

## CHAPTER 9 APARTHEID REGIME IN AFRICA

### Objective

After studying this chapter, students should be able to:

- discuss how South Africa emerged from the rural and agrarian economy;
- relate what factors led to the first and second Anglo-Boer wars;
- indicate appropriately the measures that were put in place for the commencement of apartheid in South Africa;
- point out how the British came to participate in the domination and exploitation of Africans;
- discuss factors favourable to the emergence of apartheid in South Africa;
- relate how the blacks, Africans and the world reacted to apartheid policy in South Africa;
- account for the measures taken to dismantle apartheid and democratized South Africa.

Apartheid regime was a pattern of government which not only allowed powerful white minority to conquer and dominate the political and territorial structures in South Africa but also sought to dispose the rightful occupants of their land and denying them of basic rights as a people. This policy which lasted for decades attracted wider condemnations from the world and kept the oppressed people in constant violent conflict with the apartheid government and their beneficiaries until the system was stopped.

### 9.1 Prelude to Apartheid

Apartheid means racial discrimination between the white immigrants and the non-white majority. Original owners of the land had the intention to form a ‘Berlin wall’ between areas designated as European settlements and those of black areas. It entails segregation and oppression of the blacks and Indian majority by the minority European, white settlers. The presence of the Dutch and Englishmen increased from the 1870s down till after the Second World War when the whites were sizeable enough to repress the aborigines.

By 1948, the fascist control of the state by the race conscious government formerly introduced the apartheid ideology or policy to systematically annihilate the blacks and the Indians. However, the Africans were preserved to do the mining, farming and less fancied odd-jobs as messengers, clerks and residential house-keepers with minimal allowances. Before the 1948 formalisation of apartheid in South Africa, there had been conflicts, protests and reactionary moves from the people against the oppressive and race conscious white settlers whose interests hovered around the rich mineral deposits found in South Africa.

Before 1869 when mineral resources were found in commercial quantity in South Africa, the state was an agrarian and pastoral society where the economy was quite rural and subsistent depending on rearing of animals and farm products. However, about 1840, wine and wool became the most commercial products.

With time, mineral resources were mined in some parts of the state. Diamond was found in Kimberley in 1867 which changed the fortune of South Africa and made it develop rapidly. The Bantus were used to mining diamond. Other places where diamond was mined were Natal and Cape. Gold was thereafter discovered in Transvaal and in 1886, the largest gold deposit in the world was found in Witwatersrand. With these resources, Johannesburg was built as it became a very industrial and powerful city. Additionally, coal was found and mined in Natal and Cape colony which increased the spate of industrialised cities in South Africa.

The First World War shook the economic foundations of South Africa. Measures like the 'Land Bank Act' of 1912 and production of war weapons, after the First World War went a long way to stabilise South Africa's economy. Before the close of World War II, South Africa noted for military supplies, had developed new coal and gold mines in Orange Free State.

The boom in the economy of South Africa had both positive and negative effects on the people. The positive effects include the following:

- i. It led to the development or rapid urbanisation in Johannesburg and Kimberley cities.
- ii. It brought about employment opportunities, enhanced means of livelihood and general transformation of the economy.
- iii. It brought about liberalised education.

The negative effects noticed include the following:

- i. Sharp increase in housing problems and rent increase as a result of shortage of accommodation.
- ii. There was also high cost of living due to migration.
- iii. It affected the social values and culture of the people.
- iv. Africans became restricted to place of residence, class of employment, income level and property ownership. Wealth became apparently unevenly distributed. By 1947, this had assumed an alarming proportion.

### **British Impact on South Africa**

The Cape colony came under Britain in 1795 to ward off French explorers. By 1802, Britain transferred the colony to the Batavian Republic. It captured the colony again in 1806 to curtail France and Dutch Sea trade with India. It annexed Griqualand and Basutoland to the Cape colony. They tried to restore peace in the Boer Republics in order to secure their colonies. The annexation of the Boers were completed in 1877. With this, most parts of South Africa came under British rule. The administration made policy against the blacks in favour of the white inhabitants.

The missionaries who came to South Africa made effort to evangelise Cape colony and even beyond. They criticised the treatment meted by the colonialist against the Hottentots. The Boers saw the missionaries as intruders to their customs which led to their frequent clash with the missionaries. The missionaries from London Missionary Society led by Dr. Van Der Kemp first arrived in 1802 and followed by the Roman Catholic Church and the Moravian Brethren preached for human rights and equality.

When Dr. John Philip of the LMS (London Missionary Society) arrived in 1819 to work among the Bantus, Hottentots and Griqua, he insisted that the white be separated from among the blacks to stop the exploitation and domination against the blacks. He maintained that these natives should be given equal rights, enhanced wages and better treatment to enable them patronise British market to keep the British industries afloat. Supported by human rights groups in Britain, the governor of Cape Province was forced to issue ordinance 50 of 1828 freeing the Hottentots from all legal disabilities, gave the blacks and the Indians in the province equal rights with the whites and this brought about racial equality until 1910.

The missionaries in 1811 protested against the injustice of the court to entertain suits brought to it by the Hottentots against the white Boers. The colonial power willing to end the Boer marginalisation against the blacks made a law mandating the circuit courts to look into every matter brought to it by the Hottentots. The Boers were hurt by this law which gave their black or coloured employees right to litigation. A Boer farmer was shot dead when he refused court order and arrest over a charge brought against him by his employee.

By 1818, the colonial government in the Cape attempted a land reformation. Instead of the 6000 acres of land demanded by the farmers for farming on the African's land, it approved 100 acres of land for British families. In 1820, about 1000 English families got settled on the Zuurveld (farmland) making some move down town or to Boers.

Coupled with the 50<sup>th</sup> Ordinance which denied them of racial supremacy and domination over the coloured people, the Boers strongly objected to these reforms. The Hottentots under the service of the Boers abandoned their masters and slave labour and were protected by the missions, which also gave them education to make them equal with the whites and encouraged them to reject low wage offers. As a follow-up, the British government abolished all forms of slavery and discrimination in South Africa. It mandated slaves to be freed and be given full and equal rights after three years of apprenticeship. Offended by these laws of equality and social justice, the Boers decided to move away from the British enclave to establish their own autonomous state with racial and inequality policy. This brought about the Great Trek.

## **Anglo-Boer Wars**

The mutual suspicion between the British and the Boers led to two separate wars between them. The first was from 1880 to 1881 and the second was from 1899 to 1910.

