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**A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF UNREST AND PROTEST IN
SOUTH AFRICA**
(PART 1)

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Executive Summary

Our Diplomacy Lab at the University of Pittsburgh, under the direction of Professor Dr. Karin Warner, was tasked to understand the history of nonviolent protest in South Africa (SA) and offer recommendations for how a Restorative Justice (RJ) framework may be used to resolve key identified issues generating unrest. In order to accomplish this task, we determined we must understand the past before we can propose ways to shape the future. We began our research by observing historical fact - the economic and sociological factors that contributed over time to the current domestic unrest in South Africa. Our research developed a coherent explanatory narrative (Part 1) that will be applied to our continued work in the spring of 2021 - focused on proposing a Restorative Justice approach for resolving unsatisfied grievances (Part 2).

We conclude that the unrest in South Africa today is caused by two factors: 1.) the economic and political injustices imposed by the Apartheid and colonial eras on the black indigenous population, and 2.) the failure of the ANC led government or any other entity to remedy these injustices. Central to the grievances of current radical protestors, is the unsatisfied remedy of previous land expropriation and economic exploitation policies of the colonial powers. Today, South Africa exists as a deeply unequal and impoverished nation, characterized by acts of corruption and instances of state violence towards protestors. The lack of economic and land redress has led to a sense of a despondence towards the government, and the need to carry out political activity outside of the mainstream electoral process to achieve justice.

Introduction:

Our Mission: This Diplomacy Lab at the University of Pittsburgh, under the leadership of Professor Dr. Karin Warner, was tasked to understand the history of nonviolent protest in South Africa (SA), discern the root causes for the transition away from nonviolent protest to the current day protest activity, and offer recommendations for how a restorative justice (RJ) framework may be used to resolve key identified issues generating unrest.

Our approach: We worked directly through the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria South Africa, with Mr. Mike Batley, Chief Executive Officer and founder of the Restorative Justice Center in South Africa. Acknowledging that we could not possibly offer recommendations without understanding the context of the current day protest activity – the team began by looking back objectively at the history of South Africa, seeking to understand ways of life, how communities were organized, how and what people (s) lived in what is now called South Africa – and how they thrived and resolved differences. We then methodically tracked overtime, historical events leading up to present day activities. **The initial work of our group which is shared in this report, provides the necessary insight and foundation which this team will use in the spring of 2021 – to continue our mission of proposing possibilities for resolving differences in South Africa using a *restorative justice* framework.**

PART 1**Background:**

South Africa has a storied tradition of civil protest for political and economic rights fostered from roots in the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle. Today, nearly three decades

after the fall of apartheid, the country remains a hotbed for activism and protest. The African National Congress's (ANC) continued governance since their victory in the 1994 elections has resulted in the disillusionment of the largely black and impoverished South African population as well as that of minority groups. Parliamentary opposition has diversified on both the Left and Right, mounting strong challenges that have resulted in the ANC capturing the lowest vote totals in its post-Apartheid period. In tandem, the appetite for civil electoral politics has waned as various protest movements such as the #FeesMustFall demonstrations and radical political parties like Julius Malema's Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) have shown frustration with conventional politics and a tendency to adopt more disruptive expressions in the domestic political sphere. **We seek to answer a fundamental question:** *What explains the growing number of violent or disruptive protests that are seemingly uncharacteristic of South Africa's civil protest history?*

To answer this, our research seeks to combine two principled objectives of research into a coherent explanatory narrative. In the first objective, we will explain the socioeconomic, cultural, and historical factors that have led to the alienation of poor blacks in South African society. Then we explain how this alienation has been synthesized into the generation of a radical political perspective. In the second objective, we seek to explain *why* people choose to act on this sense of alienation. There are plenty of reasons for discontent, but there is another explanatory step of when people choose to convert grievance into political acts. We explain that alienation with the ANC-led government has fostered a belief that electoral politics are an ultimate 'dead end' to desired change. To those experiencing the factors of alienation, large systemic change is a perceived necessity to achieve actualized emancipation from dire, undignified, and unsustainable conditions. We also find that land expropriation is a consistent thematic element driving black

South African's discontent from the colonial era to present day and that a large part of radical thought is devoted to the narrative that black South Africans must take back the land that has been stolen and withheld from them. We evaluate this process of alienation which has transformed sympathizers into radicals, and develop a narrative that explains the current domestic political unrest in South Africa today. The following sections walk the reader through the objective history of South Africa, where several issues were noted to have developed and have transformed over time - illuminating the origination of the turbulence experienced today.

Pre-Colonial History

The land that is now known as South Africa was originally inhabited by indigenous groups broadly referred to as the KhoiKhoi and the San. The KhoiKhoi were typically cattlemen while the San were hunter-gatherers. Both groups lived nomadic lifestyles. Each KhoiKhoi village had a headman who made decisions such as when to move and where. These headmen also acted as mediators or judges in resolving disputes.¹ Several villages were usually united into a larger unit, or tribe. These tribes had a kinship base, and were made up of a number of linked clans, with the senior clan being recognized as the most important.² Although contested, historians have argued that by 1600, two branches of Bantu-speaking peoples had established themselves in present-day South Africa, and that their movement displaced some of these original indigenous inhabitants.³ This piece of early history is particularly important because it led to the development of the "empty land" myth. This myth, propagated by European settlers,

¹ Barnard, A. (1992). Introduction. In *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples* (Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, pp. 3-15). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139166508.003>

² Ibid.

³ McDonald, Jared. "Southern Africans and the Advent of Colonialism." Adrian S. Wisnicki and Megan Ward, eds. *Livingstone Online*. Adrian S. Wisnicki and Megan Ward, dirs. University of Maryland Libraries, 2015. Web. <http://livingstoneonline.org/uuid/node/77590f20-a6f3-4721-85ff-22b52973f313>.

asserted that South Africa was “empty land” which the Bantu peoples and Europeans reached at roughly the same time, discounting the presence of the KhoiKhoi and San entirely.⁴ This assertion legitimized European claims to the land and laid the foundation for the later development of Bantustans.

Colonial History: A Brief Overview

According to Lahiff, “the extent of dispossession of the indigenous population in South Africa, by Dutch and British settlers, was greater than in any other country in Africa, and persisted for an exceptionally long time”⁵. The Dutch began to colonize the Western Cape of South Africa in 1652 and formed the Cape Colony. After pressure from British colonizers in 1806, the Dutch (or Boer) settlers began to move further inland to avoid further conflict with British Settlers; a migration later called, “The Great Trek”. It is important to note that prior to British and Dutch settlement on the continent, native groups had already laid claim to these areas. While the major impetus for dispossession around the mid-1600’s originally centered on the strategic location of South Africa’s cape as a trading route, upon the discovery of diamonds (late 1860’s) and gold (1886) there was even more incentive for colonization by outside groups given the newfound sources of wealth⁶. This escalated in the South African War between the British and the Boers from 1899 to 1902, spurred by the desire for control of areas understood to have large deposits of gold⁷. The British were dedicated to committing greater and greater

⁴ Crais, Clifton. (1991). 'The Vacant Land: They Mythology of British Expansion in the Eastern Cape, South Africa', in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 225-275. |Marks, Shula. 1980.

⁵ Lahiff, E. (2007) Willing buyer, willing seller: South Africa’s failed experiment in market-led agrarian reform. *Third World Quarterly*. 1577-1597 (p1578)

⁶ Meredith, Martin. *Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa*. Ukraine: Public Affairs, 2008.

⁷ Ibid

resources to the war effort and emerged victorious in 1902. The British victory in the Boer Wars helped lay the groundwork for the Union of South Africa⁸.

The Creation of South Africa, Unrepresented Indigenous Peoples, and Segregation

In 1910, the Union of South Africa was established which ensured that all whites (Boer and British alike) would be able to vote, but only “male British subjects of European descent” would be permitted to serve in the newly established parliament⁹. The formal Union of South Africa began to codify and extend racial segregation and discrimination to an even greater degree. Prior to the Union, blacks and colored individuals had greater rights in certain areas of the country. The Union worked to create racially discriminatory laws that were applied universally to restrict freedom of movement of Black Africans as well as their ability to own property.

Many laws were aimed at ensuring that Black Africans remained a primary and consistent source of hard labor that would work to further the economic interests of the Boers and the British. This often meant that higher paying skilled jobs were reserved for whites, which brought considerable pushback from Black Africans who saw this as discriminatory practices. This pushback often manifested itself through strikes.¹⁰ As a result, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 *barred Africans from participating in labor organization and related protests*. To severely limit Black African’s right to property, the Natives’ Land Act was passed in 1913. This new act ensured that *Africans could only own land in specifically outlined areas of the country*.

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Worger, William H., Clark, Nancy L... South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid. United Kingdom: Longman, 2011.

¹⁰ MacShane, Denis, Martin Plaut, and David Ward. *Power! black workers, their unions and the struggle for freedom in South Africa*. South End Press, 1984.

At the time of the act, only 7% of the country's total land mass was “reserved” for Africans. The Natives’ Land Act made it harder for Blacks to compete with white farmers, ultimately making agricultural work untenable for Blacks, thus leaving them no other choice but to seek jobs in resource extraction. Black South Africans were also only allowed in cities if they were “ministering to the needs of the white population”. Blacks who resided in cities were offered segregated housing and subject to strict regulations. In 1936, the already sparse and limited opportunities for voting and political representation for Blacks were eliminated with the passage of the Representation of Natives Act. Blacks were only entitled to “a limited number of representatives”, *all of which were white*.¹¹

Early Political Efforts to Redress Marginalization of Blacks

The early-20th century era of forced segregation was replete with considerable pushback from Africans who were discriminated against as well as those who sympathized with their cause. The African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912, though it was then known as the South African Native National Congress, in an effort to push back against unjust and racist laws that emerged from the country’s union in 1910.¹² The ANC in its early days hoped to engage peacefully and openly with the British in the pursuit of equality for all those inhabiting South Africa. However, the British government seemed quite uninterested with the plight of Black South Africans and proved to be unwilling to engage with the actions and laws of the British in South Africa. Despite the lack of British interest, the ANC continued to protest the

¹¹ Worger, William H., Clark, Nancy L... South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid. United Kingdom: Longman, 2011.

