[Template:About](/wiki/Template:About" \o "Template:About) [Template:Use South African English](/wiki/Template:Use_South_African_English) [Template:Use dmy dates](/wiki/Template:Use_dmy_dates) [Template:Apartheid](/wiki/Template:Apartheid) [Template:Segregation](/wiki/Template:Segregation) [Template:History of South Africa](/wiki/Template:History_of_South_Africa)

**Apartheid** (South African English: [Template:IPAc-en](/wiki/Template:IPAc-en); [Template:IPA-af](/wiki/Template:IPA-af); an [Afrikaans](/wiki/Afrikaans)[[1]](#cite_note-1) word meaning "separateness", or "the state of being apart", literally "[apart](/wiki/Wikt:apart#English)[-hood](/wiki/Wikt:-hood#English)")[[2]](#cite_note-2)[[3]](#cite_note-3) was a system of [racial segregation](/wiki/Racial_segregation) in [South Africa](/wiki/South_Africa) enforced through legislation by the [National Party](/wiki/National_Party_(South_Africa)) (NP), the governing party from 1948 to 1994. Under apartheid, the rights, associations, and movements of the majority black inhabitants and other ethnic groups were curtailed, and white [minority rule](/wiki/Minority_rule) was maintained. Apartheid was developed after [World War II](/wiki/World_War_II) by the Afrikaner-dominated National Party and [Broederbond](/wiki/Broederbond) organisations. The [ideology](/wiki/Ideology) was also enforced in [South West Africa](/wiki/South_West_Africa), which was administered by South Africa under a [League of Nations](/wiki/League_of_Nations) mandate (revoked in 1966 via United Nations Resolution 2145),[[4]](#cite_note-4) until it gained independence as [Namibia](/wiki/Namibia) in 1990.[[5]](#cite_note-5) By extension, the term is currently used for forms of systematic segregation established by the state authority in a country against the social and civil rights of a certain group of citizens due to ethnic prejudices.[[6]](#cite_note-6) the Native Land Act (1913) prevented blacks, except those in the Cape, from buying land outside "reserves",[[19]](#cite_note-19) the Natives in Urban Areas Bill (1918) was designed to force blacks into "locations",[[20]](#cite_note-20) the Urban Areas Act (1923) introduced [residential segregation](/wiki/Residential_segregation) and provided cheap labour for industry led by white people, the Colour Bar Act (1926) prevented black mine workers from practising skilled trades, the Native Administration Act (1927) made the British Crown, rather than [paramount chiefs](/wiki/Paramount_chief), the supreme head over all African affairs,[[21]](#cite_note-21)[Template:Better source](/wiki/Template:Better_source) the Native Land and Trust Act (1936) complemented the 1913 Native Land Act and, in the same year, the Representation of Natives Act removed previous black voters from the Cape voters' roll and allowed them to elect three whites to Parliament.[[22]](#cite_note-22)[Template:Better source](/wiki/Template:Better_source) One of the first pieces of segregating legislation enacted by [Jan Smuts'](/wiki/Jan_Smuts) [United Party](/wiki/United_Party_(South_Africa)) government was the [Asiatic Land Tenure Bill (1946)](/wiki/Asiatic_Land_Tenure_and_Indian_Representation_Act,_1946), which banned land sales to Indians.[[23]](#cite_note-23) The United Party government began to move away from the rigid enforcement of segregationist laws during [World War II](/wiki/World_War_II).[[24]](#cite_note-24) Amid fears integration would eventually lead to racial assimilation, the legislature established the [Sauer Commission](/wiki/Sauer_Commission) to investigate the effects of the United Party's policies. The commission concluded that integration would bring about a "loss of personality" for all [racial groups](/wiki/Race_(classification_of_human_beings)).

## Contents

* 1 Institution[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=2)]
  + 1.1 Election of 1948[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=3)]
  + 1.2 Legislation[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=4)]
  + 1.3 Disenfranchisement of Coloured voters[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=5)]
  + 1.4 Divide among white South Africans[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=6)]
* 2 Homeland system[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=7)]
  + 2.1 International recognition of the Bantustans[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=8)]
* 3 Asians during apartheid[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=14)]
* 4 Conservatism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=15)]
* 5 Internal resistance[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=16)]
* 6 International relations[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=17)]
  + 6.1 Commonwealth[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=18)]
  + 6.2 United Nations[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=19)]
  + 6.3 Catholic Church[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=20)]
  + 6.4 Organisation for African Unity[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=21)]
  + 6.5 Outward-looking policy[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=22)]
  + 6.6 Cultural and sporting isolation[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=23)]
  + 6.7 Western influence[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=24)]
  + 6.8 South African Border War[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=25)]
  + 6.9 Total onslaught[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=26)]
  + 6.10 Cross-border raids[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=27)]
* 7 State security[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=28)]
  + 7.1 State of emergency[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=29)]
* 8 Final years of apartheid[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=30)]
  + 8.1 Factors[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=31)]
    - 8.1.1 Institutional racism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=32)]
    - 8.1.2 Economic contradictions[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=33)]
    - 8.1.3 Western influence[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=34)]
  + 8.2 Tricameral parliament[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=35)]
  + 8.3 Reforms and contact with the ANC under Botha[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=36)]
  + 8.4 Presidency of F.W. de Klerk[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=37)]
  + 8.5 Negotiations[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=38)]
  + 8.6 1994 election[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=39)]
* 9 Contrition[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=40)]
* 10 See also[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=41)]
* 11 References[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=42)]
* 12 Further reading[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=43)]
* 13 External links[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=44)]

## Institution[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=2)]

### Election of 1948[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=3)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main)

[thumb|right|](/wiki/File:DFMalanPortret.jpg)[Daniel François Malan](/wiki/Daniel_François_Malan), the first apartheid prime minister (1948[Template:Ndash](/wiki/Template:Ndash)1954)

The Union of South Africa had allowed social custom and law to govern the consideration of multiracial affairs and of the allocation, in racial terms, of access to economic, social, and political status.[[25]](#cite_note-25) Most [white South Africans](/wiki/White_South_African), regardless of their own differences, accepted the prevailing pattern. Nevertheless, by 1948 it remained apparent that there were occasional gaps in the social structure, whether legislated or otherwise, concerning the rights and opportunities of nonwhites. The rapid economic development of World War II attracted black migrant workers in large numbers to chief industrial centres, where they compensated for the wartime shortage of white labour. However, this escalated rate of black urbanisation went unrecognised by the South African government, which failed to accommodate the influx with parallel expansion in housing or social services.[[25]](#cite_note-25) Overcrowding, spiking crime rates, and disillusionment resulted; urban blacks came to support a new generation of leaders influenced by the principles of self-determination and popular freedoms enshrined in such statements as the [Atlantic Charter](/wiki/Atlantic_Charter). Whites reacted negatively to the changes, allowing the [*Herenigde Nasionale Party*](/wiki/Herenigde_Nasionale_Party) (or simply [*National Party*](/wiki/National_Party_(South_Africa))) to convince a large segment of the voting bloc that the impotence of the United Party in curtailing the evolving position of nonwhites indicated that the organisation had fallen under the influence of Western liberals.[[25]](#cite_note-25) Many [Afrikaners](/wiki/Afrikaners), whites chiefly of [Dutch](/wiki/Dutch_people) descent but with early infusions of [Germans](/wiki/Germans) and [French Huguenots](/wiki/Huguenot) who were soon assimilated, also resented what they perceived as disempowerment by an underpaid black workforce and the superior economic power and prosperity of white English speakers.[[26]](#cite_note-26) In addition, Jan Smuts, as a strong advocate of the [United Nations](/wiki/United_Nations), lost domestic support when South Africa was criticised for its colour bar and continued mandate of [South West Africa](/wiki/South_West_Africa) by other UN member states.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Afrikaner nationalists proclaimed that they offered the voters a new policy to ensure continued white domination.[[28]](#cite_note-28) This policy was initially expounded from a theory drafted by [Hendrik Verwoerd](/wiki/Hendrik_Verwoerd) and was presented to the National Party by the [Sauer Commission](/wiki/Sauer_Commission).[[25]](#cite_note-25) It called for a systematic effort to organise the relations, rights, and privileges of the races as officially defined through a series of parliamentary acts and administrative decrees. Segregation had thus been pursued only in major matters, such as separate schools, and local society rather than law had been depended upon to enforce most separation; it should now be extended to everything.[[25]](#cite_note-25) The party gave this policy a name[Template:Snds](/wiki/Template:Snds)*apartheid* (apartness). Apartheid was to be the basic ideological and practical foundation of Afrikaner politics for the next quarter of a century.[[28]](#cite_note-28) The National Party's election platform stressed that apartheid would preserve a market for white employment in which nonwhites could not compete. On the issues of black urbanisation, the regulation of nonwhite labour, influx control, social security, farm tariffs, and nonwhite taxation the United Party's policy remained contradictory and confused.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Its traditional bases of support not only took mutually exclusive positions, but found themselves increasingly at odds with each other. Smuts' reluctance to consider South African foreign policy against the mounting tensions of the [Cold War](/wiki/Cold_War) also stirred up discontent, while the nationalists promised to purge the state and public service of communist sympathisers.[[27]](#cite_note-27) First to desert the United Party were Afrikaner farmers, who wished to see a change in influx control due to problems with squatters, as well as higher prices for their maize and other produce in the face of the mineowners' demand for cheap food policies. Always identified with the affluent and capitalist, the party also failed to appeal to its working class constituents.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Populist rhetoric allowed the National Party to sweep eight constituencies in the mining and industrial centres of the [Witwatersrand](/wiki/Witwatersrand) and five more in [Pretoria](/wiki/Pretoria). Barring the predominantly English-speaking landowner electorate of the [Natal](/wiki/Natal_Province), the United Party was defeated in almost every rural district. Its urban losses in the nation's most populous province, the [Transvaal](/wiki/Transvaal_Province), proved equally devastating.[[27]](#cite_note-27) As the voting system was [disproportionately weighted](/wiki/Malapportionment) in favour of rural constituencies and the Transvaal in particular, the 1948 election catapulted the Herenigde Nasionale Party from a small minority party to a commanding position with an eight-vote parliamentary lead.[[29]](#cite_note-29)[[30]](#cite_note-30) [Daniel François Malan](/wiki/Daniel_François_Malan) became the first nationalist prime minister, with the aim of implementing the apartheid philosophy and silencing liberal opposition.[[25]](#cite_note-25)

### Legislation[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=4)]

[Template:Apartheid legislation in South Africa](/wiki/Template:Apartheid_legislation_in_South_Africa) [Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main)

NP leaders argued that South Africa did not comprise a single nation, but was made up of four distinct racial groups: white, black, coloured and Indian. Such groups were split into 13 nations or racial federations. White people encompassed the English and [Afrikaans](/wiki/Afrikaans) language groups; the black populace was divided into ten such groups.