From 1880, which marked the formal British conquest of the Cape colony, the Boers misunderstood and suspected the British interest. This led to the first war, while the Boers preferred enslaving the original owners of the land. Britain had a policy of making the entire South Africa a British colony and to have it come under the complete influence and culture of Great Britain. They wanted English Language to be adopted as the lingua franca, the use of English common law and even more British migrants into South Africa to reduce Boer dominance. They therefore made the 50<sup>th</sup> ordinance to abolish Boer racial, oppressive and discriminatory feudalism over the aborigines which led to the Boers migrating into the hinterland to be free of British interference and control. Even those who remained in Cape colony resisted British dominance.

The Boers who migrated to the interior, conquered the Africans, took their lands and established two powerful states. Knowing the capabilities of the Boers, Britain was not ready to allow them establish their own state but to subject them to British rule and control. Britain in strategy was to halt the Boer's, expansionist bid. It quickly stopped the Boer's access to the sea by annexing Natal in 1845 which was under the Boers and Lesotho (Basutoland) in 1868 with the assistance of its monarch, Mosheshe. With this, the Boers were land locked and could not have access to outside world without passing through British occupied territories. By 1885, Botswana land (Bechuana land) was conquered by the British and by 1895 all the coastlands came under the British control. By 1871, the British annexed all the mineral fields and by 1877, South Africa (Transvaal Republic) became fully controlled by Britain. Embittered by this, the Boers sent a delegation to London requesting that their independence be restored which London turned down.

By December 1879, the Boers rebelled and sanctioned anybody having transactions with Britain over the Transvaal Republic. By February 1881, the Boers who had engaged Britain in war in 1880 won the British arm who lost 92 of its men. 100 British soldiers were wounded while 59 taken prisoners and only one Boer was killed in the battle at Majuba Hill. Britain opted for negotiation leading to the signing of the Pretoria Convention with Boers in July, 1881. The convention allowed the Boers full self-government under British authority and the renaming of South Africa, Transvaal Republic. This was the first Anglo-Boer war.

Before the second Anglo-Boer war (1899 – 1910), there was relative peace between the Boers and the British even though the Pretoria Convention did not satisfy the Boers. Paul Kruger, the leader and president of Transvaal indicated that the convention was temporal and provisional while Britain saw it as the only option to remain in contest over their imperialist mission in the Transvaal Republic (South Africa).

The discovery of minerals led to many British citizens migrating to Transvaal for employment and mining business. These fortune seekers called the Uitlanders by the Boers were made to pay heavy taxes as second class citizens and subjected to the culture and tradition of the Boers. The Uitlanders were exploited and denied voting rights. The Boers applied every antic to repress the British Uitlanders whose growing population remained a source of worry and fear to the Boers. They

preferred the African aborigines who they had completely subjugated. Their belief was that if no measures were applied, the Uitlanders would in little time take over the political and economic control of the Transvaal Republic.

Uitlanders formed alliance with Cecil Rhodes, a British born South African, who became very rich through mining activities in the Transvaal state. He was the governor of Cape colony in 1890 – 1896, a fanatic of British imperialism who could do all he could to have British expansion to the East and all the states in Southern Africa. He was opposed to the government of Paul Kruger whose policies ran contrary to British quests and imperialist mission.

Rhodes who had smuggled arms, agreed with Dr. Leader Starr Jameson to invade Transvaal in pretext that the Uitlander staged a rebellion. Paul Kruger got the Uitlanders to resist joining such invasion on hearing about the plot and mutiny. On December 29, 1895, Jameson and his forces invaded Transvaal, and without the expected Uitlanders support and revolt, Rhodes, Jameson and his small force were defeated by the Boers. The German Emperor, Kaiser William II supported President Kruger's aggression against rival emperial Britain, a move which encouraged Boers hostility against the British.

The Orange Free State aligned with the Transvaal after the Jameson's raid and by 1897, took over the British railway, a move which promoted Boers importation of arms and ammunition from Germany against Britain and the Uitlanders. This made the Kruger's government promulgate drastic and draconian laws against the Uitlanders. The laws allowed the killing of an Uitlander by a police officer which sparked off an Uitlanders (English) protest and petition to Queen Victoria of England. Kruger rejected the demands and entreaties of Britain against their racist and oppressive policies.

Annoyed by the intransigence of Kruger and his racist government, the British moved its troop near Transvaal borders on October 12, 1899. Defying the two-day ultimatum by Transvaal government to withdraw its troops, war finally broke out between the English and the Boers the second time; hence the Anglo-Boer war (1899 – 1911). Because the Boers had foreseen and prepared for the war long before the time, they at first fought gallantly against the British forces alien to the terrain and unprepared.

Between October, 1899 and February, 1890, the Boers led in victory when Britain finally reorganised and sent to large force that it sacked the Boers in October, 1900, annexed Orange Free State and Transvaal Republic for the second time and Kruger escaped to Europe where he finally died in 1904.

Undaunted by the defeat, the Boers resorted to guerilla warfare and the British chief of staff, Lord Kitchener who never wanted to take any chance, destroyed the Boers farm houses and constantly attacked the Boers with their fortified troops. In no distance, hardship, disease and starvation weakened the Boer's resistance.

Though Britain won the Anglo-Boer war II, it took longer time than expected, but they prided themselves as the strongest nation of the world. It looked down on the Boers regarded as 'farm-soldiers' with a force population of about 100,000 soldiers. To run over them, the British imperial government sent close to 450,000 soldiers, built concentration camps and used the scorched – earth

policy to make the Boers cave in and surrender. However, the war cost Britain huge finance, loss of gallant officers and eventual public support. Most Britons were angry at discovering by 1902 that it was Rhodes Cecil who precipitated the war and by 1906, the liberal party which unmasked the truth and opposed the war was elected into British parliament. The liberal party which was against colonialism granted self-government to Transvaal in 1906 and Orange River Colony in 1907.

With the enthronement of the liberal party, the British conquest was relaxed. This gradually aided the decline of British liberal policy instituted in 1828 through its 50<sup>th</sup> ordinance and abolition of slave trade in 1834; its support of education of the aborigines and slaves in Cape colony and promulgation of a law conceding voting rights to non-Europeans in the Cape, so long as they had little education and property. The problem was that liberal policies which forced out the Boers, into the interior of the Transvaal were not universalised or extended to the hinterlands. This liberalist policy was not continued by the new British government which rather made the various unions sign a convention bringing all separate unions to form one South African state. The convention allowed only the Boers and the English rights to votes and leadership to the exclusion of the Africans and the races in South Africa. Despite the condemnations and protests by the aborigines, the British government and South African government maintained the segregation policy. This was the beginning of apartheid and full scale racist policy in the Republic of South Africa which was so granted after Britain and the Boers had forged an alliance at the end of the Anglo – Boer war II.