¹² Ibid.

Pass Laws (which restricted freedom of movement Black Africans – and they were required to obey at all times), lack of protections for Black workers, and insufficient wages. The general trend for these demonstrations - be it violent or civil in character - was that they were met with strong and disproportionate repressions from the state including police brutality, arrests, imprisonment, and killings. At the same time, the growing violence and oppression furthered the development of the Black Nationalist movement, which would hold significant influence over opposition and protest for decades to come.

Black Nationalism: Consciousness and the Freedom Charter

Black Nationalism is a political movement for the unification of Africa and for national self-determination. This form of nationalism attempted to transform the identity of Africans. As a general definition, nationalism in South Africa can be seen, broadly, as all political actions and ideological elements to improve the status, the rights, and position of Africans in the emerging society imposed by white intrusion and conquest. Rather than seeing themselves as Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho tribes, etc., South African nationalist leaders wanted these peoples to view themselves as South Africans¹³. They sought to unite all the indigenous groups in the fight for freedom and against racism and discrimination –with hopes to evolve over time to an inclusive South Africanism. The most important strand evolved into the nationalism of the ANC which meant the building of a non-racist, non-sexist, democratic society.¹⁴

The ANC modeled this nationalism based off the inclusive spirit of the 1955 Freedom Charter, which expressed the demands and ideals of the ANC and its allies in the anti-Apartheid

¹³ African Nationalism | South African History Online. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/african-nationalism>. Accessed 10 Dec. 2020.

¹⁴ Ibid.

struggle. The Freedom Charter's opening words decree that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black or white."¹⁵ The adoption of this multiracial approach by the ANC had actually led to the defection of members from the organization, leading to the creation of the PAC under the direction of Robert Sobukwe in 1959.¹⁶ The "charterists" (or those advocating for inclusive nationalism) thus contrasts with the black nationalism advanced by groups like the PAC, who call for an "Africa for Africans" approach rooted in exclusivity.¹⁷

Historically, black-led protests have come a long way in South Africa. Starting with the conflict between Black and White in the 19th century - Africans were gradually forced to come to terms with White power and western technology. The first attempts at political organization on a national scale came in the first decade of the 20th century.¹⁸ South African nationalists like Steve Biko anchored their nationalist ideology on "African Socialism". African Socialism is a mixture of both Marxist-Leninist socialism and African traditional communalism. Stephen (Steve) Bantu Biko was a popular voice of Black liberation in South Africa between the mid-1960s and his death in police detention in 1977¹⁹. This was the period in which both the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress had been officially banned and the disenfranchised Black population (especially the youth) were highly receptive to the prospect of a new organization that could carry their grievances against the Apartheid state. Thus, it was then that Biko's Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) came to prominence. It was Biko, the most visible figure,

¹⁵ Freedom Charter. (2013). In *the South Africa Reader* (p. 320–). Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv125jpdf.64>. 320.

¹⁶ Tuttle, K. (2006). Pan-Africanist Congress. *Oxford African American Studies Center*. Retrieved 5 Nov. 2020, pp 3-7. from <https://oxfordaasc.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195301731.001.0001/acref-9780195301731-e-42857>.

¹⁷ Halisi, C. (1997). From Liberation to Citizenship: Identity and Innovation in Black South African Political Thought. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39(1), 61-85. Retrieved December 10, 2020, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/179239>

¹⁸ Stephen Bantu Biko | South African History Online. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/stephen-bantu-biko>. Accessed 10 Dec. 2020.

¹⁹ Ibid

along with others that guided the movement of student discontent into a political force unprecedented in the history of South Africa. Biko and his peers were responding to developments that emerged in the “high phase” of Apartheid, when the Nationalist Party (NP), in power for almost two decades, was restructuring the country to conform to its policies of separate development²⁰. The NP went about untangling what little pockets of integration and proximity there were between White, Black, Colored and Indian people by creating new residential areas, new parallel institutions such as schools, universities and administrative bodies, and indeed, new ‘countries’, the tribal homelands (sometimes referred to as Bantustans). As a result of the activities of Steve Biko and his allies, there was a significant increase in the number of Africans on the common voters' roll in the Cape Colony. African voters exerted considerable influence in five Eastern Cape constituencies²¹.

Apart from Steve Biko, individuals like Mahatma Gandhi also played pivotal roles. The Gandhi-led passive resistance campaigns in South Africa had huge consequences not only for the history of the country but also for world history in general. Gandhi’s campaigns forged a new form of struggle against oppression that became a model for political and ethical struggles in other parts of the world – especially in India (the struggle for independence) and the United States (the civil rights campaign of the 1960s).

Gandhi himself was transformed by the struggles he waged: his first battles for the rights of a small group of Indians in South Africa eventually broadened his outlook into a more universal struggle for human rights²². From a representative of a small fraction of one ethnic

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid

²² Gandhi and the Passive Resistance Campaign 1907-1914 | South African History Online. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/gandhi-and-passive-resistance-campaign-1907-1914>. Accessed 10 Dec. 2020.

group, Gandhi was forced by the logic of his “experiments with truth” to become a defender of the rights of the oppressed and downtrodden. Yet it is also important to note that for some critics, he was too constrained by the limits of his middle-class formation and failed to generalize his commitment to a truly universal philosophy of human rights. Gandhi, as Maureen Swan has demonstrated, was not the initiator of Indian political activity in Natal and South Africa. Indian traders and middle classes had already formed associations to represent their interests before Gandhi arrived in South Africa²³. It was around 1904 that Gandhi began to think about his duty to the wider community, and not just to his clients, although Swan argues that at that time Gandhi was still thinking about the wider middle classes, and not indentured laborers or non-Indians. She writes: “By 1904, however, he had begun to develop the humanistic, universalist political philosophy out of which passive resistance grew. But Gandhi's politics lagged behind his ideology. The first passive resistance campaign was started in Johannesburg in 1907 with, and for, the wealthy South African Indian merchants whom he had so long represented.”²⁴

Gandhi’s first passive resistance campaign began as a protest against the Asiatic Registration Bill of 1906. The bill was part of the attempt to limit the presence of Indians in the Transvaal by confining them to segregated areas and limiting their trading activities²⁵.

As noted, the building of resistance in the form of Black Nationalism and civil protest coincided with the apex of the White supremacist regime in South Africa, as the segregation and discrimination against Non-Whites became formalized and constructed the system now known as Apartheid.

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

Apartheid: Components and Early Opposition

In 1948 Apartheid, or a policy of “separateness” spearheaded by the National Party, was enforced on the Black and Colored people of South Africa by the White minority.²⁶ The Apartheid era was replete with many structural and social barriers that were erected against the Black and Colored majority.²⁷

The elaborate racial edifice created during apartheid began in the 1950’s with the Population Registration Act.²⁸ This act laid the groundwork for the system that was to follow by forcing all South Africans to go through a process which would “determine” one’s race and then register one accordingly by the government, ensuring that “all residents of South Africa were to be classified as “White”, “Colored”, or “Native” (later called ‘Bantu’ people)”.²⁹ Indians were added later and were not initially considered by the NP to be “permanent inhabitants” of the country.³⁰ The way in which race was classified became more distinct and specific in later years, focusing more on one’s descent and appearance as opposed to the initial classification that considered one's “community acceptability”³¹. This was done to prevent assimilation by those who may be able to “pass” as White. It was this law which made possible the later implemented Pass Laws, which required Pass cards, or identification cards, for all individuals wishing to work in the cities.³² This law served to further limit the movement of the Black majority. Similar to Jim Crow laws in the American South, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1950)

²⁶ Smith 1999

²⁷ Lahiff, E. (2007) Willing buyer, willing seller: South Africa’s failed experiment in market-led agrarian reform. *Third World Quarterly*. 1577-1597 (p1578)

²⁸ Worger, William H., Clark, Nancy L... South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid. United Kingdom: Longman, 2011.

²⁹ Ibid, 49.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Smith 1999

ensured that all public areas would be segregated by race. A law known as the Group Areas Act was passed which *mandated the physical removal of many Blacks from their homelands and forced them into specified areas, typically away from White populations.*³³ Blacks were not allowed to vote in national elections and the ANC was banned.³⁴ The Bantu Authority Act along with the Black Homeland Citizen Act deprived Black Africans of their citizenship and required them to return to designated “homelands.”³⁵ In conjunction, racial equality activism or critique of segregation was gagged through penal force by the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 that was applied subjectively and selectively to anyone promoting “disturbance” of the state. In short, apartheid ensured that every aspect of one’s social, political, cultural, and economic life was touched by the elaborate edifice of racially discriminatory laws that collectively made-up apartheid.³⁶

Throughout this time, the anti-Apartheid movement grew, and eventually attracted enough international attention for pressure to be exerted on the Apartheid government. There is a popular tendency to view the anti-Apartheid movement as a monolithic group of homogenous political interests and policy objectives. In reality, the anti-Apartheid movement existed as more of a temporary alliance of different organizations and political ideologies, spanning the ideological divide, from leftists to liberals, to nationalists composing the United Democratic Front (UDF).³⁷ Notable groups involved in the UDF included the ANC, the South African

³³ Newton, C., Schuermans, N. More than twenty years after the repeal of the Group Areas Act: housing, spatial planning and urban development in post-apartheid South Africa. *J House and the Built Environ*28, 579–587 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-013-9344-7> & Walker, C. (2008). *Landmarked: Land Claims and Land Restitution in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Athens, OH: Jacana Media; Ohio University Press.

