Annotated Bibliography

September 2014

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Chapter

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    A consideration of the character of the ongoing democratic struggle in South Africa, this article focuses on the strategy of the state and the nature of opposition groups in the conflict and the way in which they transform the terrain of struggle. It is argued that a decisive phase of the struggle has been reached involving a shift in the balance of forces in favour of those struggling for a democratic resolution, although state power remains entrenched and numerous problems of strategy and tactics remain for the liberation movements. This analysis is then used to assess the class character and nature of the unlikely changes which could result from the struggle.

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> Country-wide South African opposition has a long and variously textured history, dating back at least to the founding of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912. In the 1950s the still legal ANC had organized a popular, multira-cial, national protest movement. By 1959, the racially exclusive Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had broken away from the ANC and begun to gain support for its morec onfrontationala pproach.O ne yearl ater,b oth the ANC and PAC were banned, forced into exile, and began low-scale guerrilla activity launched from neighboring states and from within South Africa. This analysis focuses on the development of opposition politics within South Africa in the period between this banning of the ANC and PAC, and their legalization in early 1990.[2]

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> The introduction and first two chapters of this book detail the apartheid state's Total Strategy and the state's attempts to reconstitute the political terrain through the bantustans, the Tricameral Parliament, and the reformed local government structures in the townships. The third and fourth chapters consider the independent trade union movement, and developments in township organisation (including the position of the ANC) between 1976 and 1984. In the fourth chapter Murray deals with the factors behind the formation of the UDF and the National Forum

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[2] Marx, A., 'The State, Economy, and Self-Determination in South Africa', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 107, No. 4, Winter, 1992-1993, 655-6.

in 1983, and their ideological and strategic differences. The final three chapters detail township politics between the eruption of revolt with the Vaal Uprising in September 1984, through to the imposition of the second State of Emergency in June 1986. Murray provides a detailed, essentially chronological, narrative, and does not avoid difficult topics. For example, in his discussion of the development of township politics in 1986, he details not only the construction of new forms of grass-roots organisation (through street committees, etc.) and the increasing level and expanding range of ANC activities.[3]

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> This paper examines the popular revolt in South Africa between 1984 and 1986. We survey the course of this revolt in different regions of South Africa. Special attention is given to the emergence during this period of a more powerful independent black trade union movement. We also consider the nature of the white minority regime and its response to the popular upsurge. Finally, we note the emergence of new forms of popular resistance that point toward a new stage in the struggle against *apartheid.*

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158.   Piper, L., 'Nationalism without a nation: the rise and fall of Zulu nationalism in South Africa's transition to democracy, 1975–99', *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 8, Issue 1, January 2002, 73–94.

> During South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy the most virulent opposition to change came from Zulu nationalism. Post-apartheid, however, Zulu nationalism has largely waned. This is because Zulu nationalism was instrumentally invoked and jettisoned by the Inkatha Freedom Party. Beginning in 1975, Inkatha embraced a 'third way' resistance politics between 'acquiescence' in apartheid and 'impossible' militant resistance. It was only later that Inkatha turned to Zuluness when it was out-competed by the ANC and allies, first over the leadership of resistance politics and secondly during the transition. After 1994 the inclusion of the IFP in democratic government made old strategies redundant and thus it abandoned Zulu nationalism. Moreover, while a widespread sense of Zuluness exists, the meanings attached to it vary to the extent that the Zulu nation cannot exist. Thus the Zulu nationalism of the transition was an elite-driven political nationalism prosecuted without a popularly imagined Zulu nation.

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> In the original edition of The Crisis in South Africa, Saul and Gelb brought together accounts of both resistance to apartheid and the 'reforms' being introduced in the 1970s, and drew on Marxist crisis theory and especially the Gramscian notion of an 'organic crisis' for an appropriate analytical framework. They argued that intensifying struggle in the 1970s (i.e. industrial action, the urban protests of 1976-77, and the resurgence of the ANC) transformed the economic crisis of the early 1970s into an 'organic crisis'. Ruling class responses to crisis in capitalist South Africa have revolved around escalating repression and the extension of new economic and political opportunities to some blacks. Rising wages, predicated on rising labour productivity, are expected to expand the economic base in the townships. Post-Riekert influx control, rising state investment in and deregulation of township housing and development, post-Wiehahn labour policy, the opening up of opportunities for intra-township accumulation and differentiation, and the restructuring of black local government, provide the framework (premised on an expanding economic base) for the reconstitution of the conditions for sustained accumulation. The state also developed more assertive strategies, both repressive and incorporative, in the southern African region. Regional and domestic strategies together constituted the Total Strategy of the late 1970s.[4]

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> The study of the 'liberation' struggle in South Africa is unusual in that, with respect to the final phase of struggle in the 1980s, the literature was dominated by an 'indigenous' scholarship produced in whole or in part inside the country and, initially, during rather than after the period of struggle. This article examines three phases in this indigenous scholarship, beginning in the 1970s and 1980s with a phase of research that emphasised the local sources of political protest. In the early 1990s this gave way, partially at least, to a phase of 'critical indigenous' scholarship, focused primarily on the (mis)conduct of the 'youth'. Finally, beginning in the late 1990s and continuing into the early 2000s, there was a phase of 'activist-oriented indigenous' scholarship, focused on political leadership and networks. Each phase was defined in large part by the political context, which substituted for a theoretical or comparative framework for analysis. They were also distinguished by shifting methodologies and sources. While the 'voices' of participants in protest and organisation were emphasised in these three phases, different voices were given prominence in each of these. The challenge for scholars now is to integrate diverse voices into an overall picture, whilst recognising that voices are incomplete, that some potential voices are likely to remain silent, and that making sense of voices requires going beyond them.

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193.   Sparks, A., *Tomorrow is Another Country: The inside story of South Africa's negotiated revolution*, Sandton, Struik, 1995.

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196.   Stallard Foundation, *The Accelerating Revolution in South Africa, A top priority report for all South Africans*, Cape Town: Postma Publications, 1986.

197.   Stapleton, T.J.A., *Military History of South Africa: From the Dutch-Khoi Wars to the End of Apartheid*, Westport, CT, Praeger Security International, 2010.

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199.   Swilling, M., 'Stayaways, urban protest and the state', in South African Research Services (eds.), *South African Review 3*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1986.

200.   Switzer, L and Switzer, D., *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: descriptive bibliographic guide to African, Coloured and Indian newspapers, newsletters and magazines 1836-1976*, G.K. Hall and Co., Boston: 1979.

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204.   Thompson, L., *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, New Haven: Yale University Press,1985.

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206.   Turner, R., *The Eye of the Needle*, Spro-cas 2, Johannesburg, 1972.

207.   Van den Berghe, P.L. (ed), *The Liberal Dilemma in South Africa*, London, 1979.

208.   Van der Ross, R.E. (ed), *Say it out loud: The A.P.P. presidential addresses and other major political speeches, 1906-1940, of Dr. Abdula Abduraham*, Bellville, 1990.

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   In this article, substantial differences between Apartheid and Segregation are identified and explained by reference to the changing relations of capitalist and African pre-capitalist modes of production. The supply of African migrant labour-power, at a wage below its cost of reproduction, is a function of the existence of the pre-capitalist mode. The dominant capitalist mode of production tends to dissolve the pre-capitalist mode thus threatening the conditions of reproduction of cheap migrant labour-power and thereby generating intense conflict against the system of Segregation. In these conditions Segregation gives way to Apartheid which provides

the specific mechanism for maintaining labour-power cheap through the elaboration of the entire system of domination and control and the transformation of the function of the pre-capitalist societies.

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Chapter

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227.   ANC Archives, Lusaka Mission, 2/49/19, Tambo to Nzo, 9 August 1969.

228.   ANC Archives, Lusaka Mission, 2/29/20, Tambo to Nzo, 16 September 1970, enclosing commission's terms of reference, 29 August 1970 and 'Office of the President, Information Bulletin no. 1', 29 August 1970.

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and the rest of whom will have left by the evening of Friday 4 September' (55 names), with Tambo to Nzo, 16 September 1970.

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252. ANC, 'The eyes of our people are focused on this Conference: Part 4', *Sechaba*, 20(l), January 1986, 2-7.