## 9.2 Apartheid Policy in South Africa

The policy of apartheid government was an outcome of a movement referred to as ‘Afrikaner Nationalism’. This was a tribalist movement championed by the Dutch Boer minority group in South Africa with the notion of dominating the political, economical and cultural systems of other groups in South Africa. It was a movement aimed at a total and wholistic ‘Afrikanerisation’ of all other ethnic groups found and resident in the new South African Republic.

The Dutch on arrival in South Africa objected to the domination of Dutch East India company as it forcefully acquired the lands of the African aborigines and enslaved them. They retreated to the interior under British imperial incursion with their laws of social and political freedom of all races. The Boers or Afrikaners (so named by their language) treasured their racist and cultural superiority, trekked away to enable them preserve their cultural dominance and superiority complex which they imposed on the areas they conquered and dominated. This policy of British liberalism against the Boers from the early 19th century formed the idea to form the Afrikaner nationalism. The nationalist movement was also meant to protect them against the rising number or population of other groups like the Uitlanders and Africans so as to guard their cultural identity against the upsurging British and African cultures. The Anglo-Boer wars strengthened this Afrikaner ideology or movement. With time, this metamorphosed into associations and political parties formation.

In the 1870s, the Boers felt threatened by the presence of the Uitlanders and annexation of the Transvaal by the British in 1871 and made a part of Cape colony in 1880, coupled with the annexation of Transvaal Republic in 1877, made moves to form cultural associations to protect their language and culture from extinction. The early political parties formed by the Boers were anti-British and clannish in orientation. The Boeren Beschermings Vereining (B.B.V) i.e. the Dutch speaking Farmer's Association was founded by Jan Hofmeyr in 1878, which opposed the imposition of farm taxes against the Boers land, language, nation and sustain its cultural revivalism. Through the establishment of a newspaper called the Die Afrikaner Patriot, it spread its ideals that was aimed at a broad based Boer solidarity against British rule. By 1879, the Afrikaner Bond was formed by Dr. S.J. Du Toit with the slogan 'Africa for the Afrikaans' and 'a united South Africa under its own flag'. It took over the Die Afrikaner Patriot, coordinated all other Boers cultural associations and extended its branches to the Orange Free State and Transvaal. The Bond was the backbone binding the Boers against British military campaigns, imperial influence and economic exploitation. It rooted seriously for the adoption of Afrikaner as the Lingua Franca rather than English Language. Its leader in the cape parliament was Hofmeyer, the original founder of the B.B.V. For more than a decade, it vehemently worked against the British dominance in the Cape colony.

The hardliner posture of the Bond was modified later by Hofmeyr. He tolerated the British, canvassed for a merger of Afrikaner and English dominance and a consideration of the Cecil Rhodes ideas who was relieved of his position as the Cape Prime Minister when he lost out with Jameson to overthrow Kruger's government.

The Anglo-Boer wars affected the bond and unity of the Boers. It brought about a three-fold division in the threshold of the Boers clannish movement. It broke up the Boers into:

- (a) those who fought the war to its conclusive end (the bitter-einders);
- (b) those who gave up early enough in course of the war (hans-oppers); and
- (c) those who sat on the fence.

This last group drew the ire of both the bitter-einders and the hans-oppers. Many Afrikaners lost their voting rights for supporting the anti-British protests led by the Boers who fought the British, with each trading blames against each other. With this, the pro-British progressive party in the cape led by Dr. S. Jameson, the raider of the Transvaal state dominated the scene. The party as led in the Natals.

### **The Rebirth of Afrikaner Nationalism**

Before the end of the Anglo-Boer wars in 1910, Viscount A. Milner was in 1902, appointed the governor of Orange Free State and the Transvaal colony. He also doubled as the high commissioner of the new South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) under the British rule. Milner's administrative policy was to destroy the influences of the Boers and propagate the British imperialism. Based on this, he persuaded more British families to migrate into South Africa to increase the population of the English-speaking occupants. He built government schools in Afrikaner

core areas with the curriculum prepared and taught in English language including in Transvaal and Orange Free States, core homes of the Boers. He also established Anglican missions to adulterate their religion and culture. He made a policy uniting the whole of South Africa as one economic and political entity. He even set up a customs union for South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

In the economic angle, Milner opened up the mines in Johannesburg but depended on African slave labour to work on the mines. This made him enter into agreement with the Portuguese who controlled Mozambique from where Africans were sent as hired labourers to South Africa. The Portuguese received fixed commissions on the number of blacks sent to the mines of Johannesburg. The demand for more hands led Milner to arrange for the Chinese who offered cheap labour between 1904 and 1905. When Milner was recalled in March, 1905, his policies collapsed as a result of the Boer's reactions and protests which encouraged and intensified Afrikaner nationalism.

Under Milner's regime, the Boers conscious of their culture and language organised themselves into educational and cultural movements. The Society for Christian Education (C.N.O) was forced to raise funds from rich Boers to establish schools that would teach Afrikaner and Boer culture as against the British system. With this, Afrikaners regrouped to form a great nationalist body despite their financial handicaps. Prompted by avowed objectives to be self-assertive, the Afrikaners resolved to use political agitations to push on their demands. The Boer generals in the second Anglo-Boer war, Louis Botha and Yan Smuts in 1905 founded the Het Volt Party. In the Transvaal, in the Orange River, M.T steyn and J.M.B. Hertzog formed the Orangia Unie Party. While in the Cape colony, the Afrikaner Bond was revived.

### **SOUTH AFRICA UNDER LOUIS BOTHA**

The recall in 1905 of Milner to London ended his policies, 'Anglicisation' and 'Anglophonisation' of South Africa. The new government in Britain led by the liberal party quickly conceded to the Boers their British colonised states of Transvaal and Orange Free State in 1906 and 1907 respectively with the mind of achieving reconciliation and only retained her supervisory hegemony in South Africa outside its stronghold on Natal and Cape colony.

The British arranged for a convention in October, 1908 and February, 1909 at Durban and Cape Town. The delegates from Transvaal, Orange River, Cape colony and the Natal accepted to come under one union called South Africa, where all the federating states were made provinces. They agreed also to have three capitals namely: Cape Town to serve as the legislative capital; Pretoria as the administrative capital and the Bloemfontein as the legal capital. The official languages were to be English and Dutch. In this convention, non-whites were not invited and based on their absence, they were denied any political and economic rights-a policy that had been the cultural trusts of the Boers. Based on this, Charter, the British government granted South Africa a political system adopted by the independence in 1910 and admitted into the British common wealth of nations. The political system adopted by the independent South African states was the West Minister system.