³⁴ Smith, 1999

³⁵ Lahiff, E. (2016) Stalled Land Reform in South Africa. *Current History*115, 181-87.

³⁶ “Suppression of Communism Act” *Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Suppression-of-Communism-Act>

³⁷ Tournadre, Jerome. *A Turbulent South Africa: Post-Apartheid Social Protest*. Translated by Andrew Brown. (Albany: SUNY Press, 2018): xvii.

Communist Party (SACP), and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Within these groups were the prominent leaders such as Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo, Robert Sobukwe, and Chris Hani, who garnered significant support in the liberation struggle. The vision for South Africa was not entirely uniform either, as the groups and leaders had differing opinions on what post-Apartheid South Africa should look like racially and economically.³⁸ Despite these differences, they allied with each other in pursuance of their shared goal, though these underlying disagreements would periodically strain their relationships, particularly in resistance methodology.³⁹

Initially, the anti-Apartheid movement engaged in non-violent methods of resistance including organizing marches, boycotts, strikes, and other demonstrations. Under the leadership of Albert Luthuli from 1952-1960, official ANC resistance methodology drew inspiration from the work of nonviolent protest figures like Mahatma Gandhi and the contemporary Martin Luther King Jr.⁴⁰ For nearly his entire tenure as ANC president, Luthuli asserted that non-violent resistance was the best way forward, pledging that: "...We [the ANC] pledge ourselves to non-violent activity because our better natures and our consciences demand this of us."⁴¹

However, the nature of the anti-Apartheid movement would change significantly in the face of the state's continued (if not worsened) repression. The Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 proved to be a major turning point, as following the event, the ANC abandoned its complete opposition to non-violence.

³⁸ Graham, M. (2014). The ANC and the "myth" of liberation solidarity - "othering" in post-apartheid South(ern) Africa. *Africa Insight*, 44(1), 176-190.

³⁹ Ibid, 180.

⁴⁰ Knight, T., & Burrow, R. (2019). Martin Luther King Jr.'s Doctrine of Nonviolence and South Africa. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 43(1-2), 22-35.

⁴¹ Ibid, 25.

Sharpeville and Beyond: Watershed Moments in the Anti-Apartheid Movement

During the Sharpeville Massacre, police forces fired live rounds at protestors who had gathered to demonstrate against Pass Laws. Following the Massacre, the government became more repressive by banning organizations like the ANC and PAC, causing them to move their operations underground and even take on violent state sabotage.⁴² Another watershed moment occurred in 1976, when the Soweto Uprising spurred violent demonstrations across the country. During the initial incident, students protesting mandatory teaching in Afrikaans were fired upon by police forces.⁴³ Journalists from several countries captured the violence, and the images helped add pressure on foreign governments to impose sanctions on South Africa.⁴⁴ International and domestic pressure began to build until finally Prime Minister P.W. Botha was forced to step aside in favor of F.W. DeKlerk in 1989. It was DeKlerk who worked to repeal most of the Apartheid-era legislation, unbanned groups like the ANC and SACP, and freed prisoners like Nelson Mandela.⁴⁵ DeKlerk then went on to engage in negotiations which paved the way to the 1994 election, where ANC candidate Nelson Mandela was elected President in South Africa's first free election.

Post-Apartheid: Transition, Governance Challenges, and Protests

⁴² Stevens, S. (2019). The Turn to Sabotage by The Congress Movement in South Africa. *Past & Present*, 245(1), 221–255. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz030>

⁴³ Maylam, P. (2004). South Africa: Soweto uprising. In K. Shillington (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of African history*. Routledge. Credo Reference: http://pitt.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/routafricanhistory/south_africa_soweto_uprising/0?institutionId=1425

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Crais, C., & McClendon, T. (2014). *The South Africa Reader : history, culture, politics*. Duke University Press. Pg. 459-467

Nelson Mandela's historic win in 1994 ushered in a new era for South Africa, wherein inclusivity and national reconciliation were to be pursued. Once Mandela was in office, he faced the daunting task of forging a new path for the country amidst memories of the carnage and injustices of the Apartheid regime. Nelson Mandela and the ANC could have pursued a more radical approach, advocated during the period of resistance and revolution, of prioritizing Black social and economic empowerment through immediate wealth redistribution and restructuring of South African society. Recognizing however, that such an approach would inflame racial tensions, the ANC leadership resisted.⁴⁶ Instead, Mandela and the ANC adopted the multiracial spirit of the Freedom Charter, proclaiming South Africa the "rainbow nation," where different races could coexist peacefully and thus close the chapter on the past.⁴⁷ In following this multi-racial approach, the ANC steadily lost support from radical groups and past allies.⁴⁸

Furthermore, in 1994, the ANC introduced its Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) which sought to remedy inherited socio-economic disparities. The RDP was created through negotiating among the ANC, SACP, and COSATU in an effort to create a wide-ranging policy framework needed to combat poverty and stimulate economic growth.⁴⁹ These policies were pursued in acknowledgment that the initial elation over South Africa's transition to democratic majority rule could not last. The ANC had many challenges to overcome, including learning how to build "... a growing economy in an unsentimental and increasingly competitive

⁴⁶ Andreasson, S. (2006). The African national congress and its critics: "predatory liberalism", black empowerment and intra-alliance tensions in post-apartheid South Africa. *Democratization*, 13(2), 303–322.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340500524018>

⁴⁷ Hartley, R. (2014) *Ragged Glory: The Rainbow Nation in Black and White*. Jonathan Ball Publishing. 2-6.

⁴⁸ Mosala, S. J., Venter, J. C. M., & Bain, E. G. (2017). South Africa's Economic Transformation since 1994: What Influence has the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) Had? *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 44(3–4), 327–340. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12114-017-9260-2>

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 327.

world, while addressing a massive backlog of basic services— including shelter, water, electricity, education, healthcare, and roads—bequeathed by decades of discrimination.”⁵⁰

ANC leadership initially made grand promises to South Africans in their bid to retain public support and guard against possible rivals. Promises ranging from guaranteed housing to leveling socio-economic disparities were made.⁵¹ Further civil, political, and cultural protections were enshrined in the new constitution, which came into effect in February of 1997. Additionally, during this time, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) worked to document Apartheid-era atrocities to foster healing through learning the truth behind the disappearances and assassinations of the past. From 1996-2003 the TRC oversaw public hearings where victims and accused parties testified in televised hearings broadcast each week.⁵²

After Nelson Mandela left office in June of 1999, he was succeeded by Thabo Mbeki, who had previously served as deputy president alongside F.W. DeKlerk. Mbeki and his deputy president, Jacob Zuma, were sworn into office and oversaw continued efforts of the ANC to address persistent challenges including high unemployment levels, housing shortages, and extreme income inequality.⁵³ During his presidency, Mbeki oversaw a disastrous response to the HIV/AIDS crisis, which reached its peak in South Africa in the early-to-mid 2000’s.⁵⁴ In 2008, Mbeki’s presidency was cut short, when he was forced to resign following a power struggle between himself and his deputy, Zuma.

⁵⁰ Hartley, 7.

⁵¹ Ngqulunga, B. (2019). The promise and limit of freedom: South Africa and the pursuit of racial justice. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 46(11), 1335–1347. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ijse-04-2019-0251>

⁵² Krog, A. (2009). *Country of My Skull* (Third edition.). Random House Struik

⁵³ Herbst, J. (2005). Mbeki’s South Africa. In *Foreign Affairs* 84(6), 93-105. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20031779>. 93-95

⁵⁴ Ibid.

A “caretaker” president, Kgalema Motlanthe, was sworn into office for several months until Zuma was elected President in 2009. Zuma’s presidency was tumultuous and rife with protest. In August of 2012, a wildcat strike among South African miners ended in 34 deaths at the hands of South African Police. The incident has been compared to the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, and remains a contentious topic in South Africa today.⁵⁵ In 2015, students protesting increases in university fees created the #FeesMustFall movement. Property damage was met with alleged instances of police brutality, inflaming public opinion, especially among South African youth.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Zuma’s tenure in office was wracked by allegations of fraud, money laundering, and other corruption-related charges. As the charges began to pile up, thousands of South Africans took to the streets once more to demand his resignation.⁵⁷ The #ZumaMustFall protestors eventually triumphed when the ANC threatened Zuma with a motion of no confidence, spurring his resignation in February of 2018.

Cyril Ramaphosa was then elected President, and remains so presently. Ramaphosa has faced a host of challenges including mass protests against gender-based violence, continued high unemployment and income inequality, and responding to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic.

In the wake of the tumultuous end to Zuma’s term, President Ramaphosa has also pledged to make tackling corruption within the party and the state an area of national focus - though corruption has been a challenge throughout the period of ANC rule (and long before then,

⁵⁵ Bosch, Emile. (2020). “WATCH: Yearning for Justice: Marikana Trial Reopens Wounds 8 Years On.” *Herald LIVE*, Herald LIVE, www.heraldlive.co.za/news/2020-11-02-watch-yearning-for-justice-marikana-trial-reopens-wounds-8-years-on/.

⁵⁶ Nicolson, Greg. “#FeesMustFall: Wits Students Accuse Police of Abuse.” *Daily Maverick*, 18 Oct. 2016, www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-10-18-feesmustfall-wits-students-accuse-police-of-abuse/

⁵⁷ Team, Daily Maverick. “#Zumamustfall: Thousands March Calling for Zuma to Step Down.” *Daily Maverick*, 7 Apr. 2017, www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-04-07-zumamustfall-thousands-march-calling-for-zuma-to-step-down/.

too). While the issue has been at the forefront of citizens' minds throughout the post-Apartheid era and remains in the same place today⁵⁸, the perceived character of corruption has changed over time. In the past, the national government and the president's office were seen as being more trustworthy than local government⁵⁹. The top-level scandals of the Mbeki and Zuma administrations and investigations from bodies like the current Zondo Commission have shifted these perceptions, revealing a degree of malpractice at the national level that many previously did not anticipate. Of course, corruption remains an important issue at the local level as well – after all the average citizen is more likely to see and feel the impacts of “petty corruption” in policing or at the workplace. It is more that these high-visibility, national stories have led perceptions of corruption at both national and local levels to be equally high.