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267.	ANC, *Report of a Commission of Inquiry Set up in November 1989 by the National Working Committee of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress to Investigate the Circumstances Leading to the Death of Mzwakhe Ngwenya (Also Known as Thami Zulu or TZ)*, 1990, Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

268.	ANC 48th National Conference, Durban July 1992, Adopted Resolution on Umkhonto we Sizwe. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocslhistory/conflmkres48 .html.

269.	ANC, *Appendices to the African National Congress Policy Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, August 1996.*

270.	ANC, '*A Strategic Perspective*', discussion document of the ANC, as adopted by the National Working Committee on 18 November 1992, published by the Department of Information and Publicity, Johannesburg, 1992.

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274.	African National Congress, *NEC Response to Motsuenyane Commission Report,* August 29, 1993. Reprinted at URL:http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr/1993/pr0829.html.

275.	'ANC Wins and Loses with Horror Camps Report', *Southern Africa Report*, 23 October 1992.

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277.	Armstrong, M., 'Healthcare in Exile: ANC Health Policy and Health Care Provision in MK Camps, 1964 to 1989', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 66, Issue 2, 2014, Special

Issue: THE 24TH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 270-290.

The ANC's early health provisions that in 1977 culminated in a bureaucratised Department of Health were critical for the survival of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres and the ANC's exile movement more generally. This article examines how the relationship between the medical sector and the military changed throughout the time that the ANC and MK were in exile while indicating instances where they influenced each other. While the Health Department's relationship with the military was never severed, the strength of the relationship fluctuated considerably from the early formation of the medical sector to the greater establishment of an institutionalised Health Department.

278.   The Bankrupt, Corrupt, Degenerate Leadership of the ANC of South Africa', *Ikwezi (a Journal of South African and Southern African Political Analysis)*, June 1978.

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279.   Barrell, H., 'ANC Conference: "All for the Front"', *Work in Progress*, 38, Aug. 1985.

280.   Barrell, H., 'ANC and Business: the tactics of talks', *Work in Progress*, 39, 1985.

281.   Barrell, H., 'The Outlawed South African Liberation Movements', in Shaun Johnson (ed). *South Africa: No Turning Back*. Macmillan. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1988, 52-93

282.   Barrell, H., 'The Historian and Conspirator: The ANC of South Africa and the Political-Military Relationship in Revolutionary Struggle', St Antony's College, Oxford University South African History and Politics Seminar, 20 May 1990.

283.   Barrell, H., 'The Turn to the Masses: The African National Congress' Strategic Review of 1978-79', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18, 1 (Mar. 1992), 64-92.

In 1978-79 the ANC leadership undertook a formal review of its revolutionary strategy. The changes that resulted had an influence beyond the ANC; they came to affect the direction taken by a wide range of an1ti-apartheidfor-cesin the 1980s, including the United Democratic Front. This paper recovers the story of this review, hither-to a largely hidden chapter in ANC history. It critically examines the review and, briefly, argues the extent and limitations of its influence and importance. The strategic review advised the ANC to give more emphasis to political organisation by political means in its strategy. The intention behind this was to construct an organised revolutionary political base for the ANC inside South Africa. The review identified a political base as a prerequisite for a decisive and forcible ANC contention for state power at some stage in the future. It argued that the best way to build such a political base was for the ANC to become involved actively in the development of a broad popular political front of organisations operating legally and semi-legally inside South Africa. Earlier ANC concentration on armed activity had manifestly failed to develop such a political base. It is argued that, after 1981, ANC strategic formulations and practice consistently viewed political organisations subject to overriding military imperatives. The strategic review did not fundamentally challenge this military emphasis. It still saw the political mobilisation advocated by the review as serving what was to be basically an armed assault on the state. It is argued, further, that the ANC never succeeded in integrating the political base it created for- itself in the 1980s with its armed struggle, and reasons are

suggested for this. But, when ANC armed activity was clearly foundering in the late 1980s, this political base enabled the ANC comfortably to shift strategic primacy decisively to political imperatives and activity. That was the review's major achievement.

284.   Benson, M. (ed), *The Sun Will Rise: Statements from the Dock by Southern African Political Prisoners,* International Aid and Defence Fund, London, 1981.

285.   Bernstein, H., *The World that was Ours*, SA Writers, London, 1989.

286.   Bernstein, H., *The Rift: The Exile Experience of South Africans.* Jonathan Cope, Johannesburg, 1994.

287.   Bizos, G, *Odyssey to Freedom*, Johannesburg: Random House, 2007.

288.   Blaut, J.M., *The national question*, London: Zed Press, 1987.

289.   B.N., 'Some thoughts on the national democratic revolution', *Sechaba*, 16(10), 1982, 11-16, October.

290.   Booyse, W.J., 'The concept "people's war" in the strategy of the ANC and the PAC: A comparative analysis', D. Phil. Thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1990.

> The purpose of this thesis is provide a comparative analysis of the concept "people's war" as it manifest itself in the strategies of the ANC and the PAC. The concept "people's war" within the framework of this thesis is seen as a product and manifestation of revolution as a twentieth century phenomenon. This specific approach forced one to evaluate revolution within its historical and philosophical context as a twentieth century phenomenon in chapter two. Accordingly a variety of theories and approaches were identified that have had a direct bearing on the revolutionary thought in the Third World in the twentieth century. As a result it was necessary to briefly discuss revolutionary warfare models. Chapter three serves as the pivot of the study in that it is in this chapter where the four components that constitute a people's war were developed. According to available research material this is the first theoretical framework ever developed according to which it may be determined whether a revolution constitutes a people's war revolution or not. The four component of the concept "people's war" namely: nationalism, the revolutionary party, the people's army and the united front therefore serve as the basis according to which the strategies of the ANC and the PAC are compared.[5]

291.   Botha, T., 'Solidarity with SA workers', *Sechaba*, 15(2), February 1981, 2-6.

292.   Buntman, F., *Robben Island and Prisoner Resistance to Apartheid*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

293.   Cabesa, Q., 'From Ungovernabilty to revolution', *The African Communist*, (102), First Quarter, 1986, 18-40.

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[5] Booyse, W.J., 'The concept "people's war" in the strategy of the ANC and the PAC: A comparative analysis', D. Phil. Thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1990, x.

294.   Callinicos, L., *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, David Philip, Cape Town, 2005.

295.   Callinicos, L., 'Oliver Tambo and the Dilemma of the Camp Mutinies in Angola in the Eighties', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, 587-621.

> This article examines the dilemma facing Tambo in one of the most testing of times for the ANC. It explores the context and events that led to human rights abuses in the MK camps during the early 1980s in the face of serious and sustained attacks by the apartheid government. Some commentators have questioned the nature of Tambo's response to this dark side of the ANC in exile. Based on extensive interviews over a number of years as well as an evaluation of the recent sequence of largely biographical literature on exile, the article examines the dilemma of reconciling the ANC's commitment to human rights, with the increasingly mutinous behaviour of a number of MK soldiers in the Angolan camps.[6]

296.   Castel, H., 'When the Soldiers Returned: The Mkatashinga and the ANC Politics of Denial', *Africa Review*, Volume 1, Issue 1, 2009, 15-33.

297.   Cherry, J. 'Hidden histories of the Eastern Cape underground', in SADET (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980–1990*, Unisa Press, Pretoria, 2010.

298.   Cleveland, T., '"We Still Want the Truth": The ANC's Angolan Detention Camps and Post-Apartheid Memory', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Volume 25, Number 1, 2005, 63-78.

299.   Coetzee, A. and James, P. (eds.), *Crossing Borders: Writers Meet the ANC*, Johannesburg: Taurus, 1990.

300.   Couper, S., "'An Embarrassment to the Congresses?': The Silencing of Chief Albert Luthuli and the Production of ANC History", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, Special Issue: Liberation Struggles, Exile and International Solidarity, 331-348.