Following the turnout of political events, the volk party, Orangia Unie Party; the South African Party in Transvaal, Orange Free Province and the Cape Province came together and formed a strong

party, the ‘South African Party’. Some other parties like the pro-British Progressive Party (Unionist Party) and the Labour Party were also formed. The election to the parliamentary seats was won by the South African Party in 1910 which formed the first unionist government of an independent South Africa. Louis Botha and Jan Smuts were appointed as the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister respectively. In order to harmonise and pacify the Boers and the English, Botha appointed more of his ministers from both races. Owing to the new political orientation, most of the legislators were drawn from white farmers and miners. The synergy between these two groups denied Africans and the coloured aborigines all political and civil rights. The blacks were subjected into slavery, forced labour and dehumanising status, and with them they were able to have cheap labour for their farmlands and gold mines.

### **The Formation and Emergence of the South African National Party**

As was expected, the alliance between the English and the Boers broke. The Boers would not accept to play second fiddle or equal yoke with the English. They objected to the recognition of English Language as a Lingua Franca like the Afrikaner. They suspected Botha and feared that he could allow the British to anglicise South Africa, and they equally desired to have the constitution amended.

The new Boer nationalist renaissance was led by a minister in Botha’s cabinet, Barry Hertzog who was at the 1908-1909 national convention, a founding member of the South African party and an elected parliamentarian. He as an Afrikaner nationalists was opposed to Botha’s ‘coalition’ government which gave equal political recognition for both the Boers and the English.

The campaigns of Barry Hertzog against Botha began in 1912 when he demanded for a complete severance from British control which led to his sack from Botha’s cabinet. He led a walk out march of some union parliamentarians in a South African party meeting in November, 1913. By January, 1914, Hertzog floated the nationalist party dominated by the Afrikaners (Boers) with a full blown racist manifesto. The party’s objectives include:

- a. complete independence from Britain;
- b. a programme of separate education systems for the Afrikaners and the English speaking groups;
- c. non-participation of South Africa in the First World War;
- d. a policy for the dominance of European (white) population in South Africa;
- e. maintenance of racism, through separate residencies between the whites and the blacks in South Africa.

The growing status of the nationalist party gave them victory in the 1924 elections under a pact with the labour party. Hertzog therefore, became the Prime Minister (1924 – 1933). Under him, the structural and legal foundations of apartheid policy were laid in South Africa.

However, Hertzog by turn of events in 1930 soft pedalled his harsh measures against the blacks and hardline against the British and English race. His new nationalist posture made him stop

the execution of arrest of African communists, stop the bill to deny all Africans in the country their voting rights, stopped South Africa from attaining a republican status but preferred it instead to remain a dominion in the British commonwealth. He formed a coalition government with Jan Smuts of the South African Party and made Smuts the Deputy Prime Minister to ensure a more united and free South Africa.

Disappointed by Hertzog's later policies, the extreme or radical Afrikanists abandoned Hertzog's nationalist party for a new 'Purified Nationalist Party' led by Dr D.F. Malan a Boer parliamentarian. The party formed by 19 parliamentarians in July, 1934 accused Hertzog of:

- (a) abandoning the cause of Afrikaner nationalism;
- (b) rejecting the suppression law and adopting liberal policy which accommodated Africans and the English;
- (c) not achieving complete break and independence from Britain; and
- (d) becoming an agent of British imperialistic neocolonialism.

By 1948, the party captured the parliament and Malan became the Prime Minister and fully implemented the apartheid policy in South Africa.

### **Reasons for the Emergence of the Nationalist and Purified Nationalist Parties**

These parties emerged due to the following reasons:

- i. The nationalist and purified nationalist parties got the Boer's support because of their belief in the dominance of South Africa by the Afrikaners.
- ii. The parties stood for the preservation of the culture and language of the Afrikaners.
- iii. The Boers who were poor blamed it on the policies of Louis Botha who never conceded complete economic dominance to the Boers.
- iv. The nationalist party was opposed to World War I canvassed by the British based on the Boers long standing hostilities and rivalry with the British.
- v. The World War to the best of their knowledge never concerned South Africa and that Britain could not be offered any assistance to prosecute the war, moreso, as it was against Germany that promoted and backed up Boer's cause.
- vi. Both the nationalist and purified nationalist parties were strong advocates of complete independence from British neo-colonial control.
- vii. The two parties championed the cause for the full practice of racism and racial discrimination.
- viii. The parties believed in unrepentant superiority of the Boers and the whites over the African Bantus and other non-whites who were regarded as inferior races.

### **Major Factors that Supported the Emergence and Practice of Apartheid in South Africa**

There are major factors that aided the emergence and consolidation of apartheid regime in South Africa. These include:

- i. ***The institutionalisation of the Dutch reformed church:*** This church as old as the Boer nation was referred to as the “church of the Boer nation” which incorporated and propagated the Boer’s, culture and philosophy. Its main doctrines were drawn from the Jewish Pentateuch (first five books of the Old Testament). It preached predestination in which they believe that there are chosen and superior races, master and slave races, eternally saved and condemned people. The church preached the Boer’s superiority and Baaskap (inequality) of the white in the state and the church.
  - ii. ***Suppression of Africans and Weakness of Moderate Parties:*** The inability of the moderate parties like the labour party and unionists to form a common front against the domineering and fanatical narrow nationalism of the Boers or Afrikaners. The labour party formed by the white workers of mainly Anglophone segments despite being only interested in their welfare, were more disposed to the cause of the Afrikaners than that of the Africans. This was why in 1924, it was easy for the nationalist party to strike an alliance with the labour party in order to emerge as the winner in the national election.
  - iii. ***The Denial of Citizenship Rights to Africans:*** Before 1936, some classes of Africans in the Cape colony were allowed to vote but with the enactment of the 1936 Native Representative Act, they together with all Africans lost every electoral or voting rights. They were only empowered to nominate three whites who then represented them in the parliament. This was known as ‘cape native voter’s roll’. The Africans were also empowered to nominate four Europeans who represented their interests in the Senate Council.
4. ***Anti-African (Black) Legislations:*** The legislations of the laws which suppressed the blacks and deprived them of their fundamental human rights consolidated the apartheid policy. The laws made apartheid a legal practice and its opposition illegitimate. This hampered for a long time any systematic resistance by the coloured and African people. Again, being denied access to political, economic and legal powers, the blacks were virtually rendered impotent and impoverished to fight a cause.