Afrikaner Nationalism manifests itself in many ways in South Africa presently, though it often reaches U.S. news sources in the context of a narrative of white farm murders in South Africa.

ANC Economic Policy: Socialist Realism with Capitalist Characteristics

Patrick Bond, a prominent South African historian and political economist, argues in *Elite Transition* that the appetite for the South African government to accept the transition and liberalization away from apartheid was manifested by the rising demand amongst private sector interests of a liberalized society for morally idealistic and economically pragmatic reasons.⁶⁰ One

⁵⁸ Wike, Richard et al. “South Africans Worried About Crime and Corruption, Prioritize Education.” *Pew Research Center*. Nov. 14, 2016. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/11/14/south-africans-worried-about-crime-and-corruption-prioritize-education/>

⁵⁹ Wienders, Iris. “Perceptions and Realities of Corruption in South Africa.” *Afrobarometer Briefing Paper* no. 110. Jan. 2013. <http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Briefing%20paper/afrobrieffno110.pdf> or further: “Resurgent Perceptions of Corruption in South Africa.” *Afrobarometer Briefing Paper* no. 43. June 2006. <https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Briefing%20paper/AfrobrieffNo43.pdf>

⁶⁰ Patrick Bond. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. (London: Pluto Press, 2000):40.

such reason was to achieve a process of proletarianization: the subjugated Black South Africans were to be enfranchised as consumers and as a more mobile labor force as well.⁶¹ Apartheid, while enforced and maintained by hardline capitalists and anti-Communists, undermined the effective functioning of a free market economy – especially given the international isolation it brought on South Africa. Keeping the population bound to territory and impoverished limited the capacity for internal economic growth and closed off already faltering commodity markets.⁶²

The unifying politics of racial equality in the apartheid era masked the discourse and infighting between the different political wings within the anti-Apartheid movement. According to Bond, the “ruling classes” of South Africa (namely corporate and financial interests) opened the door to liberalization and facilitated a bargain between racial equality politics and capital, thus providing ideologically neoliberal and capital-persuasive members of the ANC to take a dominant role within the party.⁶³ Early ANC rule was characterized by the setting of large expectations and promise of a well-rounded social democracy, if not outright socialism, but functioned as policy intended to promote the robustness of capital.⁶⁴⁶⁵ The hegemonic economic policy that developed during this era is what Bond describes as a mythological economic theory: neoliberalism in the economic sphere combined with social welfare in the developmental sphere.⁶⁶ This claim is exemplified in Bond’s argued legacy of the RPD which fulfilled the conservative macroeconomic policy and ignored the fulfillment of “basic needs”.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Ibid, 15-20.

⁶² Ibid, 38.

⁶³ Ibid, 44.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 13.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 43.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the ANC passed a series of economic reforms that were advertised or theorized to enhance the economic prosperity of the black working class and the impoverished. One of the most prominent of these policies was the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) Five Year Plan of 1996, which was the primary first installment of neoliberal economics in South Africa after the fall of apartheid. The GEAR policy initiative was a series of effort designed to encourage economic growth, which it was believed would lead to improvements in poverty reduction and employment within the country. The prescription to achieve this growth focused on slashing government budgets and reducing government deficits, which in effect left less funding for badly needed goods and services, reduction of tariffs related to trade, and efforts to reduce regulations. GEAR presumed that these efforts would result in increased foreign direct investment (FDI). However, this presumption proved not to be borne out by the minimal FDI South Africa attracted post-apartheid. GEAR furthered the trend toward the privatization of Apartheid-era state owned enterprises including public utilities and transportation. One of the subsidiary reforms under GEAR was the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 (BBBEE) that sought to increase the employment of the black middle class (a decent analogue to this are the various Affirmative Action Programs in the U.S.) though it has been commented that this act has simply elevated already upwardly mobile Black South Africans. While some elements of GEAR policy such as the BBBEE are viewed quite positively, the program as a whole has faced scrutiny. Upon the conclusion of the program, it became clear that it had failed to live up to its promise of wide-spread economic gains. The high levels of growth South Africans were advised would result from the policy failing to meet their projected targets. Some scholars point out that the failure to meet positive economic

indicators were not the only costs of the GEAR program and that the approach taken by its policy proponents, “subverted progress on the development front”⁶⁸

However, to only attribute the failure of the economic policies of the ANC to their willingness to capitulate to capitalism fails to acknowledge the other considerations that also likely contributed to the decision to try to create change largely through free-market friendly mechanisms that, though more slow moving and less sweeping, were deemed to be safer. The sheer size and complexity of the issues facing the country’s political leader were enormous. The ANC had inherited a country on the brink of social and economic disaster. The leading African National Congress was grappling with massive white flight and subsequent capital, a nation desperately in need of reconciliation, and a majority of population who had been denied the opportunity to develop much needed skills required to compete in a modern economy. The apartheid transition was taking place amidst the growing strength of the Washington Consensus. During the early 1990’s there were real indicators it seemed, at least initially, that privatization, deregulation, and free market capitalism was the quickest way to achieve economic prosperity. South Africa’s neighbor, Zimbabwe had just recently won its independence in the 1980’s and despite improvements in social welfare, its efforts to rectify the wrongs imposed by the British through a large-scale land reform program proved disastrous for the country’s economy as western powers spearheaded a number of sanctions aimed at the newly-independent country. As a result of these sanctions, international investment to the country ran dry and served to stifle the country’s growth.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU), 2001. *People’s Budget response to 2001 Medium Term Budget Policy Statement*, 8 November. Cape Town: COSATU. Cosatu, 2001:3; , Weeks, 1999:809–10

⁶⁹ Grasian Mkodzongi & Peter Lawrence (2019) The fast-track land reform and agrarian change in Zimbabwe, *Review of African Political Economy*, 46:159, 1-13, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2019.1622210>

These developments were not lost on the ANC when charting South Africa's path forward. In fact, South Africa's choice to embark on a more market-friendly "willing buyer, willing seller" approach to land reform was influenced by the economic challenges land reform had caused for neighboring Zimbabwe⁷⁰. While there were many reasons for the ANC's more conciliatory approach, and some scholars and experts argue it was likely successful in staving off civil war, this approach undoubtedly had real consequences, perhaps the most challenging of which was that the vast majority of power and wealth of the minority white population was unaltered⁷¹. The decisions made during this transition period were constrained by very real external imposed but also internally relevant constraints. While the choices made may have prevented wide-spread violent conflict in the short term, in some cases it pushed the can down the road for subsequent politicians to address.

Post-Apartheid Radical Politics: Three Estates of Organization

A continuing thread in South African domestic politics from the Apartheid era is the importance of the social movement protest. These organizations function as a form of quasi-direct democracy primarily for the most disenfranchised members of South African society. In the Apartheid era, these groups functioned as vital challengers to the regime. However, this mode of politics was never demobilized after 1994. Charles Tilly, a widely respected American sociologist, articulated that social movements are challengers to the established order.⁷² For our purposes we understand that after the fall of apartheid, the targeted established order became the

⁷⁰ Cliffe, L. (2000). Land Reform in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 27, 273-86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4006600>.

⁷¹ Mamdani, Mahmood. "Beyond Nuremberg: The Historical Significance of the Post-Apartheid Transition in South Africa." *Politics & Society* 43, no. 1 (March 2015): 61–88.

⁷² Tournadre, Jerome. *A Turbulent South Africa: Post-Apartheid Social Protest*. Translated by Andrew Brown. (Albany: SUNY Press, 2018): 131.

ANC regime. With the rise of neoliberal economic policy came a wave of austerity politics that sought privatization of public utilities and exacerbated the severity of conditions for the vulnerable. Social protest movements such as the Anti-Privatization Forum and the Soweto Electricity Forum gained popular *local* followings in response to these mass privatizations and actively pointed out contradictions in ANC representation: a tension between the grand Left aesthetic of social justice promise of economic policy and the actual reality of intense income inequality through neoliberalism. One of the largest protest movements since the Apartheid era, Abahlali baseMjondolo, was formed in 2005 as a shack dweller's movement composed of the militant poor, and continues to campaign against evictions of South Africans from informal dwellings.⁷³ ANC leadership consequently spurned these critiques and disruptive protests within lower level politics and have responded with repression via SAPS and disciplined party denunciations. A common tactic of the ANC is to respond to populist attacks with the accusation that such groups undermine the basis of civil society and in doing so hurt the working class.⁷⁴

South African domestic politics was traditionally typified in two spheres: the institutional and the populist local protest. But the despondency of the former and limited power of the latter gave rise to the formation of a newer sphere of domestic politics: "the intermediate space."⁷⁵ Tournadre argues for the understanding of such a space between the spheres of power characterized by the ANC with their party bureaucracy and the social protest organizations with their disorganized but strong populist leadership. (Tournadre) In this "intermediate space", Tournadre describes that Left individuals from both the institutional and social protest realms

⁷³ Matiwane, Zimasa. (2020). "Give Us Back Our Homes and Bring 'Thieves' to Justice, Says Shack Dwellers' Movement." *TimesLIVE*, TimesLIVE, www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-10-19-give-us-back-our-homes-and-bring-thieves-to-justice-says-shack-dwellers-movement/.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 167.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 202.

have converged for a creation of a broad Left political project with a consensus realization that the ANC will not be the vehicle for social change and progress. *This intermediate political space has different objectives than the social movements and institutional networks as it attempts to coalesce behind a new Leftist consensus politics.*⁷⁶ *Although not wholly successful in establishing ideological cohesion, the groups existing in this space aim to achieve divergent political ambitions than what is to be understood of traditional electoral groups. **These practices involve supporting varying degrees of civil or violent strikes and protests, engagement with populist sentiments, cultivation of a mass political following, and lambasting the current establishment.***

The emergence of the Economic Freedom Fighters can best be described as having been cultivated by the environment produced by this intermediate space. Julius Malema, the principle leader of the EFF, served as a former member of the institutional vanguard for the ANC party establishment and was a staunch defender of President Zuma during his rape and corruption accusations. Malema was best described as an ANC party thug and his radicalism garnered him populist sympathies among the disillusioned.⁷⁷ (Bond) Malema entered the intermediate space after his expulsion from the ANC establishment for his critique of the ANC repression of the Marikana Miners' Strike, personal corruption, and a series of other nonchalant controversial statements.⁷⁸ As a former member of the institution, he drew on populist sympathies and the political doctrines of the Youth League to form the ideological basis of the EFF. Malema defines his group as a Trotskyist group and fighting for an 'Economic Freedom' for black South

⁷⁶ Ibid, 209.