> 2007 was the 'Year of Luthuli' in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Throughout the year, events commemorating the 1967 death of the former President-General of the ANC celebrated his life and contribution to the liberation of South Africa. A year later, during the presidential succession battle various politicians paid tribute to Luthuli, positioning themselves as heirs to his political and moral legacy. Celebrated as a 'founding father' of South Africa's modern democratic state, who had led the ANC during some of the most dramatic events in its history and as Africa's first Nobel Peace Prize winner, Luthuli's name conjures awe and respect. Unsurprisingly, Luthuli has been assigned a prominent place in the process of nationalist myth making. This article is inspired by Michel Rolph Trouillot's, Silencing the Past: Power and Production of History (1995) and highlights the contrast between the present lionisation of Luthuli as a nationalist founding figure and the effective silencing of his stance on the shift to violence soon after the launch of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in December 1961. I argue that a silence in the archives is not primarily

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[6] Callinicos, L., 'Oliver Tambo and the Dilemma of the Camp Mutinies in Angola in the Eighties', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 64, Issue 3, 2012, 587.

a result of poor health or the banning orders imposed on Luthuli, but rather of his embarrassingly persistent espousal of non-violent methods that led to his marginalisation as a leader of the ANC in the early 1960s. An examination of Luthuli's columns in the Golden City Post reveals that he argued against a turn to violence before and after the ANC's decision to prepare for the armed struggle and MK's launch. Luthuli's continued public advocacy of only non-violent methods discomfited many of his contemporaries. Consequently, his ability to lead the liberation movement was compromised and diminished significantly from 1961 until his death six years later. Narratives by former MK operatives affirm Luthuli's prescience regarding the strategic ineffectiveness of violence. Finally, the article demonstrates the inaccuracy of the self-justifying portrayals of Luthuli as a supporter of the armed struggle by both nationalist historians and politicians.[7]

301.   Darracq, V., 'The African National Congress (ANC) organization at the grassroots', *African Affairs*, Volume 107, Issue 429, 589-609.

This article provides a study of the African National Congress (ANC) local organization at party branch level. It focuses on the branches' community activities, on their participation in party structures, and on the ANC political culture. It takes an organizational perspective on the study of political parties and refers to the mass party model. The ANC has a strong tradition of mass organization, and the ANC formal organization conforms to the mass party ideal-type: branches are meant to be active agents on the ground, while the party leadership is supposed to implement the membership's decisions. The ANC has developed a certain type of mass political culture, of popular politics. The article also shows how bottom-up decision-making processes concretely provide a certain level of influence to the members over the selection of leadership and the party's policies (even if through intermediary brokers). This article is a contribution to the renewed academic debates on African political parties and takes the stand that organizational and empirical approaches should be a priority.

302.   Davids, C., *Rivonia Trial Record*, Bellville: Mayibuye Center Archives, 1965.

303.   Davies, R., 'Nationalization, Socialization and the Freedom Charter', University of York Conference Paper, 29 September to 2 October 1986.

304.   Davis, S., *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's Hidden War*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1986.

305.   Davis, S.R., 'The African National Congress, its Radio, its Allies and Exile', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, Special Issue: Liberation Struggles, Exile and International Solidarity, 349-373.

This article uses radio broadcasting as a lens into the fraught relationship between the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party during exile. Unlike the armed struggle, which waxed and waned, radio broadcasting remained a constant preoccupation for many constituencies within this alliance. This article provides several examples of the growing emphasis on radio broadcasting during the three decades of exile, explores the theoretical

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[7] Couper, S., "'An Embarrassment to the Congresses?': The Silencing of Chief Albert Luthuli and the Production of ANC History", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, Special Issue: Liberation Struggles, Exile and International Solidarity, 331.

underpinnings of this strategic turn, and concludes with a discussion of the role of radio in the context of the camp mutinies in Angola. During this time, radio broadcasting underwent a significant transformation, beginning as a clandestine voice in the dark and ending as a significant means of public representation with a truly international reach. To illuminate this history, I will bring some of the literature on broadcasting in Africa into conversation with the voluminous writings on the South African exile community.

306.   Delius, P., 'Sebatakgomo; Migrant Organisation, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland Revolt', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October 1989.

This article argues that Sebatakgomo, a migrant worker based political organization formed from within the ANC in 1954, played a crucial role in the events that culminated in the Sekhukhuneland Revolt of 1958. It places the emergence of the movement in the context of changing patter-ns of migrant employment and association from the 1930s. And it traces Sebatakgomo's involvement in mounting popular- resistance in the eastern Transvaal to state attempts to restructure rural society in the 1950s.

307.   Delius, P., 'Sebatakgomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association: The ANC, Communist Party and Rural Organisation, 1939-55', *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1993.

308.   Denga, ' Making a new approach to white South Africans', *The African Communist*, (109), Second Quarter, 1987.

309.   Denga, 'For a broad coalition of anti-aprtheid forces', *The African Communist*, (114), Third Quarter, 1988, 54-64.

310.   De Villiers, H.H.W., *Rivonia, Operation Mayibuye: A Review of the Rivionia Trial*, Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, 1964.

311.   De Wet, Q., *Rivonia Trial Testimony*. Mayibuye Center Archives, Bellville, 1965.

312.   Dialego, 'Working class must lead our national struggle', *The African Communist*, (119), Fourth Quarter, 1987, 63-75.

313.   Dreyer, P. S., *Rewolusie en Terreur,* Pretoria: Boekenhout-uitgewers, 1978.

314.   Dubow, S., *The African National Congress*, Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2000.

315.   Dubula, S. (Joe Slovo), *Strategy and Tactics.* African National Congress, 1969 [online]. Available from: www.anc.org.za.

316.   Dubula, S., 'The Two Pillars of Our Struggle', *African Communist*, 87, 1981.

317.   Ellis, S., `The ANC In Exile', *African Affairs*, (90), 1991, 439-447.

318.	Ellis, S. and Sechaba, T., *Comrades against Apartheid: The ANC and the Communist Party in exile*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1992.

319.	Ellis, S., 'Mbokodo: Security in the ANC camps, 1961-1990', *African Affairs*, 93, No. 371, 1994, 279-298.

320.	Ellis, S., 'Politics and Crime: Reviewing the ANC's Exile History', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, 622-636.

This article looks back at the core argument of the book, *Comrades against Apartheid*, and considers some new themes from the history of the exile period that have become more prominent in retrospect.

321.	Ellis, S., *External Mission: The ANC in Exile*, Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2012.

322.	Esterhuyse, W., *Endgame: Secret Talks and the End of Apartheid*, Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2012.

323.	Fatton, R., The African National Congress of South Africa: The limitations of a Revolutionary Strategy. In *The Canadian Journal of African Studies,* vol. 18, 1984.

324.	Feinstein, A., *After the Party: A personal and political journey inside the ANC*, Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2007.

325.	Feit, E., *South Africa: The Dynamics of the African National Congress*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1967.

326.	Filatova, I. and Davidson, A., *The Hidden Thread: Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era*, Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2013.

327.	First, R., *No Easy Walk to Freedom: Articles, Speeches, and Trial Addresses of Nelson Mandela*, London, Heinemann, 1965.

328.	Gaetsewe, J., 'The role of the workers in the South African liberation struggle', *Sechaba*, 12, First Quarter, 1978, 17-24.

329.	Ginwala, F., 'International womens conference', *Sechaba*, 19(11), November, 1985, 20-23.

330.	Ginwala, F., 'Women and the African National Congress: 1912-1943', *Agenda*: (8), 1990, 77-93.

331.	Goldberg, D., *Rivonia Trial Testimony*, Mayibuye Center Archives, Bellville, 1965.

332.   Graham, M., 'Foreign Policy in Transition: The ANC's Search for a Foreign Policy Direction during South Africa's Transition, 1990–1994', *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 101, Issue 5, 2012, 405-423.

> At the beginning of the transition from apartheid to democracy, the African National Congress (ANC) was unprepared for foreign policy discussion, a lack of readiness magnified by the collapse of international Communism and the Cold War ideology. President De Klerk and the National Party controlled foreign policy in the early years of the transition and began the process of reintegration with the international community, The ANC initially struggled to adapt to the new international situation, whereas De Klerk was successful in wooing the international community. In the later stages of transition, the ANC developed a greater sense of direction and substance in foreign relations, although there were differences of opinion among and between the leadership and the rank and file. Already in 1994 there was evidence of tension between idealism and pragmatism. Post-apartheid foreign policy under Mandela was riddled with inconsistencies, which stemmed from the events of South Africa's transition.[8]

333.   Grounds of appeal and addendum thereto in the matter of expulsion from the African National Congress of South Africa', in Simons papers, University of Cape Town.

334.   Gungushe, J.T., 'Our national democratic revolution will defeat the enemy', *The African Communist*, (94), Third Quarter, 1983, 52-8.