### 9.3 Reactions Against Apartheid System

Beginning from 1913 to the 1950s, apartheid policy was carried out by the union government of South Africa. The policy was institutionalised through parliamentary enactments giving the whites the legal rights to determine the social, economic and political events in South Africa. Certain laws and enactments stood out as major apartheid sign posts. These are:

- i. ***Mixed Marriage Act of 1949:*** In order to discourage any form of union and physical contact between the whites and non-whites, the Mixed Marriage act of 1949 was enacted. This was intended to segregate the races and prohibit possible inter-racial marriages. By 1950, the Immorality Act which made it an offence to have sexual relationship between the whites and non-whites was enacted.

ii. ***The Land Act:*** Much earlier than the Mixed Marriage Act and Immorality Act was the Land Act of 1913. This Act allowed a black family to be given a piece of land by a white family as in the feudal system. It was the duty of the black to provide their own crops of choice by the white, the ploughs and oxen, work on the land and harvest them. The feudal white then received more than half the produce. Even though it was exploitative and feudalistic, it was considered acceptable by both parties. But the apartheid system discarded the idea of sharing as it brought some sense of contact and partnership with the blacks and gave them some economic prospects notwithstanding the hardship it brought to the blacks with the trauma of being made strangers in their own homeland.

The amended Land Act contained the following provisions:

- (a) Restriction of black visits to white areas except they were employed by the whites.
- (b) Obtention of a “pass” from local labour office to enable the blacks enter white occupied areas in search of employment.
- (c) The blacks must have their service contracts with the whites documented and registered.
- (d) Obtention of a “stay permit” to enter the urban areas if they were to spend more than three days.
- (e) Obtention of a “permit” to be outside one’s home during curfew hours.
- (f) Carrying of all previous permits and registration papers while on transit outside black designated areas.

iii. ***Native Urban Act of 1923:*** This Act consolidated the stringent provisions of the 1913 Land Act. It empowered the white to order an African out of a place if his presence is considered a nuisance, dangerous or offensive. It also restricted the movement of Africans within the reserved areas of the whites.

iv. ***Forced Labour:*** Africans were meant to do the menial jobs and hard labour. They were pegged down to perform unskilled labour, receive low wages and work longer hours. They became the ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water’ while their white counterparts enjoyed and did the more skilled profitable and lucrative jobs. The 1911 Mines and Work Act prohibited Africans from being employed at the mines as skilled workers. In 1925 Colour Bar Act, the blacks were prohibited from doing certain aspects of the mining work reserved for the whites. Again, the Industrial Act of 1937 prohibited Africans from belonging to a labour union like the whites. This was made to muscle up their agitations against labour welfare packages and against having any platform to protest against the apartheid practice and racial discrimination. In 1953 however, the settlement of disputes or Native Labour Act was enacted giving the blacks opportunity of forming their own trade union highly regulated by government and creating a separate machinery for the settlement of disputes between Africans and their white employers.

v. ***Restricted Education:*** When the missionaries came with their education in early 19th century, it was for the English inhabitants and few slaves that ran away from their Boer masters. The

core Africans, the Hottentots and Bantus were not captured in the programme. The Boers believed that Africans were made to be farmers and not to be educated. They needed only little agricultural education to improve their farming skills. They were to be allowed to remain primitive, agrarian and natural. Giving them western education could make them, ambitious and unfit to do manual and labourial tasks. Education was therefore kept for the whites as master race whose duty was to rule, have enough skills for social, political, economic and industrial enterprises.

Following the exigencies of the time, a commission was set up in 1949 to determine the philosophy of a possible African education based on two broad areas, viz:

- (i) To serve the special needs of Africans as an independent race, and to help in the preservation of their history.
- (ii) To conform with the policy of separate development where they would retain their inferior status.

The commission recommended the following which were in 1953 enacted as the Bantu Education Act:

- (a) That all African education must be conducted through the mother-tongue of the child for the first eight years.
- (b) That the mother-tongue should be extended gradually to the secondary level of education.
- (c) That African and English languages should be taught to African children from the primary school to enable them have rudimentary skills in communicating with the whites, more through white communities, carryout instructions and work efficiently for the whites.
- (d) That matters of education should remain exclusively in the hands of the government and no longer to be shared with the missionaries.
- (e) That the Africans in urban areas were prohibited from attending institutions of higher learning in the white areas.
- (f) That different curricula be formulated for the white and non-white races. In 1959, the University Education Act was equally enacted which approved three university colleges for the Africans in their rural areas. The curriculum of these universities were meant to discourage the production of professionals, like: lawyers, teachers, doctors, nurses, professional technicians, etc.

- vi. **Parliamentary Representation:** The 1936 Representative of Native Act denied Africans of all political rights. It went further to remove the voting rights of Africans of Cape Province. Instead, they were mandated to nominate three Europeans to represent them at the Union Parliament and four other Europeans to represent them in the senate. These representatives were even to be chosen through Electoral College and not by direct election. The act allowed a Native Representative Council in the Cape Province made up of 16 Africans, 6 chief native

commissioners and a secretary for native affairs. It could only make recommendations and play advisory role. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 abolished the council. The coloured had their names removed from the common voter's roll in 1951 and placed on a different roll. They also nominated four Europeans to present them in the Union Parliament. The Supreme Court later nullified this act based on technical flaws in the process of its passage.

### **Reactions of Africans to Apartheid**

Like any other people, the Africans put up resistance at the early invasion of the Boers and the English settlers but were conquered and enslaved. The early African nationalists in South Africa formed small associations beginning from the late 19th century. The first South African political association to be formed by Africans was the Imbumba Yama Africa in the Cape colony. Within this period, John Tengo Jabavu edited the Isigidimi Sama Xhosa newspaper in Xhosa language, but in 1884 he established 'the African opinion' (IMVO Labantsundu) which served as their mouth piece in Cape colony.

The Africans gradually entered into the political nationalism through the religiously oriented mass nationalist movement. This was the 'Ethiopian Movement' or simply called 'Ethiopian Zionism' because of its origination and spread. It accounted for the origin of African independent or breakaway churches on account of European segregation, discrimination, and racism in the church. In 1884, Nehemiah Tile on account of racial discrimination broke away from the Wesleyan Methodist Mission and established his own church at Tembu. This example was emulated by other African religious nationalists.

These 'African Zionist Movements' established to protest the continued white domination and exploitation became a rallying point for Africanism and turning platform for leadership in human management, oratory and group work. Because it has a religious undertone, it was devoid of an extremist radicalism needed by a politically minded people to fight the political oppressions; instead, it relied on divine vengeance and intervention.

In 1909, immediately after the union convention, the elite from the Cape colony and beyond formed the South African Native National Conference to protest against their exclusion in the making of the union constitution and in the inheritance of their land. Their delegation to the Union Government yielded no result. Not ready to battle out their case in Pretoria in London, they came back home and abandoned the cause.