The state passed laws that paved the way for "grand apartheid", which was centred on separating races on a large scale, by compelling people to live in separate places defined by race. This strategy was in part adopted from "left-over" British rule that separated different racial groups after they took control of the [Boer republics](/wiki/Boer_republics) in the [Anglo-Boer war](/wiki/Anglo-Boer_war). This created the black-only "townships" or "locations", where blacks were relocated to their own towns. In addition, "petty apartheid" laws were passed. The principal apartheid laws were as follows.[[31]](#cite_note-31) The first grand apartheid law was the [Population Registration Act](/wiki/Population_Registration_Act) of 1950, which formalised racial classification and introduced an identity card for all persons over the age of 18, specifying their racial group.[[32]](#cite_note-32) Official teams or Boards were established to come to a conclusion on those people whose race was unclear.[[33]](#cite_note-33) This caused difficulty, especially for coloured people, separating their families when members were allocated different races.[[34]](#cite_note-34) The second pillar of grand apartheid was the [Group Areas Act](/wiki/Group_Areas_Act) of 1950.[[35]](#cite_note-35) Until then, most settlements had people of different races living side by side. This Act put an end to diverse areas and determined where one lived according to race. Each race was allotted its own area, which was used in later years as a basis of forced removal.[[36]](#cite_note-36) The [Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act](/wiki/Prevention_of_Illegal_Squatting_Act,_1951) of 1951 allowed the government to demolish black [shanty town](/wiki/Shanty_town) slums and forced white employers to pay for the construction of housing for those black workers who were permitted to reside in cities otherwise reserved for whites.[[37]](#cite_note-37) The [Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act](/wiki/Prohibition_of_Mixed_Marriages_Act) of 1949 prohibited marriage between persons of different races, and the [Immorality Act](/wiki/Immorality_Act) of 1950 made [sexual relations with a person of a different race](/wiki/Miscegenation) a [criminal offence](/wiki/Criminal_offence).

Under the [Reservation of Separate Amenities Act](/wiki/Reservation_of_Separate_Amenities_Act) of 1953, municipal grounds could be reserved for a particular race, creating, among other things, separate beaches, buses, hospitals, schools and universities. Signboards such as "whites only" applied to public areas, even including park benches.[[38]](#cite_note-38) Blacks were provided with services greatly inferior to those of whites, and, to a lesser extent, to those of Indian and coloured people.<ref name=crdi>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref>

Further laws had the aim of suppressing resistance, especially armed resistance, to apartheid. The [Suppression of Communism Act](/wiki/Suppression_of_Communism_Act) of 1950 banned any party subscribing to [Communism](/wiki/Communism). The act defined Communism and its aims so sweepingly that anyone who opposed government policy risked being labelled as a Communist. Since the law specifically stated that Communism aimed to disrupt racial harmony, it was frequently used to gag opposition to apartheid. Disorderly gatherings were banned, as were certain organisations that were deemed threatening to the government.

[Education](/wiki/Education_in_South_Africa) was segregated by the 1953 [Bantu Education Act](/wiki/Bantu_Education_Act), which crafted a separate system of education for black South African students and was designed to prepare black people for lives as a labouring class.[[39]](#cite_note-39) In 1959 separate universities were created for black, coloured and Indian people. Existing universities were not permitted to enroll new black students. The Afrikaans Medium Decree of 1974 required the use of [Afrikaans](/wiki/Afrikaans) and English on an equal basis in high schools outside the homelands.[[40]](#cite_note-40) The [Bantu Authorities Act of 1951](/wiki/Bantu_Authorities_Act,_1951) created separate government structures for blacks and whites and was the first piece of legislation to support the government's plan of separate development in the [bantustans](/wiki/Bantustan). The Promotion of Black Self-Government Act of 1959 entrenched the NP policy of nominally independent "homelands" for blacks. So-called "self–governing Bantu units" were proposed, which would have devolved administrative powers, with the promise later of [autonomy](/wiki/Autonomy) and [self-government](/wiki/Self-government). It also abolished the seats of white representatives of black South Africans and removed from the rolls the few blacks still qualified to vote. The [Bantu Investment Corporation Act](/wiki/Bantu_Investment_Corporation_Act) of 1959 set up a mechanism to transfer capital to the homelands to create employment there. Legislation of 1967 allowed the government to stop industrial development in "white" cities and redirect such development to the "homelands". The [Black Homeland Citizenship Act](/wiki/Black_Homeland_Citizenship_Act) of 1970 marked a new phase in the Bantustan strategy. It changed the status of blacks to citizens of one of the ten autonomous territories. The aim was to ensure a demographic majority of white people within South Africa by having all ten Bantustans achieve full independence.

Interracial contact in sport was frowned upon, but there were no segregatory sports laws.

The government tightened pass laws compelling blacks to carry identity documents, to prevent the immigration of blacks from other countries. To reside in a city, blacks had to be in employment there. Until 1956 women were for the most part excluded from these *pass* requirements, as attempts to introduce *pass laws* for women were met with fierce resistance.[[41]](#cite_note-41)

### Disenfranchisement of Coloured voters[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=5)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main)

[thumb|left|Cape Coloured children in](/wiki/File:Cape-coloured-children.jpg) [Bonteheuwel](/wiki/Bonteheuwel)

In 1950, D F Malan announced the NP's intention to create a Coloured Affairs Department.[[42]](#cite_note-42) [J.G. Strijdom](/wiki/J.G._Strijdom), Malan's successor as Prime Minister, moved to strip voting rights from black and coloured residents of the Cape Province. The previous government had introduced the Separate Representation of Voters Bill into Parliament in 1951; however, four voters, G Harris, W D Franklin, W D Collins and Edgar Deane, challenged its validity in court with support from the United Party.[[43]](#cite_note-43) The Cape Supreme Court upheld the act, but reversed by the Appeal Court, finding the act invalid because a two-thirds majority in a joint sitting of both Houses of [Parliament](/wiki/Parliament_of_South_Africa) was needed to change the [entrenched clauses](/wiki/Entrenched_clause) of the [Constitution](/wiki/Constitution_of_South_Africa#Previous_constitutions_of_South_Africa).[[44]](#cite_note-44) The government then introduced the High Court of Parliament Bill (1952), which gave Parliament the power to overrule decisions of the court.[[45]](#cite_note-45) The Cape Supreme Court and the Appeal Court declared this invalid too.[[46]](#cite_note-46) In 1955 the Strijdom government increased the number of judges in the Appeal Court from five to 11, and appointed pro-Nationalist judges to fill the new places.[[47]](#cite_note-47) In the same year they introduced the Senate Act, which increased the Senate from 49 seats to 89.[[48]](#cite_note-48) Adjustments were made such that the NP controlled 77 of these seats.[[49]](#cite_note-49) The parliament met in a joint sitting and passed the [Separate Representation of Voters Act](/wiki/Separate_Representation_of_Voters_Act) in 1956, which transferred coloured voters from the common voters' roll in the Cape to a new coloured voters' roll.[[50]](#cite_note-50) Immediately after the vote, the Senate was restored to its original size. The Senate Act was contested in the Supreme Court, but the recently enlarged Appeal Court, packed with government-supporting judges, upheld the act, and also the Act to remove coloured voters.[[51]](#cite_note-51) The 1956 law allowed Coloureds to elect four people to Parliament, but a 1969 law abolished those seats and stripped Coloureds of their right to vote. Since Asians had never been allowed to vote, this resulted in whites being the sole enfranchised group.

A 2016 study in the [Journal of Politics](/wiki/The_Journal_of_Politics) suggests that disenfranchisement in South Africa had a significant negative impact on basic service delivery to the disenfranchized.[[52]](#cite_note-52)

### Divide among white South Africans[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=6)]

Before South Africa became a republic, politics among white South Africans was typified by the division between the mainly [Afrikaner](/wiki/Afrikaner) pro-republic conservative and the largely English anti-republican liberal sentiments,[[53]](#cite_note-53) with the legacy of the [Boer War](/wiki/Second_Boer_War) still a factor for some people. Once the status of a republic was attained, Prime Minister [Hendrik Verwoerd](/wiki/Hendrik_Verwoerd) called for improved relations and greater accord between those of British descent and the Afrikaners.[[54]](#cite_note-54) He claimed that the only difference now was between those who supported apartheid and those in opposition to it. The ethnic divide would no longer be between Afrikaans speakers and English speakers, but rather white and black ethnicities. Most Afrikaners supported the notion of unanimity of white people to ensure their safety. White voters of British descent were divided. Many had opposed a republic, leading to a majority "no" vote in [Natal](/wiki/Natal_Province).[[55]](#cite_note-55) Later, some of them recognised the perceived need for white unity, convinced by the growing trend of decolonisation elsewhere in Africa, which concerned them. British Prime Minister [Harold Macmillan's](/wiki/Harold_Macmillan) "[Wind of Change](/wiki/Wind_of_Change_(speech))" speech left the British faction feeling that Britain had abandoned them.[[56]](#cite_note-56) The more conservative English-speakers gave support to Verwoerd;[[57]](#cite_note-57) others were troubled by the severing of ties with Britain and remained loyal to the Crown.[[58]](#cite_note-58) They were acutely displeased at the choice between British and South African nationality. Although Verwoerd tried to bond these different blocs, the subsequent ballot illustrated only a minor swell of support,[[59]](#cite_note-59) indicating that a great many English speakers remained apathetic, and that Verwoerd had not succeeded in uniting the white population, and a divide between Anglo and Afrikaner whites remained.

## Homeland system[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=7)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main)

[thumb|Map of South Africa showing the location of bantustans](/wiki/File:Bantustans_in_South_Africa.svg)

[thumb|Rural area in](/wiki/File:Ciskei2.jpg) [Ciskei](/wiki/Ciskei), one of the apartheid era [homelands](/wiki/Homeland)

Under the homeland system, the government attempted to divide South Africa into a number of separate states, each of which was supposed to develop into a separate nation-state for a different ethnic group.<ref name=autogenerated1>p. 15</ref>

Territorial separation was hardly a new institution. There were, for example, the "reserves" created under the British government in the nineteenth century. Under apartheid, 13 percent of the land was reserved for black homelands, a relatively small amount compared with the total population, and generally in economically unproductive areas of the country. The Tomlinson Commission of 1954 justified apartheid and the homeland system, but stated that additional land ought to be given to the homelands, a recommendation that was not carried out.[[60]](#cite_note-60) When Verwoerd became Prime Minister in 1958, the policy of "separate development" came into being, with the homeland structure as one of its cornerstones. Verwoerd came to believe in the granting of independence to these homelands. The government justified its plans on the basis that "(the) government's policy is, therefore, not a policy of discrimination on the grounds of race or colour, but a policy of differentiation on the ground of nationhood, of different nations, granting to each self-determination within the borders of their homelands[Template:Sndshence](/wiki/Template:Snds) this policy of separate development".[[61]](#cite_note-61) Under the homelands system, blacks would no longer be citizens of South Africa, becoming citizens of the independent homelands who worked in South Africa as foreign migrant labourers on temporary work permits. In 1958 the Promotion of Black Self-Government Act was passed, and border industries and the Bantu Investment Corporation were established to promote economic development and the provision of employment in or near the homelands. Many black South Africans who had never resided in their identified homeland were forcibly removed from the cities to the homelands.

Ten homelands were allocated to different black ethnic groups: [Lebowa](/wiki/Lebowa) (North [Sotho](/wiki/Basotho), also referred to as Pedi), [QwaQwa](/wiki/QwaQwa) (South Sotho), [Bophuthatswana](/wiki/Bophuthatswana) ([Tswana](/wiki/Tswana_people)), [KwaZulu](/wiki/KwaZulu) ([Zulu](/wiki/Zulu_people)), [KaNgwane](/wiki/KaNgwane) ([Swazi](/wiki/Swazi_people)), [Transkei](/wiki/Transkei) and [Ciskei](/wiki/Ciskei) ([Xhosa](/wiki/Xhosa_people)), [Gazankulu](/wiki/Gazankulu) ([Tsonga](/wiki/Shangaan)), [Venda](/wiki/Venda) ([Venda](/wiki/Venda_people)) and [KwaNdebele](/wiki/KwaNdebele) ([Ndebele](/wiki/Ndebele_people_(South_Africa))). Four of these were declared independent by the South African government: [Transkei](/wiki/Transkei) in 1976, [Bophuthatswana](/wiki/Bophuthatswana) in 1977, [Venda](/wiki/Venda) in 1979, and [Ciskei](/wiki/Ciskei) in 1981 (known as the TBVC states). Once a homeland was granted its nominal independence, its designated citizens had their South African citizenship revoked and replaced with citizenship in their homeland. These people were then issued passports instead of passbooks. Citizens of the nominally autonomous homelands also had their South African citizenship circumscribed, meaning they were no longer legally considered South African.[[62]](#cite_note-62) The South African government attempted to draw an equivalence between their view of black citizens of the homelands and the problems which other countries faced through entry of [illegal immigrants](/wiki/Illegal_immigrants).