335.   High Court of South Africa, *Rivonia Trial Record*, Mayibuye Center Archives, Bellville, 1965.

336.   Holland, H., *The Struggle: A History of the ANC*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1989.

337.   Holland, H., *100 Years of Struggle: Mandela's ANC*, Penguin Books, Johannesburg, 2012.

338.   Houston, G., 'The Post- Rivonia ANC/SACP underground', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004.

339.   Houston, G. and Magubane, B. 'The ANC political underground in the 1970s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), T*he Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

> This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section the focus is on the underground political work of individuals and small groups of people based inside South Africa. It begins by looking at the activities in the early 1970s of internal underground activists in ANC networks that were initiated during the second half of the 1960s, with a focus on the Johannesburg area. This is followed by case studies of individuals who became involved in underground activities by linking up with ANC activists based inside the country or those in exile. There is also a focus on the

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[8] Graham, M., 'Foreign Policy in Transition: The ANC's Search for a Foreign Policy Direction during South Africa's Transition, 1990–1994', *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 101, Issue 5, 2012, 405.

activities of a few individuals who decided to take the initiative to become involved in underground political work without linking up with any of the liberation movements. In this section, a study is also made of one of the most significant underground networks, the Soweto-based network led by John Nkadimeng, Joe Gqabi and others. In the second section of the chapter the focus is on the role of the ANC's structures in exile in facilitating the development of an internal political underground. The section begins by looking at attempts by the External Mission to initiate the development of an ANC political underground inside South Africa by sending individuals and groups into the country in the period from 1970 to 1973. This is followed by an examination of the activities of the ANC from 1973 onwards in the countries bordering on South Africa, in order to develop an internal political underground. A study is also made of the role of propaganda activists, as well as that of ANC activists and groups in the establishment of new political organisations towards the end of the decade.

340. Houston, G. and Magubane, B., 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1970s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), T*he Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

341. Houston, G., 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1980s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), T*he Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

This chapter attempts to deal with the following: the strategic documents guiding the conduct of the ANC's armed struggle during the decade and changes in military policy; the various command structures and individuals responsible for the conduct of the armed struggle; the various debates within the liberation movement on the armed struggle during the 1980s; the structural, operational and regional political constraints on the conduct of the armed struggle; some of the key operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe during the decade; and the activities of various units of Umkhonto we Sizwe during the period under study. The narrative is more descriptive, in the sense that it describes the activities of the armed wing of the ANC, instead of dealing with some of the academic debates around the armed struggle. The topic is also dealt with chronologically, to ensure a sense of the significant changes and developments during the decade; and the chapter is divided into three main sections to deal with this, as well as to reflect significant changes in military policy and/or structures. Use is made of primary documents, such as documents of the ANC, testimonies at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and interviews with cadres, as well as relevant secondary literature.

342. Houston, G. and Magubane, B. 'The ANC's underground political work in the 1980s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), T*he Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

This chapter is divided into three sections based on distinct historical periods: 1980–1983, 1983–1985 and 1985–1990. It begins by looking at the strategy and tactics underlying the ANC's underground political work during the first four years of the decade. This is followed by a description of the main structures and individuals tasked with underground political work during this period. Next is an analysis of the initial steps the ANC took to reassert its primacy inside the country, including a three-year ideological and organisational campaign to lay the foundation for revolution and the use of armed struggle to stimulate political activity and popular mobilisation. By the end of this period, following the establishment of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, this ideological and organisational foundation had been established, and the ANC, through numerous legal and semi-legal organisations, was able to draw millions of South Africans into the

struggle. This was accompanied, and followed, by an increasing shift in allegiance towards positions adopted by the ANC among organisations and the masses of people inside the country. The sections that follow deal with the same themes, that is, the strategy and tactics underlying underground political work during the particular historical period, the structures and individuals in the ANC political underground, and underground activities during the period. The chapter is an attempt to answer the following questions: What were the main objectives of the ANC's underground political work inside the country? What structures and which individuals based inside the country and in exile were responsible for conducting underground political work? What was the relationship between clandestine underground political work and aboveground organisation and activity? To what extent, and in what manner, were the strategies of mass organisations inside the country linked to overall ANC strategy? Which key organisations and sectors of the population did the ANC underground target? What were the main strategies used by underground political activists? What was the size and nature of the internal underground network, and how were links maintained with the ANC Mission-in-Exile? What type of resources (material and other), if any, did the ANC give to aboveground organisations? What role did the armed struggle play in attracting support to the liberation struggle inside the country?

343.   Houston, G., 'The re-establishment of the ANC inside the country, 1990-1994', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), T*he Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013.

The chapter focuses on the re-establishment of the ANC inside the country after its unbanning, which was publicly announced in the historic speech made by President F.W. de Klerk in parliament on the 2 February 1990. It covers a range of topics, such as the ANC's efforts to rebuild itself from an underground and banned organisation with an armed wing into a mass legal movement during the early 1990s; the establishment of headquarters and administrative structures; the return from exile of ANC members and issues around indemnity and amnesty; the impact of the dissolution of the UDF; the relationship between exiles and internal forces of the ANC; the impact of the decision to become a mass movement by opening up membership to all; the impact of the reconstitution of the SACP in the country; various conferences of the ANC; aboveground activity; and the armed struggle during the early 1990s. The core focus of the chapter are the various obstacles the ANC faced in re-establishing itself as a legal organisation inside the country, including the obstacles arising from indemnity for exiled members, political violence, the issues which gave rise to poor minority participation in structures of the ANC, etc.

344.   Hudson, P., 'The Freedom Charter and socialist strategy in South Africa', Politikon (13) 1 June 1986, 75-91.

345.   Hudson, P., 'The Freedom Charter and the Theory of National Democratic Revolution', *Transformation*, 1, 1986, 6-38.

346.   Hudson, P., 'Images of the future and strategies in the present: The Freedom Charter and the South African Left', in P.Frankel, N. Pines, M. Swilling (eds), *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa*, Southern book publishers. Johannesburg, 1988, 259-277.

347.   Inquilba, 'The people rise up', *The African Communist*, (83), Fourther Quarter, 1980, 15-32.

348.   International Defence and Aid Fund, *Fact Paper on Southern Africa No.* 12: *Massacre at Maseru, South African Aggression against Lesotho,* IDAF, London, 1985.

349.   Jeffrey, A., *People's War: New Light on the Struggle for South Africa*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2009.

350.   Joffe, J., *The State Versus Nelson Mandela*, Oneworld, Oxford, 2007.

351.   Johns, S. and Davis, R.H. (eds), *Mandela, Tambo and the African National Congress. The Struggle against Apartheid 1948-1990: A Documentary Survey*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991.

352.   Jordan, P.Z., 'Socialist transformation and the Freedom Charter', *African Journal of Political Economy*, (1), 1986, 142-162.

353.   Jordan, Z.P., 'Socialist Transformation and the Freedom Charter', in B.Magubane and I Mandaza (eds), Whither South Africa? Africa World Press, Trenton, NJ, 1988, 89-110.

354.   Jordan, P., 'The South African Liberation Movement and the Making of a New Nation', in M van Diepen (ed) *The National Question in South Africa*, London, New Jersey, Zed books, 1988, 107-24.

355.   Kasrils, R., 'The revolutionary army', *Sechaba*, 22(9), September 1986, 3-9.

356.   Kasrils, R., *Armed and dangerous: From undercover struggle to freedom fighter*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2004.

357.   Klein, G.L., 'Publicising the African National Congress: *The Anti-Apartheid News*', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 63, Issue 3, 2011, 394-413.

>   Harnessing international support for the struggle against apartheid was a major aspect of international solidarity work, and publicising the atrocities of apartheid and the role of the liberation movements in combating apartheid was therefore a campaign priority. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) emphasised informing the British public about developments in South Africa as one of its core functions. In this article one aspect of this activity – namely the AAM's own publication, *The Anti-Apartheid News* – is analysed. A survey of the paper illustrates how the AAM used it to inform the British public about both apartheid and the African National Congress's (ANC) history and ideology. Through the newspaper the AAM was able to increase international solidarity with and support for the ANC. The article argues that the AAM therefore played a pivotal role in popularising the ANC and helping to establish its reputation internationally as the authentic representative of the people of South Africa.

358.   Kotze, H., 'The Support Base of the ANC: Myth or Reality?', in Esterhuyse, W. and Nel, P. (eds.), *The ANC and Its Leaders,* Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1990.

