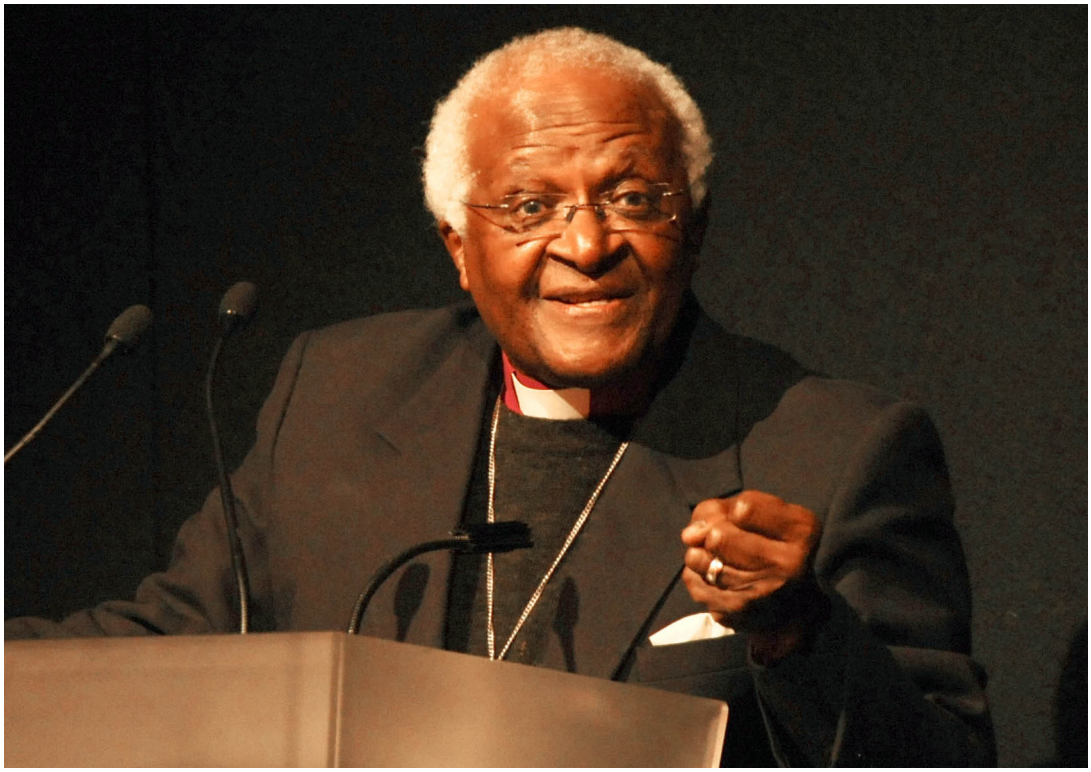
(*Long Walk to Freedom*, Nelson Mandela, 1994)

In January 1985, Botha offered to release Nelson Mandela on the condition that he renounce his support for the use of violence. Mandela refused the offer.

Desmond Tutu

One black leader who came into prominence in the 1980s was Desmond Tutu. In 1978, he was appointed as the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches. He opposed apartheid vigorously, becoming a leading spokesperson for the rights of black South Africans.

In 1984, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace and in 1986, he was elected Archbishop of Cape Town – the first black person to lead the Anglican Church there. Being a charismatic person, he was always ready to condemn South Africa's government, but it was very difficult for the government to imprison him.



Losing control

By the summer of 1985, it seemed that the government was losing control of areas such as Crossroads. During this time, violence developed between black people themselves. If a person had been working with the police, was a member of the black police, or was helping the government to control in any way, the unofficial penalty was a practice called necklacing. Objectors placed a car tyre around the person, doused him in petrol and lit a match. There was also fighting between different black tribes, especially between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party under the leadership of Chief Buthelez who represented the Zulus.

Botha declared a state of emergency in South Africa in June 1986, which meant the police had the right to arrest and imprison people without trial. The police were using more force and violence against black people during this period.