### International recognition of the Bantustans[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=8)]

Bantustans within the borders of South Africa were classified as "self-governing" or "independent". In theory, self-governing Bantustans had control over many aspects of their internal functioning but were not yet sovereign nations. Independent Bantustans (Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei; also known as the TBVC states) were intended to be fully sovereign. In reality, they had no significant economic infrastructure and with few exceptions encompassed swaths of disconnected territory. This meant all the Bantustans were little more than puppet states controlled by South Africa.

Throughout the existence of the independent Bantustans, South Africa remained the only country to recognise their independence. Nevertheless, internal organisations of many countries, as well as the South African government, lobbied for their recognition. For example, upon the foundation of Transkei, the Swiss-South African Association encouraged the Swiss government to recognise the new state. In 1976, leading up to a United States House of Representatives resolution urging the President to not recognise Transkei, the South African government intensely lobbied lawmakers to oppose the bill.[[63]](#cite_note-63) By the mid-1950s, Black South Africans would also use media to challenge the "racialisation" of sports in South Africa; anti-apartheid forces had begun to pinpoint sport as the "weakness" of white national morale. Black journalists for the *Johannesburg Drum* magazine were the first to give the issue public exposure, with an intrepid special issue in 1955 that asked, "Why shouldn't our blacks be allowed in the SA team?"[[81]](#cite_note-81) As time progressed, international standing with South Africa would continue to be strained. In the 1980s, as the oppressive system was slowly collapsing the ANC and National Party started negotiations on the end of apartheid. Football associations also discussed the formation of a single, non-racial controlling body. This unity process accelerated in the late 1980s and led to the creation, in December 1991, of an incorporated South African Football Association. On 3 July 1992, FIFA finally welcomed South Africa back into international football.

Sport has long been an important part of life in South Africa, and the boycotting of games by international teams had a profound effect on the white population, perhaps more so than the trade embargoes did. After the re-acceptance of South Africa's sports teams by the international community, sport played a major unifying role between the country's races. Mandela's open support of the previously white-dominated rugby fraternity when South Africa hosted and won the [1995 Rugby World Cup](/wiki/1995_Rugby_World_Cup) went a long way to repairing broken race relations.

## Asians during apartheid[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=14)]

[Template:Further](/wiki/Template:Further) Defining its Asian population, a minority that did not appear to belong to any of the initial [Template:Clarify](/wiki/Template:Clarify) three designated groups, was a constant dilemma for the apartheid government.

For political reasons, the classification of "[honorary white](/wiki/Honorary_white)" was granted to immigrants from [Japan](/wiki/Japan), [Taiwan](/wiki/Taiwan), and [South Korea](/wiki/South_Korea)[Template:Sndscountries](/wiki/Template:Snds) with which South Africa maintained diplomatic and economic relations[[82]](#cite_note-82)[Template:Sndsand](/wiki/Template:Snds) to their descendants.

[Indian South Africans](/wiki/Indian_South_Africans) during apartheid were classified many ranges of categories from "Asian" to "Black" [Template:Clarify](/wiki/Template:Clarify) to "Coloured" [Template:Clarify](/wiki/Template:Clarify) and even the mono-ethnic category of "Indian", but never as White, having been considered "non-White" throughout South Africa's history. The group faced severe discrimination during the apartheid regime and were subject to numerous racialist policies.

[Chinese South Africans](/wiki/Chinese_South_Africans)[Template:Sndswho](/wiki/Template:Snds) were descendants of migrant workers who came to work in the gold mines around Johannesburg in the late 19th century[Template:Sndswere](/wiki/Template:Snds) initially either classified as "Coloured" or "Other Asian" and hence "non-white" and were subject to numerous forms of discrimination and restriction.[[83]](#cite_note-83) It was not until 1984 that South African Chinese, increased to about 10,000, were given the same official rights as the Japanese, to be treated as whites in terms of the Group Areas Act, although they still faced discrimination and did not receive all the benefits/rights of their newly obtained honorary white status such as voting.[Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed)

[Indonesians](/wiki/Overseas_Indonesians) arrived at the Cape of Good Hope as slaves until the abolishment of slavery during the 1800s. They were predominantly Muslim, were allowed religious freedom and formed their own ethnic group/community known as [Cape Malays](/wiki/Cape_Malays). They were classified as part of the Coloured racial group.[[84]](#cite_note-84) This was the same for South Africans of Malaysian descent who were also classified as part of the Coloured race and thus considered "not-white".[[75]](#cite_note-75) South Africans of Filipino descent were classified as "black" due to historical outlook on Filipinos by White South Africans, and many of them lived in Bantustans.[[75]](#cite_note-75)

## Conservatism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=15)]

Alongside apartheid the NP government implemented a programme of [social conservatism](/wiki/Social_conservatism). Pornography,[[85]](#cite_note-85) gambling[[86]](#cite_note-86) and other such "vices" were banned. Cinemas, shops selling alcohol and most other businesses were forbidden from operating on Sundays.[[87]](#cite_note-87) [Abortion](/wiki/Abortion),[[88]](#cite_note-88) [homosexuality](/wiki/Homosexuality)[[89]](#cite_note-89) and [sex education](/wiki/Sex_education) were also restricted; abortion was legal only in cases of rape or if the mother's life was threatened.[[88]](#cite_note-88) Television [was not introduced](/wiki/Television_in_South_Africa) until 1976 because the government viewed English programming as a threat to the Afrikaans language.[[90]](#cite_note-90) Television was run on apartheid lines[Template:SndsTV](/wiki/Template:Snds)1 broadcast in Afrikaans and English (geared to a white audience), TV2 in Zulu and Xhosa and TV3 in Sotho, Tswana and Pedi (both geared to a black audience), and TV4 mostly showed programmes for an urban-black audience.

## Internal resistance[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=16)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main)

[thumb|Painting of the Sharpeville Massacre of March 1960](/wiki/File:Murder_at_Sharpeville_21_March_1960.jpg)

Apartheid sparked significant internal resistance.[[11]](#cite_note-11) The government responded to a series of popular uprisings and protests with police brutality, which in turn increased local support for the armed resistance struggle.[[91]](#cite_note-91)Internal resistance to the apartheid system in South Africa came from several sectors of society and saw the creation of organisations dedicated variously to peaceful protests, passive resistance and armed insurrection.

In 1949, the [youth wing](/wiki/African_National_Congress_Youth_League) of the [African National Congress](/wiki/African_National_Congress) (ANC) took control of the organisation and started advocating a radical black nationalist programme. The new young leaders proposed that white authority could only be overthrown through mass campaigns. In 1950 that philosophy saw the launch of the Programme of Action, a series of strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience actions that led to occasional violent clashes with the authorities.

In 1959, a group of disenchanted ANC members formed the [Pan Africanist Congress](/wiki/Pan_Africanist_Congress) (PAC), which organised a demonstration against pass books on 21 March 1960. One of those protests was held in the township of [Sharpeville](/wiki/Sharpeville), where 69 people were killed by police in the [Sharpeville massacre](/wiki/Sharpeville_massacre).

In the wake of Sharpeville, the government declared a state of emergency. More than 18,000 people were arrested, including leaders of the ANC and PAC, and both organisations were banned. The resistance went underground, with some leaders in exile abroad and others engaged in campaigns of [domestic sabotage](/wiki/Sabotage) and [terrorism](/wiki/Terrorism).

In May 1961, before the declaration of South Africa as a Republic, an assembly representing the banned ANC called for negotiations between the members of the different ethnic groupings, threatening demonstrations and strikes during the inauguration of the Republic if their calls were ignored.

When the government overlooked them, the strikers (among the main organisers was a 42-year-old, [Thembu](/wiki/Thembu)-origin [Nelson Mandela](/wiki/Nelson_Mandela)) carried out their threats. The government countered swiftly by giving police the authority to arrest people for up to twelve days and detaining many strike leaders amid numerous cases of police brutality.[[92]](#cite_note-92) Defeated, the protesters called off their strike. The ANC then chose to launch an armed struggle through a newly formed military wing, [Umkhonto we Sizwe](/wiki/Umkhonto_we_Sizwe) (MK), which would perform acts of sabotage on tactical state structures. Its first sabotage plans were carried out on 16 December 1961, the anniversary of the [Battle of Blood River](/wiki/Battle_of_Blood_River).

In the 1970s, the [Black Consciousness Movement](/wiki/Black_Consciousness_Movement) was created by tertiary students influenced by the American Black Power movement. BC endorsed black pride and African customs and did much to alter the feelings of inadequacy instilled among black people by the apartheid system. The leader of the movement, [Steve Biko](/wiki/Steve_Biko), was taken into custody on 18 August 1977 and was beaten to death in detention.

In 1976, secondary students in Soweto took to the streets in the [Soweto uprising](/wiki/Soweto_uprising) to protest against the imposition of Afrikaans as the only language of instruction. On 16 June, police opened fire on students protesting peacefully. According to official reports 23 people were killed, but the number of people who died is usually given as 176, with estimates of up to 700.[[93]](#cite_note-93)[[94]](#cite_note-94)[[95]](#cite_note-95) In the following years several student organisations were formed to protest against apartheid, and these organisations were central to urban school boycotts in 1980 and 1983 and rural boycotts in 1985 and 1986.

In parallel with student protests, labour unions started protest action in 1973 and 1974. After 1976 unions and workers are considered to have played an important role in the struggle against apartheid, filling the gap left by the banning of political parties. In 1979 black trade unions were legalised and could engage in collective bargaining, although strikes were still illegal. Economist [Thomas Sowell](/wiki/Thomas_Sowell) wrote that basic [supply and demand](/wiki/Supply_and_demand) led to violations of Apartheid "on a massive scale" throughout the nation, simply because there were not enough white South African business owners to meet the demand for various goods and services. Large portions of the garment industry and construction of new homes, for example, were effectively owned and operated by blacks, who either worked surreptitiously or who circumvented the law with a white person as a nominal, figurehead manager.[[96]](#cite_note-96) At roughly the same time, churches and church groups also emerged as pivotal points of resistance. Church leaders were not immune to prosecution, and certain faith-based organisations were banned, but the clergy generally had more freedom to criticise the government than militant groups did.

Although the majority of whites supported apartheid, some 20 percent did not. Parliamentary opposition was galvanised by [Helen Suzman](/wiki/Helen_Suzman), [Colin Eglin](/wiki/Colin_Eglin) and [Harry Schwarz](/wiki/Harry_Schwarz), who formed the [Progressive Federal Party](/wiki/Progressive_Federal_Party). Extra-parliamentary resistance was largely centred in the [South African Communist Party](/wiki/South_African_Communist_Party) and women's organisation the [Black Sash](/wiki/Black_Sash). Women were also notable in their involvement in trade union organisations and banned political parties.