359.   Kuper, L., 'African Nationalism in South Africa', in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds) *The Oxford History of South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

360.   Landau, P., 'The African National Congress', in P. Limb, (ed), *Abantu-Batho: A People's Newspaper in South Africa* (Wits Press, forthcoming).

361.   Lekgoathi, S.P., 'The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and its audiences in apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991', *Journal of African Media Studies*, Volume 2, Number 2, 1 August 2010, 139-153.

> This article discusses the social history of Radio Freedom, the African National Congress's (ANC) clandestine radio station between 1963 and 1991. The article focuses on the audiences of Radio Freedom, how they listened to the station, which messages they appropriated from it, and the impact of these messages on political mobilization in the country. The article advances arguments about how radio broadcasting became a strategic priority for the ANC and its allies in the aftermath of the violent crushing and the turn to the armed struggle. Radio became one of the key tools used by the liberation movement to counter the apartheid state's propaganda messages and to articulate an alternative political perspective. Through Radio Freedom, the ANC could directly connect with its supporters inside the country and influence political mobilization particularly during the 1970s and 1980s. Despite the illegality of tuning into the station and the jamming techniques used by the state to block signal transmission, individuals from the younger, more politically active generation of black South Africans did find creative but discreet ways of tuning into Radio Freedom. This station was arguably one of the major sources of information on the ANC, shaping political education and understanding of the developments and influencing political activities inside the country.

362.   Limb, P., *The ANC and Black Workers in South Africa, 1912-1992: an Annotated Bibliography*, London, Melbourne, Munich, New Jersey: H. Zell Publishers, 1993.

363.   Lodge; T. "'Mayihlome!- Let Us Go To War!': From Nkomati to Kabwe, The African National Congress, January 1984-June 1985", in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds), *South African Review,* Vol. 3, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1986.

364.   Lodge, T., 'The African National Congress after the Kabwe Conference' in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds), *South African Review 4*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg,.

365.   Lodge, T., 'State of Exile: The African National Congress of South Africa, 1976-', in Frankel, P., Pines, N. and Willing, M. (eds). *State Resistance and Change in South Africa,* Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988.

366.   Lodge, T., 'People's War or Negotiation? African National Congress Strategies in the 1980s' in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds), *South African Review 5*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1989.

367.   Lodge, T., 'The African National Congress in the 1990s', G. Moss and I. Obery (eds), *South African Review,* vol. 6, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1992.

368.   Lodge, 'Charters from the Past: The African National Congress and its Historiographical Traditions', *Radical History Review*, 46(7), 1990.

369.   Lodge, T. and Nasson, B., *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, David Philip, Cape Town, 1991.

370.   Lodge, T., "Spectres from the camps – the ANC's commission of enquiry", *Southern Africa Report*, 8, 3-4, January-February 1993.

371.   Louw, R. (ed.), *Four Days in Lusaka: Whites in a Changing Society*, Johannesburg: Five Freedoms Forum, 1989.

372.   Macmillan, H., 'After Morogoro: the continuing crisis in the African National Congress (of South Africa) in Zambia, 1969–1971', *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, 295-311.

> This article examines the Zambian dimension in the calling and aftermath of the Morogoro Conference of 1969. After the failure of the Wankie and Sipolilo campaigns, Chris Hani and six other members of MK produced a memorandum, which constituted a devastating attack on the ANC's exile leadership. The authors of the memorandum were expelled and were unable to attend the conference, but their memorandum had a strong influence on its deliberations. The conference recommended their reinstatement, but this did not resolve the crisis in Lusaka, which had 'tribal' undertones, and was intensified by Zambian government pressure to remove MK from Lusaka and the country. The reinstatement of Hani and his comrades was followed by protests and defiance by about 30 members of a Transvaal group. Attempts to remove MK members from Lusaka to a bush camp resulted in further defiance and the expulsion of 30 members. There were further crises involving the movement of arms and an ill-fated attempt by Flag Boshielo and three others to return to South Africa through Botswana. It was not until 1971 that stability was restored, though the position of the ANC in Lusaka remained at a low ebb until the inflow of new recruits following the Soweto Uprising in 1976.

373.   Macmillan, H., "The 'Hani Memorandum' – introduced and annotated", *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, Number 69, 2009.

374.   Macmillan, H. 'The African National Congress of South Africa in Zambia: The Culture of Exile and the Changing Relationship with Home, 1964–1990', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, 303-329.

> Liberal and other critics of the ANC in government in South Africa frequently refer to the malign influence of 'exile' on the culture of the party, citing alleged secrecy, paranoia and lack of internal democracy, as the inevitable consequences of the years spent abroad – but they do this without much knowledge of the real experience of exile. This article focuses on the ANC in Zambia, specifically Lusaka, and seeks to examine the history, geography and culture of exile in that place, to provide the missing dimensions of time and space, and to trace the changing relationship between the movement and its two main 'homes' – Zambia and South Africa. The article examines the changing status of the ANC in Zambia from one among many Zambia-based liberation movements in the 1960s and 1970s to a predominant position in the 1980s, as its exile population increased, and it developed the bureaucratic structures of a government-in-waiting. The ANC's headquarters in Zambia gained in importance as its members were pushed out of other front-line states in the 1980s. Meanwhile, Lusaka became, paradoxically, the destination of an increasing flow of emissaries from the burgeoning internal democratic movement, and from

other interest groups. The article's major theses are that the culture of exile of the ANC in Zambia was more typical of its underlying culture than that in any other place and that this reflected the relative openness of Zambia itself. It is also argued that lessons learned by the ANC in Zambia about the one-party state, and about economic management, had a significant influence on the its own policies during the transition to democracy, and in government, after the return of the ANC to South Africa in 1990.

375.   Magubane, B. 'The Mounting Class and National Struggles in South Africa', Review (Fernand Braudel Center), Vol. 8, No. 2, Fall, 1984, 197-231.

   The purpose of this article is threefold. First, the aim is to give a brief resume of the reawakening of the working-class movement and to highlight the struggles this class has waged recently. Secondly, to put into perspective the politics of armed struggle and its dialectics with national and class struggle. Finally, a discussion the recent "reforms" by the apartheid regime in order to show that they are completely irrelevant to the demands of the oppressed majority of the people. I believe that genuine national and class aspirations of the African people cannot be realized in the context of the apartheid social order.

376.   Magubane, B. et al., 'The turn to armed struggle', in SADET (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980–1990*, Unisa Press, Pretoria, 2010.

377.   Maharaj, M. 'Mass struggles', *Mayibuye*, (5), 1984, 3-6.

378.   Majodina, Z., *Exiles and Homecoming, The Untold Stories*, Heinemann, Johannesburg, 1995.

379.   Makiwane, T.X., *Against the Manipulation of the South African Revolution*, Dar es Salaam, October 1975.

380.   Makiwane, T. 'The bogus letter of expulsion', October 1975, mss in Simons Papers, University of Cape Town.

381.   Mandela, N., "I am Prepared to Die" Nelson Mandela's statement from the dock at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial, Pretoria Supreme Court, 20 April 1964, http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/rivonia.html.

382.   Mandela, N., *The Mandela Document,* July 5, 1987. Reprinted at URL: http:/www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/doc890705.html.

383.   Mandela, N., *A Document to Create Climate of Understanding—Letter to F. W. De Klerk,* December 12, 1989. Reprinted at URL:www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/ nm891212.html.

384.   Mandela, N., *Address to Rally in Cape Town on His Release from Prison,* February 11, 1990. Reprinted at URL:http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1990/ release.html.

385.   Mandela, N., *Address to Rally in Soweto,* February 13, 1990. Reprinted at URL: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1990/sp900213.html.

386.   Mandela, N., 'We must organise the masses of our people into the struggle', Address to the South African Youth Congress, April 13, 1990, in *Nelson Mandela speeches, 1990, intensify the struggle to abolish apartheid*, ed. G reg McCartall, pp. 40-48. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1990.

387.   Mandela, N., *Memorandum to F.W. De Klerk,* June 26, 1992. Reprinted at URL: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/memo920626.html.

388.   Mandela, N., *Letter from Nelson Mandela to F.W. De Klerk,* July 9, 1992. Reprinted at URL:http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/fwletter.html.

389.   Mandla, C., 'The moment of revolution is now or never in our lifetime', *Sechaba*, 19(11), November 1985, 23-30.

390.   Manghezi, N., *The Maputo Connection: ANC life in the world of FRELIMO*, Jacana Media, Auckland Park, Johannesburg, 2009.