Economic pressures

Following pressures from anti-apartheid organisations, the demand for economic sanctions against South Africa increased further. In 1985, one of the large American banks refused to lend money to the South African government until it abolished the apartheid system. Many other large banks followed suit. Following the decision of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York to pull out of the country, the value of the rand fell 35% in a short space of time, and the South African Stock Market had to cease trading for four days. Over the next two years, a number of large companies withdrew from South Africa, including Esso and Barclays Bank. In 1986, the government of America passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, encouraging companies to refuse to trade with South Africa; that same year, the USA and the European Community passed policies increasing the sanctions on South Africa.

The schools

South African schools continued to be centres for protesting against the government and the apartheid system. Many children refused to go to school, and in a number of cases, the schools had to close due to violence.

The trade unions

South African Trade Unions were very willing to orchestrate strikes when the need arose. They were constantly striking. In 1974, 14,000 working days were lost due to strikes; in 1982, over 365,000 were lost. In 1985 and 1987, under Cyril Ramaphosa's leadership, the National Union of Mineworkers organised large strikes.

Black movements

A growth in the activities of black movements in South Africa was seen once again during the 1980s. The organisation which replaced Black Consciousness was the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). They believed that black people should create a revolution in Africa (Azania) which would eliminate white rule. Although the ANC was banned, it was still secretly campaigning against apartheid, protesting both through peaceful means and through the use of violence. Many black leaders joined the United Democratic Front (UDF) so they could speak openly against apartheid. This organisation included churchgoers such as Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, women such as Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, and prominent members of the ANC.

It was obvious that change was on the horizon in South Africa.

F. W. de Klerk's Changes, 1989–1991

When P. W. Botha suffered a stroke in January 1989, it was obvious he couldn't continue as Prime Minister. The man who stepped into his shoes was F. W. de Klerk. He came from a very conservative political family, and was expected to continue to implement strict apartheid policies.

When de Klerk made his first major political speech as President, many people were surprised. Rather than being strict, he said the country needed a total change of direction. In the General Election of September 1989, de Klerk vowed to change apartheid. A few days later, an anti-apartheid march was held in Cape Town and de Klerk made no attempt to ban it.

President de Klerk introduced other changes in due course. Walter Sisulu was released from prison in the autumn, and de Klerk began bringing apartheid to an end. Beaches were open to everyone, and the government issued a statement promising to dissolve the 1953 Reservation of Separate Amenities Act which required different facilities for white and black people.

In December 1989, Mandela and de Klerk met. Although Mandela was still in prison, he asked de Klerk to lift the ban on the ANC. He agreed to this. In February 1990, de Klerk told the South African Parliament that:

- he would lift the ban on the ANC, the PAC and 30 other organisations; from then on, being a member of the ANC would not be against the law
- he would release political prisoners who had not committed violent crimes
- newspapers would have the right to report on events, without being censored
- capital punishment would be eliminated
- Mandela would be released unconditionally.

President de Klerk told Parliament that the time to discuss had come. Although his changes were accepted, some white politicians booed as he spoke of releasing Mandela and holding discussions with the ANC.

The release of Nelson Mandela

On 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from Victor Verster prison, Cape Town. He was a free man for the first time in 27 years. A huge crowd gathered outside the prison and millions more watched the event on television screens.

Violence, CODESA, free elections and the end of apartheid,1991–1994

White rule gradually came to an end in South Africa between 1991 and 1994. This happened as de Klerk introduced more and more changes – changes which ultimately led to free elections in April 1994.

In February 1991, F. W. de Klerk issued a statement saying he was going to completely remove the remaining apartheid laws. In December 1991, at a conference to discuss South Africa's future, a meeting was arranged between the ANC leaders and the government. This conference – the Convention for a Democratic South Africa or CODESA – needed to solve a number of problems. The convention was required to arrange a new CONSTITUTION that would be acceptable to white people and black people alike (as well as other groups such as coloureds and Indians).

But those who were a part of the discussions had many opposers. On numerous occasions, the discussions had to be postponed due to the increasing amount of violence troubling South Africa.

The conflict

- **Black people against other black people**

There was conflict between the supporters of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Not all black people supported Mandela and the ANC. Inkatha, the Zulu Party in South Africa, did not want to see Mandela and the ANC in charge. Many of the party's leaders, including Chief Buthelezi, had been working with the white government under the apartheid system, and were alarmed at the thought of seeing the ANC in power. They feared the thought of losing the rights they had enjoyed under the apartheid system.