## International relations[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=17)]

[Template:International opposition to Apartheid](/wiki/Template:International_opposition_to_Apartheid) [Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main)

### Commonwealth[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=18)]

South Africa's policies were subject to international scrutiny in 1960, when Macmillan criticised them during his celebrated [Wind of Change](/wiki/Wind_of_Change_(speech)) speech in Cape Town. Weeks later, tensions came to a head in the [Sharpeville Massacre](/wiki/Sharpeville_Massacre), resulting in more international condemnation. Soon afterwards Verwoerd announced a [referendum](/wiki/1960_South_Africa_referendum) on whether the country should become a republic. Verwoerd lowered the voting age for whites to 18 and included whites in [South West Africa](/wiki/South_West_Africa) on the roll. The referendum on 5 October that year asked whites, "Are you in favour of a Republic for the Union?", and 52 percent voted "Yes".[[97]](#cite_note-97) As a consequence of this change of status, South Africa needed to reapply for continued membership of the [Commonwealth](/wiki/Commonwealth_of_Nations), with which it had privileged trade links. India had become a [republic within the Commonwealth](/wiki/Republic_within_the_Commonwealth) in 1950, but it became clear that African and Asian member states would oppose South Africa due to its apartheid policies. As a result, South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth on 31 May 1961, the day that the Republic came into existence.

### United Nations[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=19)]

[Template:Quote](/wiki/Template:Quote)

At the first UN gathering in 1946, South Africa was placed on the agenda. The primary subject in question was the handling of South African Indians, a great cause of divergence between South Africa and India. In 1952, apartheid was again discussed in the aftermath of the Defiance Campaign, and the UN set up a task team to keep watch on the progress of apartheid and the racial state of affairs in South Africa. Although South Africa's racial policies were a cause for concern, most countries in the UN concurred that this was a domestic affair, which fell outside the UN's jurisdiction.[[98]](#cite_note-98) In April 1960, the UN's conservative stance on apartheid changed following the Sharpeville massacre, and the Security Council for the first time agreed on concerted action against the apartheid regime, demanding an end to racial separation and discrimination. From 1960 the ANC began a campaign of armed struggle of which there would later be a charge of 193 acts of terrorism from 1961 to 1963, mainly bombings and murders of civilians.

Instead, the South African government began further suppression, banning the ANC and PAC. In 1961, UN Secretary-General [Dag Hammarskjöld](/wiki/Dag_Hammarskjöld) stopped over in South Africa and subsequently stated that he had been unable to reach agreement with Prime Minister Verwoerd.

In 1961, dismissing an Israeli vote against South African apartheid at the United Nations, Verwoerd famously said, "Israel is not consistent in its new anti-apartheid attitude … they took Israel away from the Arabs after the Arabs lived there for a thousand years. In that, I agree with them. Israel, like South Africa, is an apartheid state."[[99]](#cite_note-99) On 6 November 1962, the [United Nations General Assembly](/wiki/United_Nations_General_Assembly) passed [Resolution 1761](/wiki/UN_General_Assembly_Resolution_1761), condemning apartheid policies. In 1966, the UN held the first of many colloquiums on apartheid. The General Assembly announced 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in memory of the Sharpeville massacre.[[100]](#cite_note-100) In 1971, the General Assembly formally denounced the institution of homelands, and a motion was passed in 1974 to expel South Africa from the UN, but this was vetoed by France, the United Kingdom and the United States, all key trade associates of South Africa.[[101]](#cite_note-101) On 7 August 1963 the [United Nations Security Council](/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council) passed [Resolution 181](/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council_Resolution_181), calling for a voluntary [arms embargo](/wiki/Arms_embargo) against South Africa. In the same year a Special Committee Against Apartheid was established to encourage and oversee plans of action against the regime. From 1964 the US and Britain discontinued their arms trade with South Africa. The Security Council also condemned the Soweto massacre in [Resolution 392](/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council_Resolution_392). In 1977, the voluntary UN arms embargo became mandatory with the passing of [Resolution 418](/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council_Resolution_418).

Economic sanctions against South Africa were also frequently debated as an effective way of putting pressure on the apartheid government. In 1962, the UN General Assembly requested that its members sever political, fiscal and transportation ties with South Africa. In 1968, it proposed ending all cultural, educational and sporting connections as well. Economic sanctions, however, were not made mandatory, because of opposition from South Africa's main trading partners.

In 1973, the UN adopted the Apartheid Convention which defines apartheid and even qualifies it as a [crime against humanity](/wiki/Crime_against_humanity) which might lead to international criminal prosecution of the individuals responsible for perpetrating it.[[102]](#cite_note-102) This convention has however only been ratified by 107 of the 193 member states as of August 2008. The convention was initially drafted by the former USSR and Guinea, before being presented to the UN General Assembly. The convention was adopted with a vote of 91 for, and 4 (Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States) against the convention.

In 1978 and 1983 the UN condemned South Africa at the [World Conference Against Racism](/wiki/World_Conference_Against_Racism).

After much debate, by the late 1980s the United States, the United Kingdom, and 23 other nations had passed laws placing various trade sanctions on South Africa.[[103]](#cite_note-103) A disinvestment from South Africa movement in many countries was similarly widespread, with individual cities and provinces around the world implementing various laws and local regulations forbidding registered corporations under their jurisdiction from doing business with South African firms, factories, or banks.[[104]](#cite_note-104)

### Catholic Church[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=20)]

[Pope John Paul II](/wiki/Pope_John_Paul_II) was an outspoken opponent of apartheid. In 1985, while visiting the [Netherlands](/wiki/Netherlands), he gave an impassioned speech at the [International Court of Justice](/wiki/International_Court_of_Justice) condemning apartheid, proclaiming that "no system of apartheid or separate development will ever be acceptable as a model for the relations between peoples or races."[[105]](#cite_note-105) In September 1988 he made a pilgrimage to countries bordering South Africa, while demonstratively avoiding South Africa itself. During his visit to [Zimbabwe](/wiki/Zimbabwe), he called for economic sanctions against South Africa's government.[[106]](#cite_note-106)

### Organisation for African Unity[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=21)]

[Template:See also](/wiki/Template:See_also)

The [Organisation of African Unity](/wiki/Organisation_of_African_Unity) (OAU) was created in 1963. Its primary objectives were to eradicate colonialism and improve social, political and economic situations in Africa. It censured apartheid and demanded sanctions against South Africa. African states agreed to aid the liberation movements in their fight against apartheid.<ref name=geld>Geldenhuys, Deon (1990). *Isolated states: a comparative analysis.* Cambridge University Press. p. 274.</ref> In 1969, fourteen nations from Central and East Africa gathered in [Lusaka](/wiki/Lusaka), [Zambia](/wiki/Zambia), and formulated the [*Lusaka Manifesto*](/wiki/Lusaka_Manifesto), which was signed on 13 April by all of the countries in attendance except [Malawi](/wiki/Malawi).[[107]](#cite_note-107) This manifesto was later taken on by both the OAU and the United Nations.[[108]](#cite_note-108) The [Lusaka Manifesto](/wiki/Lusaka_Manifesto) summarised the political situations of self-governing African countries, condemning racism and inequity, and calling for black majority rule in all African nations.[[109]](#cite_note-109) It did not rebuff South Africa entirely, though, adopting an appeasing manner towards the apartheid government, and even recognising its autonomy. Although African leaders supported the emancipation of black South Africans, they preferred this to be attained through peaceful means.[[110]](#cite_note-110) South Africa's negative response to the Lusaka Manifesto and rejection of a change to its policies brought about another OAU announcement in October 1971. The *Mogadishu Declaration* stated that South Africa's rebuffing of negotiations meant that its black people could only be freed through military means, and that no African state should converse with the apartheid government.[[111]](#cite_note-111)

### Outward-looking policy[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=22)]

In 1966 [B. J. Vorster](/wiki/B._J._Vorster) became Prime Minister. He was not prepared to dismantle apartheid, but he did try to redress South Africa's isolation and to revitalise the country's global reputation, even those with black-ruled nations in Africa. This he called his "Outward-Looking" policy.[[112]](#cite_note-112)[[113]](#cite_note-113)[[114]](#cite_note-114) Vorster's willingness to talk to African leaders stood in contrast to Verwoerd's refusal to engage with leaders such as [Abubakar Tafawa Balewa](/wiki/Abubakar_Tafawa_Balewa) of [Nigeria](/wiki/Nigeria) in 1962 and [Kenneth Kaunda](/wiki/Kenneth_Kaunda) of [Zambia](/wiki/Zambia) in 1964. In 1966, he met the heads of the neighbouring states of [Lesotho](/wiki/Lesotho), [Swaziland](/wiki/Swaziland) and [Botswana](/wiki/Botswana). In 1967, he offered technological and financial aid to any African state prepared to receive it, asserting that no political strings were attached, aware that many African states needed financial aid despite their opposition to South Africa's racial policies. Many were also tied to South Africa economically because of their migrant labour population working on the South African mines. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland remained outspoken critics of apartheid, but depended on South Africa's economic aid.

[Malawi](/wiki/Malawi) was the first country not on South African borders to accept South African aid. In 1967, the two states set out their political and economic relations, and, in 1969, Malawi became the only country at the assembly which did not sign the Lusaka Manifesto condemning South Africa' apartheid policy. In 1970, Malawian president [Hastings Banda](/wiki/Hastings_Banda) made his first and most successful official stopover in South Africa.

Associations with Mozambique followed suit and were sustained after that country won its sovereignty in 1975. Angola was also granted South African loans. Other countries which formed relationships with South Africa were [Liberia](/wiki/Liberia), [Ivory Coast](/wiki/Ivory_Coast), Madagascar, [Mauritius](/wiki/Mauritius), Gabon, [Zaire](/wiki/Zaire) (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) and the [Central African Republic](/wiki/Central_African_Republic). Although these states condemned apartheid (more than ever after South Africa's denunciation of the Lusaka Manifesto), South Africa's economic and military dominance meant that they remained dependent on South Africa to varying degrees[Template:Clarify](/wiki/Template:Clarify).

### Cultural and sporting isolation[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=23)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) South Africa's isolation in sport began in the mid-1950s and increased throughout the 1960s. Apartheid forbade multiracial sport, which meant that overseas teams, by virtue of their having players of diverse races, could not play in South Africa. In 1956, the [International Table Tennis Federation](/wiki/International_Table_Tennis_Federation) severed its ties with the all-white South African Table Tennis Union, preferring the non-racial South African Table Tennis Board. The apartheid government responded by confiscating the passports of the Board's players so that they were unable to attend international games.

In 1959, the non-racial South African Sports Association (SASA) was formed to secure the rights of all players on the global field. After meeting with no success in its endeavours to attain credit by collaborating with white establishments, SASA approached the [International Olympic Committee](/wiki/International_Olympic_Committee) (IOC) in 1962, calling for South Africa's expulsion from the Olympic Games. The IOC sent South Africa a caution to the effect that, if there were no changes, they would be barred from the [1964 Olympic Games](/wiki/1964_Summer_Olympics). The changes were initiated, and in January 1963, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) was set up. The Anti-Apartheid Movement persisted in its campaign for South Africa's exclusion, and the IOC acceded in barring the country from the 1964 Games in Tokyo. South Africa selected a multi-racial team for the next Games, and the IOC opted for incorporation in the [1968 Games in Mexico](/wiki/1968_Summer_Olympics). Because of protests from AAMs and African nations, however, the IOC was forced to retract the invitation.