391.   Marais, H., 'Hani opens up', *Work in Progress*, June 1992.

392.   Marcum, J., 'The Exile Condition and Revolutionary Effectiveness: Southern African Liberation Movements', in Potholm, C.P. and Dale, R. (eds), *South Africa in Perspective: Essays in Regional Politics,* The Free Press, New York, 1972.

393.   Marx, Anthony W., *Lessons of Struggle. South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990,* Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1992.

394.   Mayibuye Center, Robben Island Memorial Museum Oral History Collection interviews

    a.   MCA 6, Fred Carneson interview with Wulfie Kodesh, 1993.

395.   Mbeki, G., *Sunset at Midday*, Latshonilangemini, Braamfontein, 1996.

396.   Mckinley, D.T., 'The African National Congress in exile: strategy and tactics 1960-1993', PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, North Chapel, 1995. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

    This dissertation is about the struggle for the national liberation of South Africa and centres around the strategy and tactics of the main liberation organization, the African National Congress, and its alliance partner of the South African Communist Party (SACP). The core of the study covers the period 1960-1993, a time, with the exception of the last three years, in which

these organizations were officially banned by the white minority apartheid government. More precisely, this study seeks to provide a critical historical analysis of those strategy and tactics within the externalized (internationalized) environment within which these organizations operated.

397. McKinley, D.T. *The ANC and the Liberation Struggle: A Critical Political Biography*. Pluto, London, 1997.

398. Meli, F., *South Africa Belongs to Us: A History of the ANC*, Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1988.

399. Mkatatshingo (pseud.), 'The ANC conference: From Kabwe to Johannesburg', *Searchlight South Africa*, 2, 2, Januarie 1991.

400. Modise, J., 'From small beginnings to the seizure of power', *Umsebenzi*, 2(4), Fourth Quarter, 1986.

401. Moleketi, J. and Jele, J. *Two Strategies of the National Liberation Movement in the Struggle for the Victory of the National Democratic Revolution*, 2002. [No publishing details on document].

402. Moosage, R., 'A prose of ambivalence: liberation struggle discourse on necklacing', Kronos (Bellville) vol.36 no.1 Cape Town Nov. 2010.

This article is concerned with the ambivalence that permeates liberation struggle discourse on the practice of necklacing. Through examining what was said about the killing of suspected collaborators and/or necklacing during the mid- to late 1980s by leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), I argue that those public positions produced a prose of ambivalence. I ask how this prose of ambivalence was produced and why that ambivalence is seemingly rendered intangible. I suggest that the ANC and UDF were caught in a double bind. They could not explicitly condemn the practice and risk losing their mass support base, nor explicitly condone the practice and risk losing the support of important internal and international constituencies thereby giving the apartheid state the upper hand in a discursive war on the moral and political legitimacy over using violence. Yet, I argue, this ambivalence was not merely a tactical one in that underlying the liberation discourse on the practice of necklacing was/is an inherent formulation of the binary of resistance and oppression/repression. The practice understood within this framework could only be rendered as state violence or resistance. In rendering it as the latter, though uncomfortably so, the ANC and UDF proposed that it be understood within a causal framework, as the result of oppression/repression. Ambivalence about the practice of necklacing thus, I argue, was produced in the interstice of the resistance - oppression/repression binary. Leading from this, I argue more broadly that the problematic of violence and attending ambivalence within the ANC has a history that predates the discourse around necklacing. I suggest that necklacing refuses to be forgotten precisely because of its ambivalence. Indeed, it may be that the inescapable ambivalence of necklacing is the condition for the possibility that it will always also be remembered.

403.   Morrow, S., Maaba, B.; Pulumani, L., 'Revolutionary Schooling? Studying the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, the African National Congress Liberation School in Tanzania, 1978 to 1992', *World Studies in Education*, Volume 3, Number 1, 2002, 23-37.

> This paper discusses the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, SOMAFCO, the African National Congress liberation school in Tanzania between 1978 and 1992. The authors reflect on the process of writing about recent and possibly controversial episodes in the history of South, and Southern, Africa. They also outline a number of areas that they argue reveal points of tension within the ANC's educational enterprise. Hinging on the question of what a 'political' or 'revolutionary' school might be, they probe areas such as gender, 'education with production', ethnicity and nationality in the exile context, and the curriculum. They conclude that while it is difficult to draw direct lessons for contemporary South Africa from the educational experience at SOMAFCO, there are many intriguing resonances that should be explored.[9]

404.   Morrow, S., Maaba, B. and Pulumani, L., *Education in Exile: SOMAFCO, the ANC School in Tanzania, 1978 to 1992*, HSRC Press, Cape Town, 2004.

405.   Mufson, S., *Fighting Years: Black Resistance and the Struggle for a New South Africa*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1990.

406.   Mzala, 'Why we are with the communists', *African Communist*, (93), Second Quarter, 1983, 66-73.

407.   Mzala, *Latest opportunism and the theory of the South African revolution*, London: African National Congress, 1984.

408.   Mzala, 'The Freedom Charter is our lodestar: Part 1', *Sechaba*, 19(7), July 1985, 2-7.

409.   Mzala, 'The freedom Charter is our lodestar: Part 2', *Sechaba*, 19(8), Sept 1985, 29-32.

410.   Mzala, 'The freedom Charter is our lodestar: Part 4. Sechaba, 19(10):23-31, October 1985.

411.   Mzala, 'The Freedom Charter and its relevance today', in African National Congress, *Selected writings on the Freedom Charter*, London. 1985, 78-101.

412.   Mzala, 'Building people's forces for combat, war and insurrection', *Sechaba*, 21(1), Jan 1987, 21-26.

413.   Mzala, 'Towards people's war and insurrection', *Sechaba*, 21(4), April 1987.

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[9] Morrow, S., Maaba, B.; Pulumani, L., 'Revolutionary Schooling? Studying the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, the African National Congress Liberation School in Tanzania, 1978 to 1992', *World Studies in Education*, Volume 3, Number 1, 2002, 23.

414.   Mzala, 'Revolutionary theory on the national question in South Africa', in Van Diepen, M. (ed), *The national question in South Africa*, London: Zed Books Ltd., 1988, 30-55.

415.   Mzansi, L. 'United front to end apartheid', *African Communist*, (97)-.18-27, Second Quarter 1988, 18-27.

416.   Naidoo, P., *Le Rona Re Batho: An account of the 1982 Maseru massacre*, Verulam, South Africa, 1992.

417.   Naidoo, N., "The 'Indian Chap': Recollections of a South African Underground Trainee in Mao's China", *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, 707-736.

Little is known about the first South African underground group sent for training in China in 1961 before the Sino-Soviet breakdown. As a member of that group, for over 50 years I have not spoken publicly about the experience but, at 79, feel obliged to overcome previous reticence in the interest of adding to our country's knowledge of its complex past. I outline here the personal and political environment that shaped my views on justice and freedom and the journey that took me, as a student from Natal to London, where I participated in early campaigning against apartheid, and from there to the Peoples' Republic of China. I describe joining Wilton Mkwayi in Prague and Raymond Mhlaba, Joe Gqabi and Patrick Mthembu in Beijing where Mao Zedong spoke with us. I give a detailed account of the training in radio communication and technology that I received with Andrew Mlangeni in Mukden/Shenyang. While disappearing from my family's radar, my mother died and I was unable to honour a commitment to my father. I describe how, on my return to South Africa, although not formally recruited to any organization, I took instructions conveyed through Mac Maharaj, mainly after the reconstitution of the High Command following the Rivonia Trial. My subsequent arrest, interrogation ('Rooi Rus' Swanepoel), and trial, ending in acquittal, were followed by escape to Botswana where I remained among South African refugees for a year before managing to reach exile in England. My narrative indicates a need to explore the tension between developing critical-thinking cadres and the demands of organizational discipline; and that between personal and political commitment.

418.   Nboxele, C., *Rivonia Trial Record*, Mayibuye Center Archives, Bellville, 1965.

419.   Ndebele, N. and Nieftagodien, N. 'The Morogoro conference: A moment of self-reflection', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume I, 1960-1970*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004.

420.   Ndebele, N., 'The African National Congress and the policy of nonracialism: A study of the membership issue', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 29:2, 2002, 133-146.