⁷⁷ Bond, Patrick. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. (London: Pluto Press, 2000): 272.

⁷⁸ "Julius Malema- South Africa's radical agenda setter" *BBC*, April 30, 2019. Accessed December 8, 2020.

Africans as per EFF party platform documents, as well as fighting to take back the land stolen by the European settlers.⁷⁹ (EFF) Others have noted the distinct nationalist character to Malema's politics with some labeling it as racist or anti-white and that there is an intense opposition to the minority white ownership of the economy.⁸⁰ There is a Left nationalist vein in this group that views the Black South Africans as a group disenfranchised economically from their own country, and that liberation from colonialism and apartheid was an aesthetic revolution.

Corruption: A Case of Creating Space for Radicalism and Violence

Corruption – and especially the perception of corruption – is often a precursor to political violence because it serves to delegitimize the state in the eyes of its citizens. Two particularly corrosive forms of corruption in this sense which are prevalent in South Africa are patronage and state capture (which themselves are closely linked). During Apartheid, state patronage was used as an extension of White-supremacist ideology in terms of who received civil service employment or which businesses were granted government contracts.⁸¹ Today, it is driven less by any ideology and more by personal relationships, financial incentives, and the lack of enforcement mechanisms. Contracts are signed with businesses who fail to provide any of the promised deliverables or overrun on costs, code violations are ignored, funds are embezzled, and so on. It has been said that local politics in South Africa, when taking on a violent character, “is consumed by struggles for state patronage.”⁸² That is to say, politics is viewed as a zero-sum

⁷⁹ “Economic Freedom Fighters Founding Manifesto: Radical Movement Towards Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime” *Economic Freedom Fighters National Assembly*, July 27, 2013.

⁸⁰ Bond, Patrick. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. (London: Pluto Press, 2000): 269-272.

⁸¹ Hyslop, Jonathan. “Political Corruption: Before and After Apartheid.” *Journal of southern African studies* 31, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 773–789.

⁸² Steinberg, Jonny. South Africa’s Xenophobic Eruption. ISS Paper 169 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2008). 1

game in which the benefits of power are to be used for personal enrichment or the advancement of a faction rather than the larger society. Therefore, parties and officials become corrupt because they seek – and are sought after – to distribute these benefits accordingly. Hence why the threat of state capture – the regulated (private sector) attempting to illicitly control the regulator (public sector), in simple terms – has risen to become such a significant issue in the current day. Beyond perception, citizens can see the real evidence of misappropriation of service funds or tax revenue sent to failing state-run businesses like South African Airways as reinforcement of this winner-take-all view and as a sign that their government is answering to special interests. Moreover, because these benefits are seen as a limited resource, competition with the established government or with other citizens becomes incentivized.⁸³ This effect can be accentuated during times when budget constraints force cuts at the expense of social services or government employment – such as the current pandemic-induced crisis, when citizens are confronted not just by stories of people getting rich off state patronage but also feel the direct impact of the state withholding money elsewhere. If political violence can be understood as an expression of discontentment with the status quo, corruption helps to build that discontentment as citizens fear they are being “cut out” or “left behind” while venal government officials pick and choose winners and losers.

This de-legitimization as a result of corruption can also enable radical and/or populist actors like the EFF to gain a foothold in mainstream political discourse. One does not need to look far into the EFF’s public statements to see that it often attacks the political establishment for its record on South Africa’s corruption. For instance, as in many other countries, the need for

⁸³ Malaquias, Assis. *Stress-Testing South Africa : the Tenuous Foundations of One of Africa’s Stable States* Washington, D.C: Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2011.

PPE to slow or prevent the spread of COVID-19 during the pandemic has led to concerns about how the South African government is handing out contracts to ensure delivery. While the Ramaphosa administration announced earlier this year that it would be creating a special committee to investigate allegations of corruption in PPE procurement, the EFF quickly took the opportunity to malign the president as purposefully ineffective and has repeatedly issued warnings that the pandemic presents a corruption “looting spree.”⁸⁴ In general, the EFF has made exposing and confronting corruption a cornerstone of its platform, and in characteristic fashion uses terms such as “thieves” to describe ANC party leadership, underscoring its drive to further delegitimize the establishment in citizens’ eyes. So, corruption has provided the EFF with a path to resonate with voters and achieve relevance in the public sphere. This in turn can help to persuade people that the type of violent protest often espoused by the party is not only a more viable form of opposition than peaceful means but necessary to overcome the corrupt, untrustworthy establishment.

Discussion

The deep anger and resentment characteristic of the radical politics of South Africa today is a result of two injustices: 1) the severe exploitation of indigenous South Africans and their land under colonialism and Apartheid, and 2) the failure of the ANC to rectify this exploitation. It is important to recognize that the radical protest politics of today are born from these perceptions:

“Faced with the popularity the ANC continued to enjoy, the spokespersons of the protest organizations regularly sought to embody the continuity of the national liberation movement of the 1970s and 1980s. In their eyes, this claim was all the more consistent, as the shortcomings of the post-1994 ANC had left this very liberation unfinished. So it

⁸⁴ Baloyi, Thabo. “‘Waste of Time’: EFF Slams Cabinet’s PPE Corruption Probe.” *The South African*. July 8, 2020. <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/waste-of-time-eff-slams-cabinets-ppe-corruption-probe/>

needed to be said that *today's* protests were in fact an extension of *yesterday's* fight. In addition to consolidating the idea of the ANC's failure or betrayal, this reading of the contemporary history of South Africa found a favorable echo in the minds of women and men for whom "1994" did not seem to have changed much, at least in terms of their living conditions."⁸⁵

The break that radicals have with the ANC government is a frustration over the inability of South Africa to fulfill the social contract that it made with its people. The transition of 1994 emancipated Black South Africans from legal racism and promised them economic development and improvement of their daily lives. The social contract established between the government and the people was one of at least a robust social democratic state, eventual liberation from the tyranny of poverty, and most importantly - rectifying the dispossession of land from the indigenous people - which serves as their psychological connection to their continued disparity. *To radicals, South Africa still remains a land that belongs to alien forces of colonial or capital interests and not to the indigenous people that it was stolen from.* When Julius Malema arrived at the North Gauteng High Court in 2018, a demonstrator clad in red EFF colors held up a sign at the entrance: "Our Land Our Dignity".⁸⁶ In an interview with the CIC, Malema stated,

"...when you sum it up, that inequality is called land. Our people speak of land today and appreciate that the land must be at the center of everything they do because in the absence of the ownership of the land, you are equal to nothing because land is the beginning and the end of any humanity"⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Tournadre, Jerome. *A Turbulent South Africa: Post-Apartheid Social Protest*. Translated by Andrew Brown. (Albany: SUNY Press, 2018): 170.

⁸⁶ "WATCH: Julius Malema arrives at the North Gauteng High Court" *News24*. September 18, 2018. YouTube video, 0:40. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eIWahvXITYc&ab_channel=News24

⁸⁷ "CIC Julius Malem on Newzroom Afrika Round Table Channel 405-02.09.2019" *Economic Freedom Fighters*. September 3, 2019. YouTube Video, 1:03:52. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V6rFA3y59ok&ab_channel=EconomicFreedomFighters

The appeal of radical politics today is in short a mission to find a sense of dignity: dignity from the injustices and humiliation of Apartheid and colonialism; dignity from poverty and political repressions; and most of all, dignity of knowing that one's country belongs to them and that they are not second class people on a land that had always been their home. The legacy painted by radicals of the liberation in 1994 is one where the indigenous people still live in a state of indignity on their own land.

Conclusion

Having now gained a historical understanding of the events leading up to current day political activity in South Africa, our diplomacy lab work will focus on understanding restorative justice, and seeking ways to offer recommendations for resolving the current unrest in South Africa. History has illuminated the roots of turmoil that exist in South Africa today and how they have developed, changed, and intensified over time. Developing a sustainable solution to the unrest in South Africa requires a deep consideration of these issues to substantively rectify the historical and present injustices in South Africa. Only after these deep rooted issues are dealt with, can South Africa experience a lasting, harmonious civil society. The work continues...

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Pictures and Biographies of Key People in South African History





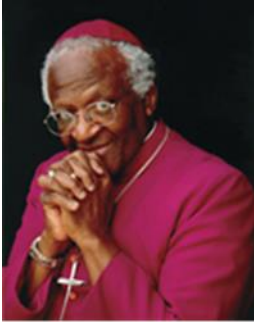
1. **Steve Biko** (18 December 1946 - 12 September 1977): Former leader of the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa. Died of a brain hemorrhage caused by police mistreatment, became a martyr for Black Nationalism.



2. **Hendrik Verwoerd** (8 September 1901- 6 September 1966): Former South African academic, politician, and prime minister. As minister of native affairs in 1950, he was responsible for much of the modern apartheid legislation. He was assassinated by Dimitrios Tsafendas, a political militant.