Foreign complaints about South Africa's bigoted sports brought more isolation. Racially selected New Zealand sports teams toured South Africa, until the 1970 [All Blacks](/wiki/All_Blacks) rugby tour allowed [Maori](/wiki/Māori_people) to go under the status of "honorary whites". Huge and widespread protests occurred in [New Zealand in 1981](/wiki/1981_South_Africa_rugby_union_tour_of_New_Zealand) against the [Springbok](/wiki/Springboks) tour[Template:Sndsthe](/wiki/Template:Snds) government spent $8 million protecting games using the army and police force. A planned All Black tour to South Africa in 1985 remobilised the New Zealand protesters and it was cancelled. A "rebel tour"[Template:Sndsnot](/wiki/Template:Snds) government sanctioned[Template:Sndswent](/wiki/Template:Snds) ahead in 1986, but after that sporting ties were cut, and New Zealand made a decision not to convey an authorised rugby team to South Africa until the end of apartheid.[[115]](#cite_note-115) Vorster replaced Verwoerd as Prime Minister in 1966 following the latter's assassination, and declared that South Africa would no longer dictate to other countries what their teams should look like. Although this reopened the gate for international sporting meets, it did not signal the end of South Africa's racist sporting policies. In 1968 Vorster went against his policy by refusing to permit [Basil D'Oliveira](/wiki/Basil_D'Oliveira), a Coloured South African-born cricketer, to join the English cricket team on its tour to South Africa. Vorster said that the side had been chosen only to prove a point, and not on merit. After protests, however, "Dolly" was eventually included in the team. Protests against certain tours brought about the cancellation of a number of other visits, including that of an England rugby team touring South Africa in 1969/70.

The first of the "White Bans" occurred in 1971 when the Chairman of the Australian Cricketing Association[Template:Snds](/wiki/Template:Snds)[Sir Don Bradman](/wiki/Don_Bradman)[Template:Sndsflew](/wiki/Template:Snds) to South Africa to meet Vorster. Vorster had expected Bradman to allow the tour of the Australian cricket team to go ahead, but things became heated after Bradman asked why black sportsmen were not allowed to play cricket. Vorster stated that blacks were intellectually inferior and had no finesse for the game. Bradman[Template:Sndsthinking](/wiki/Template:Snds) this ignorant and repugnant[Template:Sndsasked](/wiki/Template:Snds) Vorster if he had heard of a man named [Garry Sobers](/wiki/Garry_Sobers). On his return to Australia, Bradman released a one sentence statement:[[116]](#cite_note-116) [Template:Quote](/wiki/Template:Quote)

In South Africa, Vorster vented his anger publicly against Bradman, while the African National Congress rejoiced. This was the first time a predominantly white nation had taken the side of multiracial sport, producing an unsettling resonance that more "White" boycotts were coming.[[117]](#cite_note-117)Almost twenty years later, on his release from prison, Nelson Mandela asked a visiting Australian statesman if Donald Bradman, his childhood hero, was still alive (Bradman lived until 2001).

In 1971, Vorster altered his policies even further by distinguishing multiracial from multinational sport. Multiracial sport, between teams with players of different races, remained outlawed; multinational sport, however, was now acceptable: international sides would not be subject to South Africa's racial stipulations.

In [1978](/wiki/1978_Commonwealth_Games), Nigeria [boycotted](/wiki/Boycott) the Commonwealth Games because New Zealand's sporting contacts with the South African government were not considered to be in accordance with the 1977 [Gleneagles Agreement](/wiki/Gleneagles_Agreement). Nigeria also led the 32-nation boycott of the [1986 Commonwealth Games](/wiki/1986_Commonwealth_Games) because of British prime minister [Margaret Thatcher's](/wiki/Margaret_Thatcher) ambivalent attitude towards sporting links with South Africa, significantly affecting the quality and profitability of the Games and thus thrusting apartheid into the international spotlight.[[118]](#cite_note-118) Sporting bans were revoked in 1993, when conciliations for a democratic South Africa were well under way.

[Template:Anchor](/wiki/Template:Anchor) In the 1960s, the Anti-Apartheid Movements began to campaign for *cultural* boycotts of apartheid South Africa. Artists were requested not to present or let their works be hosted in South Africa. In 1963, 45 British writers put their signatures to an affirmation approving of the boycott, and, in 1964, American actor [Marlon Brando](/wiki/Marlon_Brando) called for a similar affirmation for films. In 1965, the [Writers' Guild of Great Britain](/wiki/Writers'_Guild_of_Great_Britain) called for a proscription on the sending of films to South Africa. Over sixty American artists signed a statement against apartheid and against professional links with the state. The presentation of some South African plays in Britain and the United States was also vetoed. After the arrival of [television](/wiki/TV) in South Africa in 1975, the British Actors Union, [Equity](/wiki/Equity_(trade_union)), boycotted the service, and no British programme concerning its associates could be sold to South Africa. Sporting and cultural boycotts did not have the same impact as economic sanctions, but they did much to lift consciousness amongst normal South Africans of the global condemnation of apartheid.

### Western influence[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=24)]

[thumb|London "Boycott Apartheid" bus, 1989](/wiki/File:Boycott_Apartheid_Bus,_London,_UK._1989.jpg)

While international opposition to apartheid grew, the [Nordic countries](/wiki/Nordic_countries)[Template:Sndsand](/wiki/Template:Snds) [Sweden](/wiki/Sweden) in particular[Template:Sndsprovided](/wiki/Template:Snds) both moral and financial support for the [ANC](/wiki/African_National_Congress).[[119]](#cite_note-119) On 21 February 1986[Template:Spaced ndasha](/wiki/Template:Spaced_ndash) week before he was murdered[Template:Spaced ndash](/wiki/Template:Spaced_ndash)[Sweden's](/wiki/Sweden) prime minister [Olof Palme](/wiki/Olof_Palme) made the [keynote](/wiki/Keynote) address to the *Swedish People's Parliament Against Apartheid* held in [Stockholm](/wiki/Stockholm).[[120]](#cite_note-120) In addressing the hundreds of anti-apartheid sympathisers as well as leaders and officials from the ANC and the [Anti-Apartheid Movement](/wiki/Anti-Apartheid_Movement) such as [Oliver Tambo](/wiki/Oliver_Tambo), Palme declared:

Apartheid cannot be reformed; it has to be eliminated.[[121]](#cite_note-121)

Other Western countries adopted a more ambivalent position. In [Switzerland](/wiki/Switzerland), the [Swiss-South African Association](/wiki/Swiss-South_African_Association) lobbied on behalf of the South African government. In the 1980s, the US [Reagan](/wiki/Ronald_Reagan) and UK Thatcher administrations followed a "[constructive engagement](/wiki/Constructive_engagement)" policy with the apartheid government, vetoing the imposition of UN economic sanctions, justified by a belief in free trade and a vision of South Africa as a bastion against [Marxist](/wiki/Marxist) forces in Southern Africa. Thatcher declared the ANC a terrorist organisation,[[122]](#cite_note-122) and in 1987 her spokesman, [Bernard Ingham](/wiki/Bernard_Ingham), famously said that anyone who believed that the ANC would ever form the government of South Africa was "living in [cloud cuckoo land](/wiki/Cloud_cuckoo_land)".[[123]](#cite_note-123) The [American Legislative Exchange Council](/wiki/American_Legislative_Exchange_Council) (ALEC), a conservative lobbying organisation, actively campaigned against divesting from South Africa throughout the 1980s.[[124]](#cite_note-124) By the late 1980s, with the tide of the [Cold War](/wiki/Cold_War) turning and no sign of a political resolution in South Africa, Western patience began to run out. By 1989, a bipartisan [Republican](/wiki/Republican_Party_(United_States))/[Democratic](/wiki/Democratic_Party_(United_States)) initiative in the US favoured [economic sanctions](/wiki/Disinvestment_from_South_Africa) (realised as the [*Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act*](/wiki/Comprehensive_Anti-Apartheid_Act) of 1986), the release of Nelson Mandela and a negotiated settlement involving the ANC. Thatcher too began to take a similar line, but insisted on the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle.[[125]](#cite_note-125) Britain's significant economic involvement in South Africa may have provided some [leverage](/wiki/Leverage_(negotiation)) with the South African government, with both the UK and the US applying pressure and pushing for negotiations. However, neither Britain nor the US was willing to apply economic pressure upon their multinational interests in South Africa, such as the mining company [Anglo American](/wiki/Anglo_American_plc). Although a high-profile compensation claim against these companies was thrown out of court in 2004,[[126]](#cite_note-126) the [US Supreme Court](/wiki/US_Supreme_Court) in May 2008 upheld an appeal court ruling allowing another lawsuit that seeks damages of more than US$400 billion from major international companies which are accused of aiding South Africa's apartheid system.[[127]](#cite_note-127)

### South African Border War[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=25)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) By 1966, [SWAPO](/wiki/SWAPO) launched guerilla raids from neighbouring countries against South Africa's occupation of South-West Africa (now Namibia). Initially South Africa fought a [counter-insurgency](/wiki/Counter-insurgency) war against SWAPO. This conflict deepened after [Angola](/wiki/Angola) gained its independence in 1975 under the leadership of the leftist [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola](/wiki/Popular_Movement_for_the_Liberation_of_Angola) (MPLA) aided by [Cuba](/wiki/Cuba). South Africa, Zaire and the United States sided with the Angolan rival [UNITA](/wiki/UNITA) party against the MPLA's armed force, FAPLA (People's [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola](/wiki/Armed_Forces_for_the_Liberation_of_Angola)). The following struggle turned into one of several late Cold War flashpoints.[[128]](#cite_note-128) The [Angolan civil war](/wiki/Angolan_civil_war) developed into a conventional war with South Africa and UNITA on one side against the [MPLA](/wiki/MPLA) government, the Soviet Union, the Cubans and SWAPO on the other.[[129]](#cite_note-129)

### Total onslaught[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=26)]

By 1980, as international opinion turned decisively against the apartheid regime, the government and much of the white population increasingly looked upon the country as a [bastion](/wiki/Bastion) besieged militarily, politically, culturally, ideologically, economically and socially by communism and radical black nationalists. Considerable effort was put into circumventing [sanctions](/wiki/International_sanctions), and the government even went so far as to develop [nuclear weapons](/wiki/South_Africa_and_weapons_of_mass_destruction),[[130]](#cite_note-130) with the help of several different sources; these sources allegedly include [Israel](/wiki/Israel).[[131]](#cite_note-131) In 2010, [*The Guardian*](/wiki/The_Guardian) released South African government documents that revealed an Israeli offer to sell the apartheid regime nuclear weapons.[[132]](#cite_note-132)[[133]](#cite_note-133) Israel categorically denied these allegations and claimed that the documents were minutes from a meeting which did not indicate any concrete offer for a sale of nuclear weapons. [Shimon Peres](/wiki/Shimon_Peres) said that *The Guardian*[Template:'s](/wiki/Template:') article was based on "selective interpretation... and not on concrete facts."[[134]](#cite_note-134) Before the end of apartheid, South Africa's nuclear weapons were dismantled. They released information about their nuclear program and accounted for all of their warheads.[Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed)

By the 1980s, Israel was South Africa's only close ally amongst developed countries, but ties were broken, beginning in 1987 (see [Israel–South Africa relations](/wiki/Israel–South_Africa_relations)).[[135]](#cite_note-135) The term "[front-line states](/wiki/Front-line_states)" referred to countries in Southern Africa geographically near South Africa. Although these front-line states were all opposed to apartheid, many were economically dependent on South Africa. In 1980, they formed the [Southern African Development Coordination Conference](/wiki/Southern_African_Development_Coordination_Conference) (SADCC), the aim of which was to promote economic development in the region and hence reduce dependence on South Africa. Many SADCC members allowed the exiled ANC and [Pan Africanist Congress](/wiki/Pan_Africanist_Congress) (PAC) to establish bases.