### **African National Congress and the Struggle against Apartheid**

The real indigenous struggle against apartheid began with the return of a lawyer, Pixly Ka Iza Ka Seme who studied in the U.S.A and Britain. In 1912, he formed the South African Native National Congress to challenge the white domination, and in 1923, the party became known as the African National Congress (ANC). The party met annually on the outskirts of Bloemfontein in Cape province. It sent its protests to the union government in Pretoria and delegations to London to no avail. By

1919, ANC led thousands of Africans to a protest march where their ‘passes’ were publicly destroyed and the police applied brutal force on the protesters, arrested and tried over 200 Africans. The brutal encounter with the police made many withdraw from the ANC activities and by 1938 the ANC was left with about 4000 members that were equally fractionalised.

On his own, Clements Kadalie of Nyasaland (now in Malawi Republic) formed the I.C.U (Industrial and Commercial Union) which used strikes to press their protests until 1923 when it became a national platform for the blacks. The brutality of the police against its members coupled with the union government refused to grant their demands brought about its break up. A re-organized and fortified ANC led by Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu organised what was tagged ‘passive resistance’ to every apartheid laws and regulations in 1952. The Indians, blacks and some Europeans, sympathetic to their cause marched to a police station without having their passes. The police applied brute on the protesters and many of the protesters including women were arrested, tried and jailed. Some members of the international community such as the Indian National Congress and the Congress Alliance in Europe took a swipe at the South African government and lent their support to the A.N.C.

When Robert Sobukwe who attended the Pan African Congress held in Ghana in 1958 at the instance of Kwame Nkrumah returned to South Africa, he formed and organise a branch of the Pan African Movement in South Africa in March 1959. The name of the party was the South African Pan African Congress (PAC) with the slogan ‘Government of South Africa, by the Africans, for the Africans’. Some ANC loyalists who were attracted by his virulent attacks on the racist regime joined the PAC and so splitted the ANC.

At the convention of the African National Congress (ANC) in December, 1959, the party agreed to launch another protest against the pass laws and regulations by March, 1960. In view of this, the Pan African Congress (PAC) wanting to set the pace and take the lead quickly convened a meeting and resolved to carry out the same protest on March 21, 1960-ten days earlier than the ANC’s anticipated protest. The demonstration was really widespread that in a town called Sharpsville, the police attacked the protesters and killed as much as about 69 people and injuring more than 180 of them even when the protesters were not armed. This singular act attracted both internal and international condemnation. The ANC quickly declared March 28, 1960 a mourning day for South Africa which many South Africans obeyed. The Union Government wounded by this affront of a black leadership arrested many Africans, declared a state of emergency and have its white military troops mount strategic posts for a showdown. Having achieved this, on April 8, 1960, it proscribed all political non-white political parties and associations in South Africa.

Determined to win the struggle, Nelson Mandela went underground to form an armed wing of the ANC called the Umkhonto We Sizwe (spear of the nation) which took to sabotaging government institutions and policies. The armed wing of the ANC received support in many African countries, Africans in London and in America. It began its offensive on December 16, 1961. In conjunction with the PAC armed wing, they killed many police officers and their African paid agents between 1962

and 1963. In support of the armed struggle dimension, the African students in 1969, broke away from the National Union of South African students and founded the South African Students |Organisation with Steve Biko as its leader. It promoted black consciousness and assisted in the formation of non-white social and cultural associations to help in sensitising the people. It later transformed into a political party with the name 'Black Peoples' Convention.

In order to counter the anti-racist attacks and protests, the apartheid government came out with many draconian laws. The union parliament in 1950 enacted the Anti-communist Suppression Act in which it empowered the minister of justice to:

- (a) ban organizations considered inimical and dangerous to the peace of the state;
- (b) clamp down on any communist formation in South Africa and on any other organisation or individual with anti-government objectives;
- (c) detain, try and jail culprits against the law and with his decisions not subject to any appeal in law courts.

By 1953, the government enacted another law which permitted it to declare a state of emergency in any part of South Africa whenever it wished to arrest and detain without trials for passive resistance and to banish people to specific rural areas. In 1961, it enacted a retroactive law (backdated to 1950) permitting government to still hold any prisoner in detention even at the completion of his jail term, if it considered the release of such person dangerous to the peace and safety of South Africa.

The government from 1962 enlarged the powers of the police to suppress all acts of insurgency with forces. The police was therefore empowered to detain for 12 days and isolate such suspects. In 1963, the detention period was increased to 90 days and by 1971, indefinite detention was recommended. Interrogations followed torture and even death of suspects. This brought about the death of Steve Biko and many powerful and resilient black political and social activists. In 1968, the police was reformed and made to have a spying network using black paid agents to spy on the activities of pro-blacks, nationalists and striking workers. The security police became known as the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) with power to determine what constituted a breach and offence.

The union government was set to dismantle the ANC and PAC. It damped down on some of their leaders in 1956 who were accused of treason but were later acquitted. Subsequently, it imprisoned many of the ANC leaders. In March, 1960 over 10,000 persons were arrested over a-three-day nationwide strike called by Nelson Mandela. In 1962, he was arrested in Natal and jailed for five years. Within few months of release, he was re-arrested. By 1963, all the leaders of the ANC Umkhonto were arrested at their base close to Johannesburg. On trial, Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe the leader of PAC and seven others were given life jail sentences and moved to Robben Island of Cape Town. The remnant of ANC and PAC leaders left South African shores to inflame the nationalist struggle from the diaspora.

The South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) from 1969 mounted up a guerrilla warfare against South Africa which had the colony (now Namibia) as a mandated colony which Germany ruled before the end of the World War II. This struggle for independence by Namibia gave pressure to South African government and attracted international opposition against it. Angola, and Mozambique-Portuguese colonies were also granted independence after extensive armed struggles and with the support of the international community. In April 1980, Southern Rhodia (Namibia) got her independence from South Africa. The examples of these struggles in these three sister-nations encouraged the black and colonised nationalists in South Africa. One thing unique about them was that the black majority took over power from the white minority at the attainment of their independence. Again, it allowed the international community wholly focus its attention on the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Based on the support gathered abroad, the internal liberation struggle was intensified. On June 9, 1976 violence erupted in Soweto (South Western Township) near Johannesburg where black children protested against the imposition of Afrikaner language as a medium of instruction rather than their own mother-tongue. The Bureau of State Security massacred many of the African school children which saw to a widespread revolts involving the blacks and all coloured youths who also joined the ANC and PAC guerrilla troops. This made the OAU in 1977 to declare June 9, which still holds to this day as African Child Day.