There was conflict between the PAC and the ANC. The PAC believed that the white government could not be trusted. They did not believe that black people should discuss sharing power with white people. The PAC decided not to take part in the discussions.

- **White extremists against the white government**

A group of white extremists formed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in 1979. The party's aim was to ensure South Africa was kept under white rule. This was a racist organisation whose members wore uniforms, carried banners and used racist slogans. Their slogans and banners were very similar to those of Hitler's Nazi movement in 1930s Germany. One of the organisation's leaders was Eugène Terre'Blanche. The members believed that de Klerk was too willing to compromise with Mandela and the ANC, and believed that violence was needed to stop the negotiations.

- **The white police**

Although the police were meant to uphold law and order and support the government, some members of the police were accused of being involved in the violence. In 1990, Mandela claimed that a group of police officers – a group called the Third Force – were helping Inkatha supporters attack the ANC. Information supporting Mandela's claims was uncovered at a later date. Police officers had been helping by training Zulu hit squads to charge at ANC supporters.

Gaining support

President de Klerk wanted to ensure white approval for his new policies. He also wanted to subdue the AWB and other white extremists. In March 1992, de Klerk held a REFERENDUM on ending apartheid. This was limited to white voters in South Africa. The referendum asked white voters whether they supported the process of holding discussions with the ANC and changing South Africa. The referendum results showed that over 70% of South African white people supported F. W. de Klerk and holding discussions with the ANC. After the people had voted, de Klerk said:

> **"Today we have closed the book on apartheid – and that chapter is finally closed."**

By 1993, the ANC and the government had come to an agreement.

- A General Election would be held on 27 April 1994
- Everyone over the age of 18 in South Africa would be given a vote
- 400 Members of Parliament would be elected
- Those Members of Parliament would then choose a President

But, it was also clear that de Klerk had got his own way to an extent, because:

- Every party winning more than 80 seats (Members of Parliament) would have a Vice-President
- Every party winning over 5% of the vote would be represented in the government
- The above two points would be implemented for five years, to ensure that the new government would unite the country, not divide it.

Some people were unhappy with the new system, however. Chief Buthelezi left the discussions, feeling he had been betrayed by de Klerk and the white government. Buthelezi did not believe that his area, KwaZulu-Natal, should be a part of the new South Africa. He wanted a self-governing country for the Zulus.

White extremists were also unsatisfied. Chris Hani, a charismatic black leader within the ANC, was shot and killed by the member of the AWB. White members of the AWB attacked black people with grenades as they worshipped at a chapel, killing twelve people.

General Election – April 1994

Despite all the violence and protests against them, elections were held between 26 and 29 April 1994. For the first time ever, 16 million black people were given the right to vote, leading to astonishing scenes. People had often queued quietly for two days before casting their vote. The ballot paper listed 19 different parties, and as half the black people could not read, the party's logo, and a picture of the party's leader, was included next to the candidate's name. In rural areas, people walked over 60 miles to cast their vote for the first time.

The result of the first fully democratic elections in South Africa was as follows:

The African National Congress (the ANC)	62%
The National Party (de Klerk)	20%
The Inkatha Freedom Party (Chief Buthelezi)	10%
Others	8%

Mandela became President, de Klerk became Vice-President and Chief Buthelezi was given a role within the government. The result seemed to please everyone, since they all felt they had gained something from the election. However, Chief Buthelezi left the government in May 1995.

Although the government seemed to be united, this was not actually the case. Inkatha did not want to play a full part in South Africa's future, nor did white extremists. Mandela had to try to hold on to the support of some of the ANC's Communist supporters who wanted to see the distribution of wealth. At the same time, he had to ensure the continued support of wealthy white people.

However, there were some hopeful signs. Most of the population wanted to see an end to all the violence, and wanted the new government to succeed. Mandela had earned the respect of most black and white people.

Most importantly, South Africa was a wealthy country. This wealth was needed in order to provide new housing, better education and a better health service for the population. Millions of poor black people had great expectations of their new leader.

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