Through an examination of the lengthy and highly contested debate over the issue of open membership of the African National Congress (ANC), the present article tests two proposition s around the organisation 's commitment to non-racialism . The one argues that non-racialism has been an enduring part of the ANC's culture—a so-called 'unbreakable thread'—since the ANC's formation in 1912, while the other argues that for years the ANC embraced a narrow and

exclusive brand of African nationalism, and that its embrace of non-racialism came about only as a result of sustained struggle within largely the post-1960 exiled wing of the organisation.[10]

421.   Nelson Mandela Papers, Nelson Mandela Foundation

   a.   Diary, 1 February 1962, 6 February 1962.

422.   Nkobi, T., 'The scourge of racism must be removed from the earth', *Sechaba*, 17(10), October 1983, 3-11.

423.   Notes for Delegates to the All African People's Conference to be held in Accra, Ghana, December 1958, Issued by the ANC. Available at: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/boycotts/accra58.html

424.   Nzo, A., 'The People's Programme', *Sechaba*, September 1980.

425.   Nzo, A., 'A Conference of escalation', *Dawn,* 2, 1985.

426.   Nyawuza, 'Now more than ever', *The African Communist*, (107), Fourth Quarter, 1986, 49-57.

427.   OAU Ad-hoc Committee on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa, *Harare Declaration,* August 21, 1989. Reprinted at URL:http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/transition/harare.html.

428.   Orkin, M., 'Beyond alienation and anomie: The emancipatory efficacy of liberation ideologies in South Africa', International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, Volume 11, Issue 6/7/8, 1991, 195 – 211.

   The Soweto revolt of 1976 was mounted by black students in South Africa mobilized under the banner of the Black Consciousness (BC) ideology. However, when thousands of these youths were driven into exile by state repression, they joined the African National Congress (ANC) or its military wing. When hundreds of them returned as guerrillas after 1978, some were arrested and tried, while others were involved in spectacular shootouts with the police. The resulting press coverage began to revive ANC ideology in popular consciousness. With further publicity in 1980 from a Free Mandela campaign, and from luridly successful sabotage attacks, popular support for the ANC soared, shaping political events for the rest of the decade. The only other noteworthy tendency among blacks was the Zulu-based Inkatha movement led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, whose support among young people was slight because of his hostile stance to both BC and the ANC.

429.   Prior, A. 'South African exile politics: A case study of the African national congress and the South African communist party', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Volume 3, Issue 1-2, 1983, 181-196.

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[10] Ndebele, N., 'The African National Congress and the policy of nonracialism: A study of the membership issue', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 29:2, 2002, 133.

430.   Prior, A., 'Political culture and violence: a case study of the African national congress of South Africa', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 2, 1984, 12-20.

> Since the late 1950s political theorists have developed theoretical perspectives of factors contributing to changes in a political culture. This article discusses the way these perspectives assist in understanding a shift in the African National Congress of South Africa's view of violence as a political tactic. Specifically it examines the way institutional formation, political developments, and alliances, contributed to the legitimation of violence. It concludes with a discussion of developments which are causing this legitimation to be re-assessed.

431.   Powell. P., 'A study of the theoretical aspects of ANC mobilisational methods in the Eastern Cape Townships of Cradock and Port Alfred, 1980-1988', MA Dissertation, Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit, 1991. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

> This dissertation investigates theoretical aspects of the mobilisation of the African National Congress and its surrogate organisations within the context of the development of their strategic doctrine and utilises the townships of Port Alfred and Cradock as examples. The study focuses on the mechanisms utilised by the African National Congress to mobilise support for its programme during the period 1980-1988.

432.   Rantete, J., *The African National Congress and the Negotiated Settlement in South Africa*, J. L. van Schaik, Pretoria, 1998.

433.   Reddy, E.S., *Oliver Tambo and the Struggle Against Apartheid*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1987.

434.   Reddy, F.G. and Karterud, S.M., 'Must the Revolution Eat its Children? Working with the African National Congress (ANC) in Exile and Following Its Return', in Ettlin, M.F., Fidler, J.W. and Cohen, B.D. (eds), *Group Process and Political Dynamics*, 1995, 217-238.

435.   Saunders, C., 'The ANC's 100 years: Some recent work on its history in historiographical context', review article, *Historia*, Vol. 57, No. 2, 2012.

436.   Savage, M., *Trekking Outward: A chronology of meetings between South Africans and the ANC iIn exile, 1983–2000*, University of Cape Town, 2014. Available at www.sun.ac.za.

> This study focuses on the meetings of internally based South Africans with the African National Congress (ANC) when in exile over the period 1983–1990. Well over 1 200 diverse South Africans drawn from a wide range of different groups in the nongovernmental sector and cross-cutting political parties, language, educational, religious and community groups went on an outward mission to enter dialogue with the ANC in exile in a search to overcome the escalating conflict inside South Africa.

437.   Schoeman, R. and Swanepoel, D. (eds.), *Unity in Diversity: 100 Years of ANC Leadership (1912-2012),* Johannesburg, BM Books, 2012.

438.   Scholtz, L. and Scholtz, I., 'Die ANC / SAKP in Angola: 'n gevallestudie rakende interne demokrasie', *Historia*, Vol 54, Issue 1, May 2009, 211-238.

The ANC / South African Communist Party (SACP) has always maintained that the purpose of their armed struggle was freedom and democracy. One way of testing this assertion is to investigate the alliance's practice of internal democracy during the years of exile. To this end, this article looks at the situation in MK's camps in Angola, the two armed uprisings in 1984, and Quatro punishment camp. Two paradigms for explaining the situation is analysed - the ANC saying that it was a result of the apartheid government's spying; and the dissidents stating that they simply wanted a democratic culture of accountability. The final conclusion is that while the ANC's explanation is not entirely off the mark, it remains a fact that the alliance's internal democracy left much to be desired.

439.   Sellström. T., Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa: Volume II: Solidarity and Assistance 1970–1994, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2002.

440.   Shubin, V., *ANC: A View from Moscow*, Mayibuye Books, Cape Town, 1999.

The book is divided into three periods of resistance in South Africa and exile: part one, 1960-1974, 'Hard times'; part two, 1974-1985, 'The changing balance of power'; and part three, 1985-1991, 'The road to power'. Part one shows how the struggle for the decolonisation of Africa in the early 1960s evaded the 'deep' South where the state machinery became increasingly repressive. During the same period the Sharpeville massacre, the banning of organisations and the imprisonment and exiling of scores of people took place. Years of peaceful resistance were overtaken by events and this led to the consideration of new tactics such as underground activities and armed struggle, which appear to have divided the leadership of the liberation movement. The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) as a separate organisation but politically under the ANC created a number of logistical problems for many activists. These tensions are conspicuous in the text. The leadership of the liberation movement shifted to Oliver Tambo and Yusuf Dadoo, who left South Africa in the early 1960s. They hoped to soon see a liberated country, but ended up living in exile for almost three decades. Exiles were scattered in different parts of Europe and rebuilding the liberation movement appears to have been very difficult because of the 'disease of exile'. By the end of the decade, a number of MK cadres who left South Africa in the early 1960s for military training were keen to return home after having been confined to their bases. As the region was still in the hands of colonial forces hostile to the liberation movements, an alliance was created with the Zimbabwean People's Union (ZAPU), with the intention to liberate first Zimbabwe and then South Africa. Their first action was the Wankie campaign which, whilst it did not achieve its objective, nevertheless allowed cadres from both groups to gain experience of military combat. Casualties were reported in the campaign and some of those who survived were arrested in Zimbabwe and Botswana. Debates that took place at the 1969 ANC Morogoro conference emerged from the failure of military incursions into South Africa and the challenges facing the rank and file in exile about the direction of the liberation struggle. The conference dealt with a number of issues and in particular the inclusion of revolutionaries from other racial groups into the ANC. It was also at this conference that MK cadres articulated their critique of the ANC leadership. This was represented in the "Chris" Hani Memorandum. The leadership also came under fire because of the frustrations of exile -- the previous conference held in exile had been in Lobatse in 1962 and it is clear that grievances had accumulated. The collapse of Portuguese rule in the colonies of Mozambique and Angola brought the liberation movement closer to South African borders. Exiles on their own found it difficult to penetrate South Africa until the internal atmosphere changed as a result of the 1970s Durban