The pressure and international condemnation of South African government, backed up with sanctions and expulsion from membership of international bodies forced the apartheid government to radically reform its policies to accommodate the coloured and the black citizens. For the first time, it consented to have three-tier parliaments for the whites, the Indians and the blacks. It accepted to release unconditionally Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, lift the ban on ANC, PAC and political organisations and accepted to organise a broad based government. The Inkatha freedom party led by Chief Mangasuthu Buthelezi opposed preferential attention given to Mandela and the ANC and opted to stage a guerrilla protest. The CODESA (Conference for a Democratic South Africa) convened in 1993 by President Frederick de Klerk who himself was a liberalist, came up with a new constitution which accepted a multi-party system and with democratic elections involving all races and citizens in South Africa without any restriction. Between 26<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1994 elections were held for the participating 19 political parties and at the end, the ANC led by Dr. Nelson Mandela won by 62.6% of the total votes cast while the Nationalist Party led by De Klerk came second with 24% of the total votes cast. By the provisions of the new democratic constitution, Mandela was sworn in on May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1994 as the president of South Africa.

### **International Response to Apartheid Policy in South Africa**

#### **Supporters of Apartheid**

The union government and apartheid policy were heavily supported by many powerful and advanced western nations. The communist countries in East Europe and Asia opposed it. UNO member-states

as a result were sharply divided along these lines. The permanent members of the Security Council, namely: the United States, Britain, France with the exclusion of China and the USSR gave support to the apartheid government in South Africa owing to their economic, political and cultural ties with the white racists in South Africa. They vetoed all decisions in the UN to sanction the union government. They were however supported by their cronies of Portugal which offered the strongest support, Japan, Finland, Germany and Israel. These countries traded and diplomatically related with South Africa because of its rich mineral resources and owing to their neo-colonialist tradition.

With the assistance of these powers, South Africa acquired high military capability and became a super power in Africa with the ability of producing nuclear arms. The west and its allies trained the South African military, supplied it with military arms and spare parts, helped it produce military hardwares and lethal weapons. From these countries, South Africa acquired military aircrafts and military tanks and was well armed to face any military opposition from within and outside the African continent. Iran supplied South Africa with the needed oil and New Zealand which helped South Africa with sports development and human capacity building.

Because of the centrality of South Africa in the economy of the Western and established capitalist nations, the West overlooked its apartheid practice since it was a system that turned out the wealth in South Africa. South Africa supplied these states with wires and fruits, gold, finest diamond and textiles in exchange for military hardwares and technical assistance from Britain, U.S.A, Germany, France, Japan and Israel. Most of these countries invested heavily in South Africa and had a mandate to protect their investments. They resisted moves to sanction South Africa until the Soweto massacre in 1976.

### **Apartheid Critics and Antagonists**

The UN as a world body was vehemently opposed to the apartheid regime. By 1946, the general assembly debated the racist policy in South Africa but its proponents argued that it was an internal affair for South Africans. In 1950, the UN condemned the practice through the passage of some resolutions which appeared ineffective. Following the Sharpeville massacre, U.N.O became more biting on its attack on South Africa. The newly admitted states from Africa led by Nigeria mounted more pressures and called for far-reaching sanctions and dismantling of apartheid in South Africa. Between 1960 to 1990, the African bloc in the UN, gained progressive support from Asia, Arab and East European countries led by Russia condemning the policy and often threatening world peace.

In the UN, they influenced many resolutions against South Africa. These resolutions included:

- (a) Isolation of South Africa by the international community.
- (b) Severance of all diplomatic ties with South Africa.
- (c) Closure of all seaports against South African vessels.
- (d) Stoppage of all commercial transactions with South Africa.
- (e) Denial of landing rights of South African planes.
- (f) That security councils should adopt measures capable of bringing about the implementation of the resolutions.

Although, France and Britain vetoed these resolutions in August, 1963 due to their interests in the South African economy. It subsequently complied but allowed only partial embargoes and isolation.

From the commonwealth, the African states which formed the majority of the 50 member nations as at 1991, pressurised for resolutions against South Africa. Due to the commonwealth convention that internal affairs of its member-states could not be discussed without the permission of the state involved, the issue of apartheid in South Africa could not be discussed from 1948 till 1961 when South Africa became a republic. The many African nations that had joined the commonwealth vehemently opposed the membership of South Africa which had applied to retain its membership in 1961 as a republican state, forcing its President Dr. Verwoed to withdraw the application and South African membership of the organisation. South Africa's further attempts were met with stiffer opposition.

In the New Delhi 1983 meeting, the commonwealth agreed that measures should be put in place to bring about peace and justice globally, eradicate apartheid regime in South Africa and reinstate majority or democratic rule in South Africa. In October 1985, the meeting in Bahamas set up a small group called Eminent Persons Group (EPG) whose tasks included to discuss with the union government in South Africa to find ways to ending apartheid regime. Malcom Fraser, a former Australian President and General Olusegun Obasanjo, a former Nigerian Head of State were among the six eminent citizens. The group went to South Africa and met with the apartheid government and the nationalist or rebel groups after which it forwarded its report to the commonwealth. But before the report could be discussed, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana countries of the commonwealth were bombed by South Africa making negotiations more difficult. Apart from Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister of Britain, other commonwealth nations imposed stricter sanctions against South Africa. Following the EPG reports, the US congress enacted the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 while the European Community and some Western nations started applying sanctions on South Africa.

The activities and position of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) against the apartheid in South Africa was outstanding. As socialists, they believed in social justice and equal rights of all men. The USSR never believed in imperial, colonial and neo-colonial antics of the west and had vehemently fought against the capitalist interests of the west. In the circumstance, the USSR maintained a sustained and rigid opposition against South Africa and its allies. The USSR offered moral, military and financial support to the black liberation struggle and in addition they applied all sanctions aimed against deterring the racist regime. The USSR aware of the 1950 Act in South Africa which forbade communist ideologies and ideologues, fought back by offering all the needed supports to the black nationalist movements. This stance was maintained by the USSR until its collapse in February, 1990 when its 12 federating nations achieved separate autonomy.

In the case of OAU, the organisation made tactical efforts and vociferous condemnation of the practice of racism in South Africa. The organisation was formed in 1963 to protect the interest of African states and to dislodge the vestiges of colonial and neo-colonialist tendencies. OAU was out in a precarious situation since apartheid was a continental and African onslaught. It could not enter into military threats and campaigns, for that would mean further deepening of African problems and a possible afro suicidal mission. It adopted the option of encouraging every other African state to use its international fora to condemn the racist practice. Again, it financed and materially supported the liberationist fighters in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. It insisted on having apartheid dismantled and enthroning democracy where citizenship and equal rights of the blacks and colour of South Africa would not be compromised.