### Cross-border raids[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=27)]

[thumb|right|South African paratroops on a raid in Angola, 1980s](/wiki/File:SADF-Operations_4.jpg)

South Africa had a policy of attacking guerrilla-bases and [safe houses](/wiki/Safe_house) of the ANC, PAC and SWAPO in neighbouring countries beginning in the early 1980s.[[136]](#cite_note-136) These attacks were in retaliation for acts of terror such as bomb explosions, massacres and guerrilla actions (like sabotage) by ANC, PAC and SWAPO guerrillas in South Africa and Namibia. The country also aided organisations in surrounding countries who were actively combating the spread of communism in southern Africa. The results of these policies included:

* Support for guerrilla groups such as [UNITA](/wiki/UNITA) in Angola and [RENAMO](/wiki/RENAMO) in Mozambique
* [South African Defence Force](/wiki/South_African_Defence_Force) (SADF) hit-squad raids into front-line states (e.g. the [Raid on Gaborone](/wiki/Raid_on_Gaborone)). Bombing raids were also conducted into neighbouring states. Air and commando raids into Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana occurred the same day, against ANC targets.[[137]](#cite_note-137)\* An assassination attempt on [Robert Mugabe](/wiki/Robert_Mugabe), Prime Minister and future President of Zimbabwe, on 18 December 1981.<ref name=hanlon>Hanlon, Joseph (1986). *Beggar your neighbours: apartheid power in Southern Africa.* James Currey Publishers. p. 27. ISBN 978-0-85255-305-3.</ref>
* A [full-scale intervention into Angola](/wiki/Operation_Savannah_(Angola)): this was partly in support of UNITA, but was also an attempt to strike at [SWAPO](/wiki/SWAPO) bases.[[138]](#cite_note-138)\* Bomb attacks in [Lesotho](/wiki/Lesotho).[[139]](#cite_note-139)\* Kidnapping of refugees and ANC members in [Swaziland](/wiki/Swaziland) by security services.[[139]](#cite_note-139)\* An unsuccessful South African organised coup in the [Seychelles](/wiki/Seychelles) on 25 November 1981.[[139]](#cite_note-139)\* Targeting of exiled ANC leaders abroad: Joe Slovo's wife [Ruth First](/wiki/Ruth_First) was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo, and "death squads" of the [Civil Cooperation Bureau](/wiki/Civil_Cooperation_Bureau) and the Directorate of Military Intelligence attempted to carry out assassinations on ANC targets in [Brussels](/wiki/Brussels), Paris,[[140]](#cite_note-140) [Stockholm](/wiki/Stockholm), and London.[[141]](#cite_note-141)

In 1984, Mozambican president [Samora Machel](/wiki/Samora_Machel) signed the [Nkomati Accord](/wiki/Nkomati_Accord) with South Africa's president [P.W. Botha](/wiki/P.W._Botha), in an attempt to end South African support for the opposition group [RENAMO](/wiki/RENAMO). South Africa agreed to cease supporting anti-government forces, while the MK was prohibited from operating in Mozambique. This was a setback for the ANC. Machel hoped the agreement would alliterate[Template:Clarify](/wiki/Template:Clarify) the [civil war](/wiki/Mozambique_Civil_War) and allow Mozambique to rebuild its economy. Two years later, President Machel was killed in [an air crash](/wiki/Mozambican_Tupolev_Tu-134_air_disaster) in mountainous terrain in South Africa near the Mozambican border after returning from a meeting in Zambia. South Africa was accused by the Mozambican government and US Secretary of State [George P. Shultz](/wiki/George_P._Shultz) of continuing its aid to RENAMO. The Mozambiquan government also made an unproven allegation that the accident was caused intentionally by a false [radio navigation](/wiki/Radio_navigation) beacon that lured the aircraft into crashing.[[142]](#cite_note-142)[[143]](#cite_note-143) This [conspiracy theory](/wiki/Conspiracy_theory) was never proven and is still a subject of some controversy, despite the [South African Margo Commission](/wiki/Mozambican_Tupolev_Tu-134_air_disaster#Margo_Commission) finding that the crash was an accident. A Soviet delegation that did not participate in the investigation issued a minority report implicating South Africa.[[144]](#cite_note-144)

## State security[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=28)]

During the 1980s the government, led by P.W. Botha, became increasingly preoccupied with security. It set up a powerful [state security apparatus](/wiki/State_Security_Council) to "protect" the state against an anticipated upsurge in political violence that the reforms were expected to trigger. The 1980s became a period of considerable political unrest, with the government becoming increasingly dominated by Botha's circle of generals and police chiefs (known as securocrats), who managed the various States of Emergencies.[[145]](#cite_note-145) Botha's years in power were marked also by numerous military interventions in the states bordering South Africa, as well as an extensive military and political campaign to eliminate SWAPO in Namibia. Within South Africa, meanwhile, vigorous police action and strict enforcement of security legislation resulted in hundreds of arrests and bans, and an effective end to the ANC's sabotage campaign.

The government punished political offenders brutally. 40,000 people were subjected to [whipping](/wiki/Flagellation) as a form of punishment annually.[[146]](#cite_note-146) The vast majority had committed political offences and were lashed ten times for their crime.[[147]](#cite_note-147) If convicted of treason, a person could be hanged, and the government executed numerous political offenders in this way.

As the 1980s progressed, more and more anti-apartheid organisations were formed and affiliated with the UDF. Led by the [Reverend](/wiki/Reverend) [Allan Boesak](/wiki/Allan_Boesak) and Albertina Sisulu, the UDF called for the government to abandon its reforms and instead abolish apartheid and eliminate the homelands completely.

### State of emergency[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=29)]

Serious political violence was a prominent feature from 1985 to 1989, as black townships became the focus of the struggle between anti-apartheid organisations and the Botha government. Throughout the 1980s, township people resisted apartheid by acting against the local issues that faced their particular communities. The focus of much of this resistance was against the local authorities and their leaders, who were seen to be supporting the government. By 1985, it had become the ANC's aim to make black townships "ungovernable" (a term later replaced by "people's power") by means of rent boycotts and other militant action. Numerous township councils were overthrown or collapsed, to be replaced by unofficial popular organisations, often led by militant youth. People's courts were set up, and residents accused of being government agents were dealt extreme and occasionally lethal punishments. Black town councillors and policemen, and sometimes their families, were attacked with petrol bombs, beaten, and murdered by [necklacing](/wiki/Necklacing), where a burning tyre was placed around the victim's neck, after they were restrained by wrapping their wrists with barbed wire. This signature act of torture and murder was embraced by the ANC and its leaders.

On 20 July 1985, Botha declared a [State of Emergency](/wiki/State_of_Emergency) in 36 magisterial districts. Areas affected were the [Eastern Cape](/wiki/Eastern_Cape), and the [PWV](/wiki/Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) region ("[Pretoria](/wiki/Pretoria), [Witwatersrand](/wiki/Witwatersrand), [Vereeniging](/wiki/Vereeniging)").[[148]](#cite_note-148) Three months later the [Western Cape](/wiki/Western_Cape) was included. An increasing number of organisations were banned or listed (restricted in some way); many individuals had restrictions such as house arrest imposed on them. During this state of emergency about 2,436 people were detained under the Internal Security Act.[[149]](#cite_note-149) This act gave police and the military sweeping powers. The government could implement curfews controlling the movement of people. The president could rule by decree without referring to the constitution or to parliament. It became a criminal offence to threaten someone verbally or possess documents that the government perceived to be threatening, to advise anyone to stay away from work or oppose the government, and to disclose the name of anyone arrested under the State of Emergency until the government released that name, with up to ten years' imprisonment for these offences. Detention without trial became a common feature of the government's reaction to growing civil unrest and by 1988, 30,000 people had been detained.[[150]](#cite_note-150) The media was censored, thousands were arrested and many were interrogated and [tortured](/wiki/Torture).[[151]](#cite_note-151) On 12 June 1986, four days before the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the state of emergency was extended to cover the whole country. The government amended the Public Security Act, including the right to declare "unrest" areas, allowing extraordinary measures to crush protests in these areas. Severe censorship of the press became a dominant tactic in the government's strategy and television cameras were banned from entering such areas. The state broadcaster, the [South African Broadcasting Corporation](/wiki/South_African_Broadcasting_Corporation) (SABC), provided propaganda in support of the government. Media opposition to the system increased, supported by the growth of a pro-ANC underground press within South Africa.

In 1987, the State of Emergency was extended for another two years. Meanwhile, about 200,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers commenced the longest strike (three weeks) in South African history. 1988 saw the banning of the activities of the UDF and other anti-apartheid organisations.

Much of the violence in the late 1980s and early 1990s was directed at the government, but a substantial amount was between the residents themselves. Many died in violence between members of [Inkatha](/wiki/Inkatha_Freedom_Party) and the UDF-ANC faction. It was later proven that the government manipulated the situation by supporting one side or the other when it suited it. Government agents assassinated opponents within South Africa and abroad; they undertook cross-border army and air-force attacks on suspected ANC and PAC bases. The ANC and the PAC in return exploded bombs at restaurants, shopping centres and government buildings such as magistrates courts. Between 1960 and 1994, according to statistics from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Inkatha Freedom Party was responsible for 4,500 killings, South African security forces were responsible for 2,700 killings and the ANC was responsible for 1,300 killings.[[152]](#cite_note-152) The state of emergency continued until 1990, when it was lifted by State President [F.W. de Klerk](/wiki/F.W._de_Klerk).

## Final years of apartheid[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=30)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main)

### Factors[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=31)]

#### Institutional racism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=32)]

Apartheid developed by racism of colonial factors and due to South Africa's "unique industrialization".[[153]](#cite_note-153) The policies of industrialisation led to segregation of and classing of people, which was "specifically developed to nurture early industry such as mining and capitalist culture".[[153]](#cite_note-153) Cheap labour was the basis of the economy and this was taken from what the state classed as peasant groups and the migrants.[[154]](#cite_note-154) Furthermore, Philip Bonner highlights the "contradictory economic effects" as the economy did not have a manufacturing sector, therefore promoting short term profitability but limiting labour productivity and the size of local markets. This also led to its collapse as "Clarkes emphasises the economy could not provide and compete with foreign rivals as they failed to master cheap labour and complex chemistry".[[155]](#cite_note-155)

#### Economic contradictions[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=33)]

The contradictions in the traditionally capitalist economy of the apartheid state led to considerable debate about racial policy, and division and conflicts in the central state.[[156]](#cite_note-156) To a large extent the political ideology of apartheid had emerged from the colonisation of Africa by European powers which institutionalised racial discrimination and exercised a paternal philosophy of "civilising inferior natives."[[156]](#cite_note-156) Some scholars have argued that this can be reflected in [Afrikaner Calvinism](/wiki/Afrikaner_Calvinism), with its parallel traditions of racialism;[[157]](#cite_note-157) for example, as early as 1933 the executive council of the Broederbond formulated a recommendation for mass segregation.[[157]](#cite_note-157)

#### Western influence[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=34)]

[thumb|thumb|Anti-apartheid protest at](/wiki/File:South_Africa_House_anti_apartheid_London_1989.jpg) [South Africa House](/wiki/South_Africa_House) in London, 1989 External western influence can be seen as one of the factors that arguably greatly influenced political ideology, particularly due to the influences of colonisation. South Africa in particular is argued to be an "unreconstructed example of western civilisation twisted by racism".[[158]](#cite_note-158) However, western influence also helped end apartheid. "Once the power of the Soviet Union declined along with its Communist influence, western nations felt Apartheid could no longer be tolerated and spoke out, encouraging a move towards democracy and self-determination".[Template:Cite quote](/wiki/Template:Cite_quote)

In the 1960s, South Africa experienced economic growth second only to that of Japan.[[159]](#cite_note-159) Trade with Western countries grew, and investment from the United States, France and Britain poured in.