3. **Robert Sobukwe** (5 December 1924 - 27 February 1978): Former anti-apartheid activist, Black Nationalist, and leader of the Pan Africanist Congress. After being arrested in 1960, he spent the rest of his life in prison or under house arrest.



4. **Desmond Tutu** (7 October 1931 -): South African cleric, anti-apartheid figure, gained international attention for voicing the plight of black South Africans. Coined the idea of South Africa as the “rainbow nation.”



5. **Chris Hani** (28 June 1942 - 10 April 1993): Former leader of the SACP (South African Communist Party), assassinated by far-right sympathizer Janusz Walus. He was more popular than Mandela among “Young lions” (militant black youth of SA).



6. **Ruth First** (4 May 1925 - 17 August 1982): Former anti-apartheid activist, journalist and scholar. Helped craft the Freedom Charter (1955). Murdered by the Apartheid government with a letter bomb while in exile in Mozambique.



7. **Nelson Mandela** (18 July 1918 - 5 December 2013): Former anti-apartheid activist and head of the armed wing of the ANC before becoming the first black President of South Africa. His negotiations with DeKlerk helped end apartheid and usher in a peaceful transition to majority rule.



8. **Albert Luthuli** (30 November 1897- 21 July 1967): Zulu chief, teacher and religious leader, and president of the African National Congress (1952–60) in South Africa. He was the first African to be awarded a Nobel Prize for Peace (1960) in recognition of his nonviolent struggle against Apartheid.



9. **Frederik Willem (F.W.) DeKlerk** (18 March 1936-): South African politician who served as President of South Africa from 1989 to 1994 and as Deputy President from 1994 to 1996. His negotiations with Nelson Mandela helped end apartheid.



9. **Cyril Ramaphosa** (17 November, 1952-): South African politician serving as the President of South Africa since 2018 and President of the African National Congress since 2017. Served as the ANC's chief negotiator during the transition to democracy.



10. **Winnie Madikizela-Mandela** (26 September 1936 - 2 April 2018): Former political activist and ANC politician, second wife of Nelson Mandela. While Mandela was hidden, and then imprisoned, Winnie continued to organize and became a leader in her own right. More radical than Mandela, famous call for "necklacing." Later became embroiled in scandals over the murder of 14 year old Stompie Seipei and missing ANC funds.



11. **Julius Malema** (3 March 1981-): South African politician and activist who is a Member of Parliament and the President and founder of the Economic Freedom Fighters. Former member of the ANC who advocates for land expropriation and radical leftist/anti-capitalist policies. Has been accused of fraud, racketeering, and hate speech.



12. **Oliver Tambo** (27 October 1917- 24 April 1993): Former President of the African National Congress (ANC) between 1967 and 1991. He helped keep the ANC together while in exile. Also co-founded the ANC Youth League and participated in negotiations for the country's new democratic constitution in the 1990's.



13. **Pieter Willem (P.W.) Botha** (12 January 1916- 31 October 2006): Prime minister (1978–84) and first state President (1984–89) of Africa. Botha sought to find some middle ground between those who fully supported apartheid and the increasingly frustrated and militant nonwhite population. He refused to testify before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).



14. **Joe Slovo** (23 May 1926- 6 January 1995): Former South African politician and anti-apartheid activist. Longtime leader and theorist in the South African Communist Party, and member of the African National Congress. Also a commander of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.



15. **Thabo Mbeki** (June 18, 1942-): Anti-apartheid activist and politician who served as the president of South Africa from 1999–2008. In 2007, he lost his bid for a third term as head of the ANC to Jacob Zuma in a contentious leadership battle. Later resigned as President of South Africa after conflict with Zuma



16. **Jacob Zuma** (April 12, 1942-): South African politician who served as President of South Africa from the 2009 general election until his resignation on 14 February 2018. He was sentenced to 10 years in prison on for conspiring to overthrow South Africa's apartheid government. After his release, he set up underground networks to recruit for Umkhonto we Sizwe. Later became deputy President of the country until his dismissal by Mbeki because of alleged fraud, though he was reinstated by the ANC General Council. Zuma was selected over Mbeki to be party president, but later was forced to resign due to corruption charges.

Glossary of Key Terms

Political Theory Terms

Fanonism:

The ideas and theories of French Marxist Frantz Fanon who articulated the need for violent revolution of colonized people against imperial powers for psychological reconciliation. Most widely known text is *The Wretched of the Earth*.

Intermediate Space:

Term coined by Jerome Tournadre in *Post-Apartheid Social Protest*. Describes the political space between local organizing and national politics where radical or non-mainstream political groups seek to grow power and seek to achieve aims outside of the traditional electoral system.

Marxist-Leninism:

Subset of Marxist political ideology and Leninist political thought, involves the development of a vanguard party to lead an anti-capitalist revolution. Not to be thought of as a monolithic group, adherents have diverged from one another in different countries, times, cultures, and situations. (Example: divide between Chinese Communism and Post-Stalin Soviet Communism)

Neoliberalism:

A broad adjective describing matured free market thought from the crisis of market fundamentalism during the Great Depression. Especially promoted in the Reagan and Thatcher administrations (but is found in the left opposition parties today as well). Involves minimizing effective political participation, maximizing economic liberalization and characterized by a technocratic approach to governance. Also described by the economic policies favored by the Washington Consensus.

Social Democracy:

System of government characterized by large populist and democratic engagement with politics and characterized by an expansive social welfare state and economic democracy.

Trade Unionism:

Union political organizations structured vertically or horizontally to advance the interests of its union members. No inherent political ideology of its organization or members but commonly associated with leftist or social democratic feelings.

Trotskyism:

A Distinct subset of Marxist-Leninism named after Leon Trotsky, a forced exile from the USSR. Rejects the Stalinist approaches to socialism adopted by the Soviet Union and favors an approach of worldwide permanent revolution as opposed to socialism in one country. Also favors mass democracy and self-emancipation.

Organizations:**Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM)**

Shack dwellers movement founded in 2005 that stands to undermine eviction efforts and advocates for public housing. Advocates for the poor and impoverished and has a socialist political ideology.

African Communist Party (SACP):

Marxist-Leninist party that was formed in the early labor struggles in the early 20th century. Key ally of the ANC in the struggle against apartheid. Holds that South Africa belongs to the natives and not to the colonial peoples. Opposed to the neoliberal bent of the ANC after apartheid.

African National Congress (ANC):

Political party led by Nelson Mandela that formed a united front against the apartheid government in South Africa. Banned, exiled, and reinstated by the National Party and ended the apartheid era of South Africa. Has remained the incumbent party in power ever since its first victory in 1994.

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM):

A grassroots anti-Apartheid activist movement in South Africa that is most commonly associated with Steve Biko. The movement advocated for “building black consciousness” by promoting racial pride and critiquing white liberal thought. The movement became prominent after 1960, as it filled the vacuum created by the jailing and banning of figures associated with the ANC and PAC by the Apartheid government.

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU):

Largest trade union federation in South Africa founded in 1985 and was a key ally in the struggle against apartheid

Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF):

Trotskyist and Fanonist party led by Julius Malema. Frequently opposed to the ANC with a staunch neoliberal critique. Accused of instigating hateful rhetoric domestically. Popularity for the party is growing rapidly even with criticisms.

The Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture (Zondo Commission):

Ongoing public inquiry established by President Zuma to investigate corruption in the public sector of South Africa. Investigates accusations of state capture by private or special interests.

National Party (NP)

Former ethnic Afrikaner political party that governed during apartheid. Responsible for government repression in the apartheid era and loosened its control towards liberalization towards the end of the 1980's after intense international and domestic pressure.

Pan African Congress (PAC)

Former ally of the ANC in the antiapartheid struggle founded by Robert Sobukwe. Objected to a multiracial future for South Africa based on an image of African Nationalism.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC):

Public hearings staged after the end of apartheid for a court restorative justice where victims of oppression could air their grievances and the oppressors could request forgiveness and amnesty from further consequence. Heavily cited as a positive event that made deescalated tensions immediately after the end of apartheid.

United Democratic Front (UDF):

Trade unionist subset of the ANC united front. Also describes the wide variance of political ideologies in the anti-Apartheid struggle from liberals to leftists to moderates.

Legislation and Policies (Chronological)

Pass Laws

One of the dominant means of control by the Apartheid government. It required the registration of black men, and eventually women in the 1950s, and the implementation of an *internal passport system* where the movements of the black population were restricted and segregation was enforced.

Asiatic Registration Bill of 1906

Extension of Pass Laws to Asians and required registration with the government on the threat of deportation.

Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924

Act that allowed the formation of trade unions that were represented by industrial councils. Strikes could not take place until after a conciliation had been conducted. Trade unions specifically excluded workers regulated by Native Pass Laws and regulations, which meant that black workers were not excluded from organizing rights.

Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1950)

Instituted race based segregation into South African society. All public services, buildings, and vehicles were segregated and the separate amenities were not required to be equal in their quality.

Suppression of Communism Act of 1950

Made Communist or Leftist political expression a form of treason. Any attempts to disrupt South African society labeled as Communist subversion. Used subjectively and widely to repress political enemies and to jail antiapartheid activists.

Bantu Authority Act 1951, 1970

Gave authority in specific regions to Traditional Tribal Leaders for a legal basis for self-determination. Reserved regions specified as Tribal Homelands.

Freedom Charter (1955)

Statement of core principles and political objectives of the ANC and its allies. Features 10 categories of points describing the political objectives to be achieved. Included the end of racist discrimination and the full enfranchisement of black South Africans into the shared wealth and management of the economy. Sought social welfare guarantees as well to free people from poverty.

Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) 1994:

Wide ranging policy framework created by Nelson Mandela along with SACP and COSATU to alleviate poverty and address the shortcomings of social services. Sought to develop the lower classes for economic growth. Characterized by infrastructure investments, trade liberalization, reduction of government owned debt, and tax reform. Quasi neoliberal and quasi socialist.

Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) Five Year Plan of 1996

Macroeconomic policy that characterized transition in ANC economic approach. Featured the rolling back of race based economic policies of the previous era and a more dedicated approach to neoliberalism. Featured mass privatizations of public services (including public utilities) and deregulating the financial sector.

“Willing buyer, willing seller”:

The term “willing buyer, willing seller” refers to South Africa's market-based and “investor-friendly” approach to land reform. Authors like Lahiff assert that this approach “effectively granted land owners absolute discretion over participation in the land reform programme”. Alternate approaches favored expropriation or purchasing land at below market prices.

Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 (BBBEE)

An affirmative action analog that sought to increase the amount of black South Africans in the higher echelons of industry, finance, corporate leadership. Criticized for advancing the interests of the already upwardly mobile and not empowering the impoverished.

Appendix A.1 Timeline of Major Events

- 1652:** Jan van Riebeeck (Dutch East India Company) creates a Dutch colony (Cape Colony) in South Africa
- 1658:** The first slaves to fuel the colony are imported into South Africa (largely Indian)
- 1795:** Start of British colonization, Cape Colony is acquired from the Dutch
- 1809:** Pass Laws Enacted
- 1814:** The Dutch cede the Cape to the British
- 1834:** The Mfecane: widespread chaos and warfare among indigenous population
- 1835:** "Great Trek" of Dutch settlers away from British colony, further inland and form Republics (Orange Free State and Transvaal)
- 1860:** First Indian indentured workers arrive
- 1867:** Diamonds discovered
- 1879:** Anglo-Zulu War (The British defeat the Zulus)
- 1880:** First Anglo-Boer War (Ends in a peaceful settlement in which the Transvaal is accepted as a Boer Republic)
- 1899:** Second Anglo-Boer War begins due to British agitation of the Boers
- 1886:** Gold is discovered (Transvaal)
- 1902:** Second Anglo-Boer War ends and the Dutch areas of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State become self-governing colonies of the British Empire.
- 1906:** Asiatic Registration Bill Enacted
- 1907:** Gandhi's First Passive Resistance Campaign in Johannesburg (Satyagraha)
- 1910:** Union of South Africa founded
- 1912:** African National Congress (ANC) is founded (originally Native National Congress)
- 1913:** The Natives' Land Act of 1913 "defined less than 1/10 of S.A.n as black "reserves" and prohibited any purchase or lease of lands by blacks outside the reserves"
- 1914:** The National Party is founded

- 1914:** Boer/Maritz Rebellion
- 1922:** Rand Rebellion
- 1924:** Industrial Conciliation Act
- 1931:** Britain passes the Statute of Westminster eliminating all of Britain's remaining legal authority in South Africa
- 1934:** The status of the Union Act is passed. (South Africa is determined to be "a sovereign independent state",
- 1944:** Anti-Pass Campaign
- 1948:** National Party gained power, aggressively enforce the existing racially discriminatory laws and introduce the apartheid era
- 1950:** Popular Registration Act
- Reservation of Separate Amenities Act
- Group Areas Act
- Suppression of Communism Act
- 1951:** Bantu Authority Act
- 1952:** Defiance Campaign
- 1953:** South African Communist Party re-formed underground
- 1955:** Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People
- 1959:** Bantu/Black Self-Governance Act to encourage separate Bantustans
- Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) founded under leadership of Robert Sobukwe
- 1960:** Sharpeville Massacre
- 1961:** New republican Constitution commenced, alongside withdrawal from the Commonwealth
- ANC armed wing (uMkhonto we Sizwe) begins attack campaign
- PAC Poqo attacks begin

1963: Rivonia Trial, several members of ANC sentenced to prison

1976: Soweto Uprising

1977: Steve Biko dies from injuries sustained while in police custody

1983: Church Street Bombing carried out by armed wing of ANC in Pretoria

1984: Archbishop Desmond Tutu is awarded Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to call attention to and dismantle Apartheid

Township revolt

1985: Declaration of state of emergency

Langa Massacre on anniversary of Sharpeville Massacre

1990: Mandela is released from prison, ANC unbanned

1991: Talks between opposing parties begin. FW de Klerk repeals remaining apartheid laws, international sanctions lifted.

Major fighting between ANC and Zulu Inkatha movement.

1992: Bisho Massacre

1993: Chris Hani, leader of SACP, is assassinated by Janusz Walus, a far-right sympathizer

1994: First free and fair election, first ANC victory in which Nelson Mandela is selected as President

Reconstruction and Development Programme

Shell House Massacre

PAC Poqo attacks cease

1996: Truth and Reconciliation Commission Begins

(GEAR) Growth, Employment, and Redistribution announced (Five Year Plan)

New constitution is adopted

1997: New Constitution takes effect

1998: Treatment Action Campaign

2000: Anti-Privatization Forum formed

2002: Mining Sector Charter (transfer 51% of mine ownership to black people by 2012)

2003: Truth and Reconciliation Commission Ends

BBBEE (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment) Act of 2003 attempts to address gender and social inequality as well as racial inequality

2004: Financial Sector Charter

No Land! No House! No Vote! Campaign launched

2005: Abahlali baseMjondolo movement formed

2007: Codes of Good Practice passed to increase corporate social responsibility

Large numbers of public-sector workers take part in the largest strike since apartheid's end. The strike lasts for several weeks and is disruptive to schools, hospitals, and public transportation.

2008: Julius Malema becomes President of ANC Youth League.

President Mbeki forced to resign due to a power struggle; President Motlanthe takes temporary power

2009: President Zuma takes office

Violent protests by those living in townships over inadequate living conditions.

2010: Right2Know Campaign

2012: Julius Malema's expulsion from ANC is upheld

Marikana Miners' Strike

2013: The founding of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) by Julius Malema

2014: Malema elected as National Assembly MP, EFF wins 25 seats total

2015: #FeesMustFall Protest Movement Begins

ZumaMustFall Protests

2018: Zondo Commission begins to investigate state capture and corruption

2019: General Elections, EFF gains the most seats of any party (19), but ANC maintains a healthy majority

Service Delivery Protests Flare Up

Gender-Based Violence Protests Begin

2020: COVID-19 Pandemic

Appendix B.1: Descriptive Timeline of Major Domestic Protest Movements/Events

☐: Indicates Instance of Violent Protest/Response by Protestors

Colonial/Pre-Apartheid Protests

Satyagraha in South Africa (1906-1914): Passive resistance campaign led by Mahatma Gandhi against laws requiring the registration and fingerprinting of all Indian males in the Transvaal. Initially successful in convincing the British government to veto the Asiatic Registration Act in 1906, but the laws would be re-enacted the following year when the colony was granted self-government. Indians refused to register and were repeatedly imprisoned for months-long sentences. Eventually grew to resistance against general anti-immigrant policies in the early years of the Union of South Africa. Unsuccessful in some respects despite compromises ending discriminatory taxes on Indian traders and allowing continued immigration.

☐ Rand Revolt (1921-1922): armed uprising of white union workers and supported by the African Communist Party despite racism among the workers. Revolt crushed by 20,000 troops deployed by the South African government. Key event for the formation of the SACP.

Anti-Pass Campaign 1944: In May of 1944 over 20,000 protestors stormed the streets of Johannesburg in order to protest the requirement that Black and Colored South Africans must be able to show their passes/documentation at all times.

Apartheid Protests

Defiance Campaign (1952): A mass campaign organized by the ANC, South African Indian Congress, and Coloured People's Congress promoting non-violent civil disobedience. It was the first large-scale multi-racial political mobilization against Apartheid. Volunteers were sentenced to jail time for burning pass books, entering "white only" establishments, violating curfew and more.

- ☐ Mayibuye Uprising (November 7-8): Protestors in Kimberley (in modern-day Northern Cape Province) peacefully demonstrated against Apartheid at the town's railway station. After the arrest of local ANC executives, protests spread across Kimberley and demonstrators took to destruction of property. When marchers threatened a petrol depot on the second day, police fired into the crowd. 13 people were killed and 78 wounded.

Pass Law Demonstration (Sharpeville Massacre) (1960): Massive protest against the Pass Laws organized by the PAC in which protestors would break the law by not having their passports and subject themselves to arrest. Was met with violent repression by the South African government in the form of extreme police brutality. Violence was one-sided on the part of the government forces and 250 protestors were estimated to have been killed or wounded.

Soweto Uprising (1976): After the introduction of Afrikaans as the language of learning for the educational system, 20,000 students protested in the streets, especially around Soweto. Again, violence in this protest was one sided on the part of the government with brutal repression of the young protestors. Estimates of killed protestors range from 100-700. Large exodus of black people to Rhodesia, some became militants as a result. The initial incident then sparked riots across the country.

uMkhonto we Sizwe Armed Militancy (1960-1987): Armed wing of the ANC founded after the Sharpeville Massacre by Nelson Mandela. Classified as a terrorist organization. Early period of the militancy threatened armed guerilla tactics and sabotage against the Apartheid government. Some methods included torture and executions. Series of bombings carried out throughout the 1980s:

- 1983 Church Street Bombing
- 1985 Amantzimtoti Bombing
- 1986 Durban Beach-Front bombing
- 1987 Johannesburg Bombing
- 1985-1987 Landmine Campaign

PAC Poqo (later Azanian People's Liberation Army) (1961-1994): Military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress. Engaged in attacks against white South African civilians (at random) in the early 1960's in protest against Apartheid. Following a governmental crackdown, the group was greatly weakened. In 1968, the group was renamed as the APLA and continued to plan and carry out attacks against white civilians until it was disbanded in 1994.

Attacks include:

- King William's Town Golf Club attack on 28 November 1992, four killed.
- Highgate Hotel attack on 1 May 1993, five killed.
- Saint James Church massacre in Kenilworth on 25 July 1993, eleven killed
- Heidelberg Tavern Massacre on 31 December 1993, four killed
- Mdantsane church attack on 11 March 1994, three killed.