OAU and its member-states fought hard to exclude South Africa from the Commonwealth of Nations, UNO, International Labour Organisation, Olympic Organisation, FIFA, World Health Organisation, Economic Commission for Africa and in 1973, it got the OPEC to place oil embargo on South Africa. Except Malawi who from 1967 opened a diplomatic relationship with South Africa, no other African country related with it until 1990 when apartheid was dismantled. The OAU set up a coordinating committee for the liberation of Africa referred to as the liberation committee created in 1963. Owing to the capitalist backing of the racist government, the committee's work was rendered ineffective and less successful. It was established to:

- (a) Harmonise every assistance given by both Africans and non-African sympathisers of the struggle.
- (b) Manage effectively the resources garnered for this purpose.
- (c) Recommend to the council of ministers of OAU how much financial inputs that were required from each member-state of the body.
- (d) Encouraged various liberation movements towards a coordinated, united and common effort in order to achieve their objectives.
- (e) Assist in every way possible to resolve misunderstanding and conflicts that may arise among rival African liberation movements.

This, the work of the committee, SWAPO led by Sam Nujoma achieved independence for Namibia in 1990, Robert Mugabe got independence for Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) in 1975 and Angola also attained independence in 1975. This strengthened the resolve to achieve democratic rule in South Africa which paid off in 1994.

To achieve this, blacks in South Africa engaged in defiance campaign against racist and apartheid rules. Thousands of blacks engaged in more protests, hunger strikes, breach of established racist protocols and set orders. Some blacks insisted on making use of the public facilities and social amenities reserved for the comfort of the whites. They logically contended that they are a common property of South Africans; wealth created out of the efforts of the black, and that as citizens of South

Africa, they had every natural rights to appropriate and use that which belonged to them without further restrictions of any dehumanising laws.

Starting from the regime of Frederick De Klerk, the white's felt embarrassed by the global condemnation of the Union Government and the shameful isolations and sanctions against South Africa. It realised that the economic sabotage by the blacks who worked at the mines, their incessant rampages and strikes had negative impact on South African economy as foreign investments and transactions gradually snowballed. Her allies in the West were being attacked by threats of African countries considering the option but of aligning with the communist block to deal with Western investments in Africa. From 1989, De Klerk had no option but to allow for a comprehensive reforms to democratic South Africa. Pieta Botha who had resisted every reform moves was made to resign in August, 1989 while Mr. F.W. de Klerk of the Nationalist Party took over. De Klerk adopted reconciliation strategy by releasing Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners in October 1989. In February, 1990, Nelson Mandela was finally released after 27 years in jail. He lifted bans clamped on all black parties and movements and allowed all self and government in exiles to return to South Africa. Having visited some countries in Europe, America and Africa including France, Canada, Britain, United States and Nigeria among others, he entered into negotiations with all stakeholders including the released political leaders which resulted in the drafting of a new constitution which democratised the South African state and which made Mandela the first black president of South Africa in 1994.

## Summary

- Apartheid policy was adopted in South Africa after more than one century of outstanding hostility between the Boers and the English occupants of the territory was settled through the conciliatory approach of the liberal party in Britain in 1909.
- With the end of the Anglo-Afrikaner hostilities, the two major European settlers forced a common front to dominate and exploit the mineral wealth in South Africa through enslaving and oppressing the blacks and the coloured people who were the original owners of the land. It appeared that Britain gave South Africa independence in 1910 in order to form a common front with the Boers or Afrikaners to colonise and perpetually subjugate the original black and coloured owners of the state.
- The blacks from the mid-20th century resented the treatment meted against them. Like the Boers did against the English domination, the blacks used civil disobedience, strikes and the formation of socio-cultural movements and political parties to press for reforms and abolition of the oppressive racist and apartheid policy imposed on them.
- The refusal of the South African union government to budge led to the formations of guerilla movements in the 1950s which resorted to the use of arms struggle to achieve the needed liberation and democratisation. The movements and the black nationalists received

international support and patronage until 1990 when the South African government led by F.W. de Klerk recognised that apartheid was no longer political and acceptable by both the world and its allies.

### Objective Questions

1. The original inhabitants of South Africa were \_\_\_\_\_.
  - A. the Dutch and Indians
  - B. the English and the Boers
  - C. the Blacks and the Indians
  - D. the Hottentots and the Boers
2. The black politician who was opposed to Mandela's leadership of South Africa was \_\_\_\_\_.
  - A. Rhodes Cecil
  - B. Steve Biko
  - C. Magasuthu Buthelezi
  - D. Walter Sisulu
3. The early export commodities of South Africa were \_\_\_\_\_.
  - A. wool and wine
  - B. gold and salt
  - C. cattle and farm products
  - D. wheat and diamond
4. In the process of nation building, \_\_\_\_\_ became the most industrialised city in South Africa.
  - A. Soweto
  - B. the Cape Province
  - C. Pretoria
  - D. Johannesburg
5. The liberalist approach of Britain to the 19th century South Africa was felt through \_\_\_\_\_.
  - A. its fights with the Boers
  - B. the 50th ordinance of 1828
  - C. its conciliation with the Boers after the first war
  - D. its grant of independence to South Africa in 1910
6. According to public opinion \_\_\_\_\_ was responsible for the second Anglo-Boer war
  - A. The 50th ordinance
  - B. protest against Afrikaner language
  - C. Kruger
  - D. Rhodes Cecil
7. The bitter-einders were the group of Boers who \_\_\_\_\_.

- A. ended the battle with Britain by 1906  
B. spied against the Boers during the war  
C. never felt concerned about the war  
D. who sold out in course of the war
8. Mitner the governor-general of South Africa was recalled to London in the year \_\_\_\_\_.  
A. 1910  
B. 1902  
C. 1905  
D. 1904
9. The man credited with the institutionalisation of apartheid policy in South Africa was \_\_\_\_\_.  
A. Jan Smuts  
B. Louis Botha  
C. Pieta Botha  
D. Federick de Klerk
10. The only independent African state which backed the South African apartheid government was \_\_\_\_\_.  
A. Angola  
B. Botswana  
C. Tanzania  
D. Malawi

### Essay Questions

- 1a. What led to the Great Trek by the Boers in the 1830's?
- b. Briefly discuss what led to the first Anglo-Boer war.
- 2a. The Uitlanders betrayal of Jameson never improved their lots under Kruger. Discuss.
- b. What informed Afrikaner nationalism against the British?
- 3a. Discuss the emergence of South African nationalist party.  
b. Give reasons for the formation of both the nationalist and purified nationalist party.
- c. What are the major factors that favoured the practice of apartheid in South Africa.
- 4a. Point to three Acts that formed the major thrust of the apartheid policy in South Africa.  
b. How did Africans reacted to apartheid laws?  
c. Discuss the roles of the West and Security Council in the existence of apartheid in Africa.
- 4a. What role did commonwealth, OAU and UNO played in the dismantling of apartheid?  
b. How did Nelson Mandela emerge as black president in South Africa?