In 1974, resistance to apartheid was encouraged by [Portugal's](/wiki/Portugal) withdrawal from [Mozambique](/wiki/Mozambique) and [Angola](/wiki/Angola), after the 1974 [Carnation Revolution](/wiki/Carnation_Revolution). South African troops withdrew from Angola in early 1976, failing to prevent the MPLA from gaining power there, and black students in South Africa celebrated.

The [Mahlabatini Declaration of Faith](/wiki/Mahlabatini_Declaration_of_Faith), signed by [Mangosuthu Buthelezi](/wiki/Mangosuthu_Buthelezi) and [Harry Schwarz](/wiki/Harry_Schwarz) in 1974, enshrined the principles of peaceful transition of power and equality for all. Its purpose was to provide a blueprint for South Africa by consent and racial peace in a multi-racial society, stressing opportunity for all, consultation, the federal concept, and a Bill of Rights. It caused a split in the [United Party](/wiki/United_Party_(South_Africa)) that ultimately realigned opposition politics in South Africa, with the formation of the [Progressive Federal Party](/wiki/Progressive_Federal_Party) in 1977. It was the first of such agreements by acknowledged black and white political leaders in South Africa.

In 1978, the defence minister of the NP, [Pieter Willem Botha](/wiki/Pieter_Willem_Botha), became Prime Minister. Botha's white regime was worried about the Soviet Union helping revolutionaries in South Africa, and the economy had slowed down. The new government noted that it was spending too much money trying to maintain the segregated homelands that had been created for blacks and the homelands were proving to be uneconomical.[Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed)

Nor was maintaining blacks as a third class working well. The labour of blacks remained vital to the economy, and illegal black labour unions were flourishing. Many blacks remained too poor to make much of a contribution to the economy through their purchasing power[Template:Sndsalthough](/wiki/Template:Snds) they were more than 70 percent of the population. Botha's regime was afraid that an antidote was needed to prevent the blacks from being attracted to Communism.[[160]](#cite_note-160) In July 1979, the Nigerian government claimed that the Shell-BP Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Limited (SPDC) was selling Nigerian oil to South Africa, although there was little evidence or commercial logic for such sales.[[161]](#cite_note-161) The alleged sanctions-breaking was used to justify the seizure of some of BP's assets in Nigeria including their stake in SPDC, although it appears the real reasons were economic nationalism and domestic politics ahead of the Nigerian elections.[[162]](#cite_note-162) Many South Africans attended schools in Nigeria,[Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed) and Nelson Mandela several times acknowledged the role of Nigeria in the struggle against apartheid.[Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed)

In the 1980s, the anti-apartheid movements in the United States and Europe were gaining support for boycotts against South Africa, for the withdrawal of US firms from South Africa and for the release of Mandela. South Africa was becoming an outlaw in the world community of nations. Investing in South Africa by Americans and others was coming to an end and an active policy of [disinvestment](/wiki/Disinvestment_from_South_Africa) ensued.

### Tricameral parliament[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=35)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) In the early 1980s, Botha's National Party government started to recognise the inevitability of the need to reform apartheid.[[163]](#cite_note-163) Early reforms were driven by a combination of internal violence, international condemnation, changes within the National Party's constituency, and changing demographics[Template:Sndswhites](/wiki/Template:Snds) constituted only 16 percent of the total population, in comparison to 20 percent fifty years earlier.[[164]](#cite_note-164) In 1983, a new constitution was passed implementing what was called the Tricameral Parliament, giving coloureds and Indians voting rights and parliamentary representation in separate houses[Template:Sndsthe](/wiki/Template:Snds) House of Assembly (178 members) for whites, the House of Representatives (85 members) for coloureds and the House of Delegates (45 members) for Indians.[[165]](#cite_note-165) Each House handled laws pertaining to its racial group's "own affairs", including health, education and other community issues.[[166]](#cite_note-166) All laws relating to "general affairs" (matters such as defence, industry, taxation and Black affairs) were handled by a cabinet made up of representatives from all three houses. However, the white chamber had a large majority on this cabinet, ensuring that effective control of the country remained in white hands.[[167]](#cite_note-167)[[168]](#cite_note-168) Blacks, although making up the majority of the population, were excluded from representation; they remained nominal citizens of their homelands.[[169]](#cite_note-169) The first Tricameral elections were largely boycotted by Coloured and Indian voters, amid widespread rioting.[[170]](#cite_note-170)

### Reforms and contact with the ANC under Botha[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=36)]

Concerned over the popularity of Mandela, Botha denounced him as an arch-[Marxist](/wiki/Marxism) committed to violent revolution, but to appease black opinion and nurture Mandela as a benevolent leader of blacks, the government moved him from Robben Island to [Pollsmoor Prison](/wiki/Pollsmoor_Prison) in a rural area just outside Cape Town, where prison life was easier. The government allowed Mandela more visitors, including visits and interviews by foreigners, to let the world know that he was being treated well.

Black homelands were declared [nation-states](/wiki/Nation-state) and [pass laws](/wiki/Pass_laws) were abolished. Black labour unions were legitimised, the government recognised the right of blacks to live in urban areas permanently and gave blacks [property rights](/wiki/Property_rights) there. Interest was expressed in rescinding the law against interracial marriage and also rescinding the law against sex between the races, which was under ridicule abroad. The spending for black schools increased, to one-seventh of what was spent per white child, up from on one-sixteenth in 1968. At the same time, attention was given to strengthening the effectiveness of the police apparatus.

In January 1985, Botha addressed the government's House of Assembly and stated that the government was willing to release Mandela on condition that Mandela pledge opposition to acts of violence to further political objectives. Mandela's reply was read in public by his daughter Zinzi[Template:Sndshis](/wiki/Template:Snds) first words distributed publicly since his sentence to prison twenty-one years before. Mandela described violence as the responsibility of the apartheid regime and said that with democracy there would be no need for violence. The crowd listening to the reading of his speech erupted in cheers and chants. This response helped to further elevate Mandela's status in the eyes of those, both internationally and domestically, who opposed apartheid.

Between 1986 and 1988, some petty apartheid laws were repealed. Botha told white South Africans to "adapt or die"[[171]](#cite_note-171) and twice he wavered on the eve of what were billed as "[rubicon](/wiki/Point_of_no_return)" announcements of substantial reforms, although on both occasions he backed away from substantial changes. Ironically, these reforms served only to trigger intensified political violence through the remainder of the eighties as more communities and political groups across the country joined the resistance movement. Botha's government stopped short of substantial reforms, such as lifting the ban on the ANC, PAC and SACP and other liberation organisations, releasing political prisoners, or repealing the foundation laws of grand apartheid. The government's stance was that they would not contemplate negotiating until those organisations "renounced violence".

By 1987, South Africa's economy was growing at one of the lowest rates in the world, and the ban on South African participation in international sporting events was frustrating many whites in South Africa. Examples of African states with black leaders and white minorities existed in Kenya and Zimbabwe. Whispers of South Africa one day having a black President sent more hardline whites into Rightist parties. Mandela was moved to a four-bedroom house of his own, with a swimming pool and shaded by fir trees, on a prison farm just outside Cape Town. He had an unpublicised meeting with Botha. Botha impressed Mandela by walking forward, extending his hand and pouring Mandela's tea. The two had a friendly discussion, with Mandela comparing the African National Congress' rebellion with that of the [Afrikaner rebellion](/wiki/Afrikaner_rebellion) and talking about everyone being brothers.

A number of clandestine meetings were held between the ANC-in-exile and various sectors of the internal struggle, such as women and educationalists. More overtly, a group of white intellectuals met the ANC in [Senegal](/wiki/Senegal) for talks.[[172]](#cite_note-172)

### Presidency of F.W. de Klerk[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=37)]

[thumb|left|De Klerk and Mandela in](/wiki/File:Frederik_de_Klerk_with_Nelson_Mandela_-_World_Economic_Forum_Annual_Meeting_Davos_1992.jpg) [Davos](/wiki/Davos), 1992

Early in 1989, Botha suffered a stroke; he was prevailed upon to resign in February 1989.[[173]](#cite_note-173) He was succeeded as president later that year by [F.W. de Klerk](/wiki/Frederik_Willem_de_Klerk). Despite his initial reputation as a conservative, de Klerk moved decisively towards negotiations to end the political stalemate in the country. In his opening address to parliament on 2 February 1990, de Klerk announced that he would repeal discriminatory laws and lift the 30-year ban on leading anti-apartheid groups such as the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the [United Democratic Front](/wiki/United_Democratic_Front_(South_Africa)). The Land Act was brought to an end. De Klerk also made his first public commitment to release Nelson Mandela, to return to [press freedom](/wiki/Press_freedom) and to suspend the death penalty. Media restrictions were lifted and political prisoners not guilty of [common law](/wiki/Common_law) crimes were released.

On 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from [Victor Verster Prison](/wiki/Victor_Verster_Prison) after more than 27 years of confinement.

Having been instructed by the [UN Security Council](/wiki/UN_Security_Council) to end its long-standing involvement in South-West Africa / [Namibia](/wiki/Namibia), and in the face of military stalemate in Southern Angola, and an escalation in the size and cost of the combat with the Cubans, the Angolans, and SWAPO forces and the growing cost of the border war, South Africa negotiated a change of control; Namibia became independent on 21 March 1990.

### Negotiations[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=38)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) Apartheid was dismantled in a series of [negotiations](/wiki/Negotiations_to_end_apartheid_in_South_Africa) from 1990 to 1993, culminating in [elections in 1994](/wiki/South_African_general_election,_1994), the first in South Africa with [universal suffrage](/wiki/Universal_suffrage).

From 1990 to 1996 the legal apparatus of apartheid was abolished. In 1990 negotiations were earnestly begun, with two meetings between the government and the ANC. The purpose of the negotiations was to pave the way for talks towards a peaceful transition of power. These meetings were successful in laying down the preconditions for negotiations[Template:Sndsdespite](/wiki/Template:Snds) the considerable tensions still abounding within the country.

At the first meeting, the NP and ANC discussed the conditions for negotiations to begin. The meeting was held at [Groote Schuur](/wiki/Groote_Schuur), the President's official residence. They released the Groote Schuur Minute, which said that before negotiations commenced political prisoners would be freed and all exiles allowed to return.

There were fears that the change of power would be violent. To avoid this, it was essential that a peaceful resolution between all parties be reached. In December 1991, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) began negotiations on the formation of a multiracial transitional government and a new constitution extending political rights to all groups. CODESA adopted a Declaration of Intent and committed itself to an "undivided South Africa".

Reforms and negotiations to end apartheid led to a backlash among the right-wing white opposition, leading to the [Conservative Party](/wiki/Conservative_Party_(South_Africa)) winning a number of by-elections against NP candidates. De Klerk responded by calling a whites-only [referendum](/wiki/1992_South_African_Referendum) in March 1992 to decide whether negotiations should continue. A 68 per cent majority gave its support, and the victory instilled in de Klerk and the government a lot more confidence, giving the NP a stronger position in negotiations.

When negotiations resumed in May 1992, under the tag of CODESA II, stronger demands were made. The ANC and the government could not reach a compromise on how power should be shared during the transition to democracy. The NP wanted to retain a strong position in a transitional government, and the power to change decisions made by parliament.