Langa Massacre (1985): Occurred on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. A week after 6 black people were killed, a crowd of marchers were on their way to attend one of the funerals when Apartheid police blocked the road and told them to disperse. When the crowd did not comply immediately, officers opened fire. Numbers are disputed, but at least 20 people were killed.

Bisho Massacre (1992): The ANC organized peaceful demonstrations to march in Bisho (now Bhisho), the then-capital of the Ciskei Bantustan, in hopes of forcing the resignation of Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo. Gqozo had opposed democratic activity in Ciskei as it threatened his hold on

power given the upcoming 1994 elections, since the ANC sought to re-absorb the bantustans into South Africa. On September 7, the Ciskei Defence Force attempted to bar some 80,000 protestors from entering Bhisho, eventually opening fire and killing 28 protestors while wounding over 200.

Shell House Massacre (1994): IFP supporters gathered in front of ANC headquarters in Johannesburg on March 28 to protest the upcoming election. The IFP planned to boycott the election as they claimed the ANC intended to undermine traditional Zulu authorities and practices. ANC security guards fired at protestors, killing 19 people. At a later date, the Nugent Commission of Inquiry which investigated the incident rejected the ANC's claims that protestors were storming the building or had planned to do so.

Contemporary Protests

Treatment Action Campaign (1998-Present): Launched in 1998 in order to pressure the South African government (then under the leadership of Thabo Mbeki) to address the HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa. Demonstrations called for greater state funding for health, access to HIV/AIDS testing, prevention resources, and treatment. This campaign has been credited with forcing the government to make antiretroviral treatment available to South Africans.

No Land! No House! No Vote! Campaign (2004-Present): Organized under the banner of the Poor People's Alliance, which includes the Landless People's Movement, Abahlali baseMjondolo Durban, Abahlali baseMjondolo Western Cape, Sikhula Sonke (a women-led farmworker's union) and the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (WCAEC). Calls for boycotting local and national elections in favor of campaigning for change through direct organizing and protesting. It is a general rejection of party politics.

Abahlali baseMjondolo protests (2005-Present): A protest blockade at the Kennedy Road shack settlement in the city of Durban led to the creation of Abahlali baseMjondolo as a shack dwellers movement of the militant poor. They call for an end to evictions, for access to public housing, for improved service delivery, for an end to governmental corruption, and more. AbM also organizes in Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town. They most frequently host marches and land occupations. Abahlali members have frequently clashed with police but consider themselves nonviolent.

Right2Know Campaign (2010- Present): An initial coalition campaign of civil society organizations demonstrating against governmental secrecy (The Protection of State Information Bill) and advocating for the right to transparency led to the creation of the Right2Know non-profit. Protests organized by Right2Know break out sporadically against government corruption, secrecy, state surveillance and more.

□ Marikana Miners' strike (2012): On August 16th 2012, S.A. police fired live rounds at striking miners), killing 34 of them. Miners had gathered outside of the Lonmin Platinum mines to demand better pay and working conditions. Threat level of miners disputed by those present. At least one miner fired at police in retaliation, but reports have found that the police response was disproportionate. Gov later offered miners/families compensation but no apology. Incident has been compared to the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960.

□ Western Cape strikes (2012-2013): A wave of strikes and protests led by agricultural workers in the Western Cape who were inspired by the Marikana strike. Agricultural workers protested against high unemployment and perceived low wages. Strikers set bushes and vineyards on fire, and S.A. police responded with stun grenades and rubber bullets. The protests, destruction of property, and police response led to the deaths of 3 workers. Following the events, the official minimum wage was increased.

□ FeesMustFall (2015-2016): Student-led protest movement demonstrating against increases in student fees as well as for an increase in government funding of universities. Original protests at the University of Witwatersrand spread to other universities. Led to significant property damage, alleged intimidation of university staff by protestors, and police brutality allegations.

ZumaMustFall (2015-2018): Starting in 2015, thousands of South Africans sporadically protested for the resignation of then-President Jacob Zuma. Protestors demanded an end to governmental corruption in which Zuma was heavily implicated. In spite of the protests, Zuma was able to retain ANC support until early 2018, when he was forced to resign.

Service Delivery Protests (2019): Occur regularly, but most recent notable protests took place in lead-up to 2019 elections. Local community protests meant to direct attention to municipalities' failure to deliver on various government services. Typically characterized by mass gatherings and disruptive tactics (e.g. blocking roads). Also labeled as a "Rebellion of the Poor" and sometimes organized by Abahlali baseMjondolo.

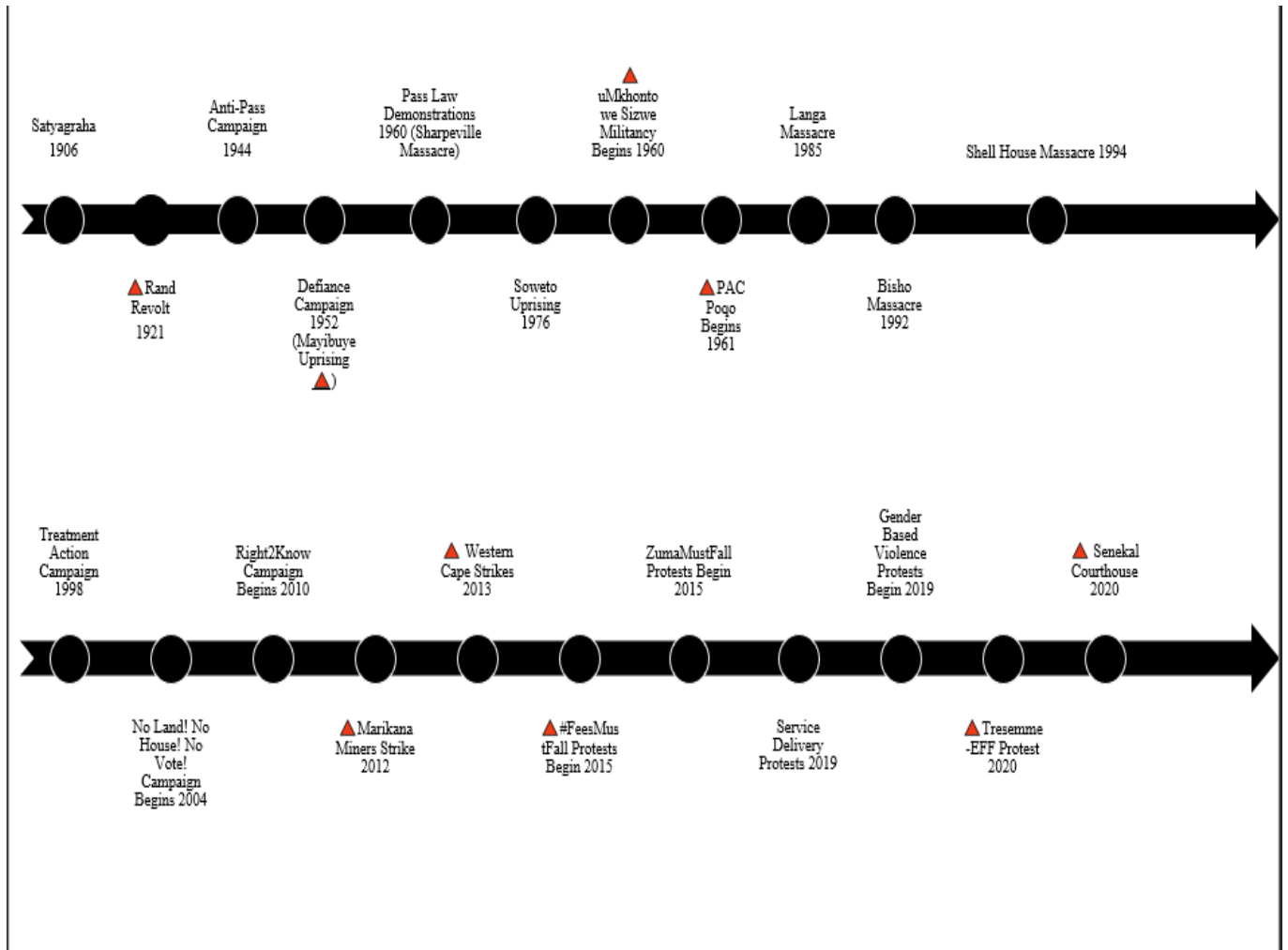
Gender-Based Violence Protests (2019- Present): Protests broke out in 2019 following the brutal assault and murder of 20 year old college student Uyinene Mrwetyana. Protestors called for an end to gender-based violence in the country, and used hashtags like #AmINext online. Protests over gender-based violence broke out once more in August 2020, protesting the rise in domestic violence during the COVID-19 lockdown. President Ramaphosa has declared gender-based violence a "second pandemic" in the country.

□ Tresemme/EFF led protest (September 2020): Protests erupted after the retail pharmacy chain Clicks hung up two Tresemme advertisements which were perceived to be racist. The advertisements contrasted the hair of two women, one a black woman with curly, textured hair

labeled as “fizzy,” and that of a white woman with “fine” desirable hair. The EFF led protests where multiple Clicks stores were trashed, forcing the company to shut its doors for a day. Clicks alleged that EFF supporters had harassed its employees in a court order it obtained against the EFF.

□ Senekal Courthouse (2020): A protest staged by white farmers outside Senekal Courthouse led to the storming of a court building and the burning of a police vehicle. South African police reportedly fired stun grenades to disperse the protesters, who were gathered to protest the murder of Brendan Horner, a white farmer. Protestors demanded that the accused murderers be handed over to them. The EFF staged a countermarch outside of the Courthouse where there was tension between the groups, but no violence was reported to have broken out.

Appendix B.2 Graphic Timeline of Major Protest Movements



Key: ▲ : Indicates Instance of Violent Protest/Response by Protestors