Persistent violence added to the tension during the negotiations. This was due mostly to the intense rivalry between the [Inkatha Freedom Party](/wiki/Inkatha_Freedom_Party) (IFP) and the ANC and the eruption of some traditional tribal and local rivalries between the Zulu and Xhosa historical tribal affinities, especially in the Southern Natal provinces. Although Mandela and Buthelezi met to settle their differences, they could not stem the violence. One of the worst cases of ANC-IFP violence was the [Boipatong massacre](/wiki/Boipatong_massacre) of 17 June 1992, when 200 IFP militants attacked the Gauteng township of Boipatong, killing 45. Witnesses said that the men had arrived in police vehicles, supporting claims that elements within the police and army contributed to the ongoing violence. Subsequent judicial inquiries found the evidence of the witnesses to be unreliable or discredited, and that there was no evidence of National Party or police involvement in the massacre. When de Klerk visited the scene of the incident he was initially warmly welcomed, but he was suddenly confronted by a crowd of protesters brandishing stones and placards. The motorcade sped from the scene as police tried to hold back the crowd. Shots were fired by the police, and the PAC stated that three of its supporters had been gunned down.[[174]](#cite_note-174) Nonetheless, the Boipatong massacre offered the ANC a pretext to engage in brinkmanship. Mandela argued that de Klerk, as head of state, was responsible for bringing an end to the bloodshed. He also accused the South African police of inciting the ANC-IFP violence. This formed the basis for ANC's withdrawal from the negotiations, and the CODESA forum broke down completely at this stage.

The [Bisho massacre](/wiki/Bisho_massacre) on 7 September 1992 brought matters to a head. The Ciskei Defence Force killed 29 people and injured 200 when they opened fire on ANC marchers demanding the reincorporation of the [Ciskei](/wiki/Ciskei) homeland into South Africa. In the aftermath, Mandela and de Klerk agreed to meet to find ways to end the spiralling violence. This led to a resumption of negotiations.

Right-wing violence also added to the hostilities of this period. The assassination of [Chris Hani](/wiki/Chris_Hani) on 10 April 1993 threatened to plunge the country into chaos. Hani, the popular general secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP), was assassinated in 1993 in Dawn Park in Johannesburg by [Janusz Waluś](/wiki/Janusz_Waluś), an anti-communist [Polish](/wiki/Poles) refugee who had close links to the white nationalist [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging](/wiki/Afrikaner_Weerstandsbeweging) (AWB). Hani enjoyed widespread support beyond his constituency in the SACP and ANC and had been recognised as a potential successor to Mandela; his death brought forth protests throughout the country and across the international community, but ultimately proved a turning point, after which the main parties pushed for a settlement with increased determination.<ref name=turningpoints>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref> On 25 June 1993, the AWB used an armoured vehicle to [crash through the doors](/wiki/Storming_of_Kempton_Park_World_Trade_Centre) of the Kempton Park World Trade Centre where talks were still going ahead under the Negotiating Council, though this did not derail the process.[[175]](#cite_note-175) In addition to the continuing "black-on-black" violence, there were a number of attacks on white civilians by the PAC's military wing, the [Azanian People's Liberation Army](/wiki/Azanian_People's_Liberation_Army) (APLA). The PAC was hoping to strengthen their standing by attracting the support of the angry, impatient youth. In the [St James Church massacre](/wiki/St_James_Church_massacre) on 25 July 1993, members of the APLA opened fire in a church in Cape Town, killing 11 members of the congregation and wounding 58.

In 1993 de Klerk and Mandela were jointly awarded the [Nobel Peace Prize](/wiki/Nobel_Peace_Prize) "for their work for the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime, and for laying the foundations for a new democratic South Africa".[[176]](#cite_note-176) Violence persisted right up to the 1994 elections. [Lucas Mangope](/wiki/Lucas_Mangope), leader of the Bophuthatswana homeland, declared that it would not take part in the elections. It had been decided that, once the temporary constitution had come into effect, the homelands would be incorporated into South Africa, but Mangope did not want this to happen. There were strong protests against his decision, leading to a [coup d'état in Bophuthatswana](/wiki/Bophuthatswana_coup_d'état) on 10 March that deposed Mangope, despite the intervention of white right-wingers hoping to maintain him in power. Three AWB militants were killed during this intervention, and harrowing images were shown on national television and in newspapers across the world.

Two days before the elections, a [car bomb](/wiki/Car_bomb) exploded in Johannesburg, killing nine.[[177]](#cite_note-177)[[178]](#cite_note-178) The day before the elections, another one went off, injuring 13. At midnight on 26–27 April 1994 the old flag was lowered, and the old (now co-official) national anthem [*Die Stem*](/wiki/Die_Stem_van_Suid-Afrika) ("The Call") was sung, followed by the raising of the new [rainbow flag](/wiki/Flag_of_South_Africa) and singing of the other co-official anthem, [*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*](/wiki/Nkosi_Sikelel'_iAfrika) ("God Bless Africa").

### 1994 election[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=39)]

[thumb|The new multicoloured](/wiki/File:Flag_of_South_Africa.svg) [flag of South Africa](/wiki/Flag_of_South_Africa) adopted in 1994 to mark the end of Apartheid

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) The election was held on 27 April 1994 and went off peacefully throughout the country as 20 million South Africans cast their votes. There was some difficulty in organising the voting in rural areas, but people waited patiently for many hours to vote amidst a palpable feeling of goodwill. An extra day was added to give everyone the chance. International observers agreed that the elections were free and fair.[[179]](#cite_note-179) The European Union's report on the election compiled at the end of May 1994, published two years after the election, criticised the Independent Electoral Commission's lack of preparedness for the polls, the shortages of voting materials at many voting stations, and the absence of effective safeguards against fraud in the counting process. In particular, it expressed disquiet that "no international observers had been allowed to be present at the crucial stage of the count when party representatives negotiated over disputed ballots." This meant that both the electorate and the world were "simply left to guess at the way the final result was achieved."<ref name=Jeffery>Jeffery, A. *People's War: New Light on the Struggle for South Africa*. Jonathan Ball.</ref>

The ANC won 62.65 percent of the vote,<ref name=IEC-1994-results>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref>[[180]](#cite_note-180) less than the 66.7 percent that would have allowed it to rewrite the constitution. 252 of the 400 seats went to members of the African National Congress. The NP captured most of the white and coloured votes and became the official opposition party. As well as deciding the national government, the election decided the provincial governments, and the ANC won in seven of the nine provinces, with the NP winning in the Western Cape and the IFP in [KwaZulu-Natal](/wiki/KwaZulu-Natal). On 10 May 1994, Mandela was sworn in as South Africa's president. The Government of National Unity was established, its cabinet made up of 12 ANC representatives, six from the NP, and three from the IFP. [Thabo Mbeki](/wiki/Thabo_Mbeki) and de Klerk were made deputy presidents.

The anniversary of the elections, 27 April, is celebrated as a [public holiday](/wiki/Public_holidays_in_South_Africa) known as [Freedom Day](/wiki/Freedom_Day_(South_Africa)).

## Contrition[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=40)]

The following individuals, who had previously supported apartheid, made public apologies:

* [F. W. de Klerk](/wiki/F._W._de_Klerk): "I apologise in my capacity as leader of the NP to the millions who suffered wrenching disruption of forced removals; who suffered the shame of being arrested for pass law offences; who over the decades suffered the indignities and humiliation of racial discrimination."[[181]](#cite_note-181)\* [Marthinus van Schalkwyk](/wiki/Marthinus_van_Schalkwyk): "The National Party brought development to a section of South Africa, but also brought suffering through a system grounded on injustice", in a statement shortly after the [National Party](/wiki/National_Party_(South_Africa)) voted to disband.[[182]](#cite_note-182)[[183]](#cite_note-183)\* [Adriaan Vlok](/wiki/Adriaan_Vlok) [washed the feet](/wiki/Foot_washing) of apartheid victim [Frank Chikane](/wiki/Frank_Chikane) in an act of apology for the wrongs of the Apartheid regime.[[184]](#cite_note-184)\* [Leon Wessels](/wiki/Leon_Wessels): "I am now more convinced than ever that apartheid was a terrible mistake that blighted our land. South Africans did not listen to the laughing and the crying of each other. I am sorry that I had been so hard of hearing for so long".[[185]](#cite_note-185)

## See also[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=41)]

[Template:Div col](/wiki/Template:Div_col)

* [Apartheid legislation in South Africa](/wiki/Apartheid_legislation_in_South_Africa)
* [Africa Hinterland](/wiki/Africa_Hinterland) (arms smuggling operation)
* [Apartheid in art and literature](/wiki/Apartheid_in_art_and_literature)
* [Apartheid Museum](/wiki/Apartheid_Museum)
* [Anti-Apartheid Movement](/wiki/Anti-Apartheid_Movement)
* [Belhar Confession](/wiki/Belhar_Confession)
* [Day of Reconciliation](/wiki/Day_of_Reconciliation)
* [Disinvestment from South Africa](/wiki/Disinvestment_from_South_Africa)
* [Foreign relations of South Africa during apartheid](/wiki/Foreign_relations_of_South_Africa_during_apartheid)
* [Hendrik Verwoerd](/wiki/Hendrik_Verwoerd)
* [Israel and the apartheid analogy](/wiki/Israel_and_the_apartheid_analogy)
* [J. B. M. Hertzog](/wiki/J._B._M._Hertzog)
* [Jan Smuts](/wiki/Jan_Smuts)
* [Jim Crow laws](/wiki/Jim_Crow_laws)
* [Legacies of apartheid](/wiki/Legacies_of_apartheid)
* [Liberation before education](/wiki/Liberation_before_education)
* [Nelson Mandela](/wiki/Nelson_Mandela)
* [Oliver Tambo](/wiki/Oliver_Tambo)
* [Pieter Botha](/wiki/P._W._Botha)
* [Racial segregation](/wiki/Racial_segregation)
* [Paris Peace Conference, 1919#Japanese approach](/wiki/Paris_Peace_Conference,_1919#Japanese_approach)
* [Sandra Laing](/wiki/Sandra_Laing)
* [Second-class citizen](/wiki/Second-class_citizen)
* [Steve Biko](/wiki/Steve_Biko)
* [Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa)](/wiki/Truth_and_Reconciliation_Commission_(South_Africa))
* [White Australia policy](/wiki/White_Australia_policy)

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## References[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=42)]

[Template:Reflist](/wiki/Template:Reflist)

## Further reading[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=43)]

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[Template:Refend](/wiki/Template:Refend)

## External links[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=44)]

[Template:Wikimedia](/wiki/Template:Wikimedia)

* [Understanding Apartheid Learner's Book](http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/node/48)
* [The evolution of the white right](http://www.issafrica.org/Pubs/Monographs/No81/Chap2.html)
* [History of the freedom charter SAHO](http://www.sahistory.org.za/20th-century-south-africa/freedom-charter-1955)
* [Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg](http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/)
* The [African Activist Archive Project](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/) website has material on the struggle against apartheid
* [South Africa: Cuba and the South African Anti-Apartheid Struggle](http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201001210949.html) by Nicole Sarmiento
* [Interview with Dr. Ranginui Walker about the 'No Maoris' tours to South Africa under apartheid](http://www.radiolive.co.nz/HILL--Ranginui-Walker-on-the-No-Maoris-tours-to-South-Africa/tabid/506/articleID/13005/Default.aspx) RadioLIVE interview on the exclusion of Maori from the All Blacks during the tours of South Africa under apartheid.
* [The International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ)](http://ictj.org/our-work/regions-and-countries/south-africa) provides resources on the legacy of apartheid and transitional justice in South Africa.
* [JSTOR's Struggles for Freedom digital archive on www.aluka.org](http://about.jstor.org/content/struggles-freedom-southern-africa) Collection of primary source historical materials about apartheid South Africa

[Template:Political history of South Africa](/wiki/Template:Political_history_of_South_Africa) [Template:Racism topics](/wiki/Template:Racism_topics) [Template:Segregation by type](/wiki/Template:Segregation_by_type) [Template:South Africa topics](/wiki/Template:South_Africa_topics) [Template:South Africa year nav](/wiki/Template:South_Africa_year_nav)

[Template:Authority control](/wiki/Template:Authority_control)

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