workers' strikes. This was the beginning of larger things to happen and by 1976 another major historical landmark happened when students from Soweto high schools resisted the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. The state met peaceful demonstrations with brute force, killing hundreds of students. Although the ANC and the SACP were not directly involved in the Soweto uprisings, the angry militant youth, when they subsequently left South Africa, found these organisations better organised than the PAC, hence the flooding of MK ranks by the Soweto 'generation'. In 1983, another political landmark took place with the formation of the United Democratic Front. This accelerated the changing balance of power in South Africa in favour of the liberation movement. The Front shared the same ideology with the ANC and used the same symbols such as flags, colours, songs, etc. Despite all these advances, Joe Slovo critically noted that MK had not fired a shot on South African soil since the sabotage campaign of 1961. The dynamics within Southern African states had some impact on the liberation struggle in South Africa. In 1984, the Mozambican government signed the Nkomati Accord with the South African government in which the two countries attempted to promote good 'neighbourliness'. However, central to the accord was the fact that the South African government was using the Mozambicans to expel the ANC from the region. Even if the Mozambican government expected financial aid from South Africa, they were being used in South Africa's destabilisation efforts. This strategy was resorted to because of the 'changing balance of power' in the region as compared to a decade earlier, in the sense that the liberation movement was not in a position to infiltrate the deep South. A second setback that confronted the liberation movement was the issue of morale in the camps, particularly in Angola, whereby the security department of the ANC used heavy-handed tactics in dealing with expressions of dissent. Grievances centred on food, democratic practices in the army, and involvement in operations against the apartheid-American sponsored rebel group UNITA in Angola. The latter was an issue because some cadres preferred to be fighting on home soil. Towards the end of the 1980s, the balance of power tilted in favour of the 'road to power.' The apartheid state was in deep crisis because of factors such as: (i) financial sanctions; (ii) international isolation; (iii) internal mass mobilisation; and (iv) intensified Umkhonto we Sizwe propaganda. All this led to the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and other groupings and the release of Rivonia trialists which culminated in the 1994 elections in which the world famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela became the first Black president of a liberated South Africa. As these events were taking place in South Africa, international politics brought to bear its own dynamics. The Soviet Union, one of the key supporters of the liberation movement, was going through a crisis never seen in its own history. The collapse of the Soviet Union saw different voices expressed in that country towards the changes in South Africa. It appears that amongst the Soviets, there were those who were supporting the minority regime of Mr F.W de Klerk as well as the ANC and its allies. The failed plans for Nelson Mandela's visit to the Soviet Union reveal changing dynamics between the ANC and the Soviet Union.[11]

441.   Shubin, V., The liberation movement in Retrospect', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 27:1, 133-140.

442.   Shubin, V., 'Digging in the Gold Mine: The Mayibuye Centre Archive as a Source on the History of the South African Liberation Movement', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, (19:1), 1999, 46-52.

443.   Sibeko, A., Archie Sibeko's *Roll of Honor*: Western Cape ANC Comrades 1953-1963, University of Western Cape Press, Bellville, 2008.

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[11] Molapo, R. Review Article, H-Net Reviews, August 2000, available at www.h-net.org.

444.   Simons, J., *Comrade Jack: The Political Lecture and Diary of Jack Simons, Novo Catengue*, STE Publishers, Johannesburg, 2004.

445.   Simons Papers, University of Cape Town

   a.   Jack Simons to Kay Moonsamy in delayed response to a letter of 1 July, c. August 1969.

446.   Simons Papers, John Pule to Tambo, 23 August 1971.

447.   Simpson, T., 'The Bay and the Ocean: A History of the ANC in Swaziland, 1960-1979', *African Historical Review*, 2009.

> South African political refugees first began arriving in Swaziland in significant numbers in the late 1950s. In the mid-1960s the ANC tried to recruit these refugees to engage in operational activities but with little success. After Swazi independence in 1968 the kingdom's rulers were too scared of South African retaliation to provide active support for the ANC's armed struggle. Meanwhile ANC members in Swaziland were cut off from ANC structures in central Africa because the kingdom was landlocked between white-ruled South Africa and Mozambique. This changed following the army coup in Lisbon in 1974 which led to Mozambican independence. Mozambique's provisional government allowed the ANC access to Swaziland. The ANC sent Thabo Mbeki to try and establish links with activists in South Africa, but whilst he made some progress, this was reversed by police countermeasures early in 1976. A rump of activists left behind after Mbeki's expulsion led ANC efforts to handle the exodus of youths into Swaziland after the June 1976 Soweto uprising. In the late 1970s Swaziland formed part of what the ANC referred to as the 'Eastern Front' of its liberation struggle. In trying to stop ANC infiltrations South Africa made use of an extensive network of highly-placed agents in the Swazi establishment. However this collaboration proved ineffective in stopping the ANC because, even if it wished to, Swaziland lacked the resources to prevent its territory being used, whilst there were also many prominent Swazis, including King Sobhuza II, whose sympathies lay with the ANC. By the end of the 1970s ANC activity in Swaziland had grown to such a scale that it began to unnerve the Swazi authorities. This set the stage for the closing of the 'Eastern Front' in the early 1980s.

448.   Sisulu, W., *I will go singing. Walter Sisulu speaks of his life and the struggle for freedom in South Africa*. In conversation with George M Houser and Herbert Shore, Cape Town: Robben Island Museum, New York: In Association with the Africa Fund, 2001.

449.   Slovo, J., 'No middle road', in B.Davidson, J Slovo and P Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: the Politics of Revolution*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976.

450.   Slovo, J., 'The working class and nation-building' M. van Diepen, (ed) *The National Question in South Africa*, London, New Jersey., Zed books, 1988, 142-151.

451.   *South African Freedom News*, Dar es Salaam, African National Congress of South Africa, 12 July 1963.

452.   Sparg, M., Schreiner, J., and Ansell, G. (eds), *Comrade Jack: The Political Lectures and Diary of Jack Simons, Novo.Catengue,* STE Publishers, Johannesburg, 2001.

> This book provides some rich materials illustrating the politics and life story of Jack Simons, one of the most influential leaders of the South African Communist Party and of the Congress Alliance of South Africa. It includes biographical chapters, diary extracts, some of the political lectures he delivered in Angola when the ANC and SACP were in exile confronting the apartheid army based in Namibia, an interview with Jack Simons and his CV.

453.   'Statement of the Emergency Committee of the ANC', 1 April 1960, Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, ANC, AD 2186 fa23.

454.   Stuart, J., *Stuart Commission Report* [online], African National Congress, 1985. Available from: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/misc/stuartreport.html.

455.   Suttner, R., 'The Character and formation of intellectuals within the ANC- led South African liberation movement', Paper presented to African Studies/History seminar, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, 3 March 2003.

456.   Suttner, R., *The Freedom Charter: The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties*, 28th TB Davie Memorial Lecture, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, September 1984.

457.   Suttner, R. and Cronin, J., *30 Years of the Freedom Charter*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1986.

458.   Suttner, R., 'The Underground Organizational Experience of the ANC-Led Alliance Until 1976', Ph D Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2005.

> This thesis is a study of underground organisation from the 1950s until 1976, though it also draws on material prior to and after these periods. It delves into an area of social activity that has been relatively invisible in scholarship on South Africa and resistance history. The study considers the concept of underground operations. It is taken to include not only the place where the 'final' activities may have taken place, but those countries where cadres were trained or housed, even if this would normally be characterised as located in 'exile'. It is 'outside', but it such activities are also treated as part of the underground phenomenon considered as a whole. At the level of historiography the thesis is a re-reading of early ANC underground, partly giving a different interpretation to existing literature, but also relying on the insights of oral informants. The establishment of the SACP underground is fleshed out through interview material, but the thesis challenges the notion that the Party controlled the ANC, arguing in contrast that the conditions of the alliance demanded limitations on SACP's autonomy. In the period after Rivonia the conventional historiography speaks of a lull and an absence of the ANC and its allies. The thesis provides evidence to contradict this showing that while there may have been silence, there was never absence. It also probes the relationship between ANC and Black Consciousness, where it shows far more overlap than much of the existing literature has disclosed. The study is at once a historical narrative and also an attempt to characterise the social character of this area of study, the special features that go to make up clandestine organisaton. Within this characterisation of underground activity, the thesis also probes the gendered nature of these activities, the definite impact of concepts of masculinity and femininity within a conventionally male terrain. Related to

these questions the thesis probes the relationship between the personal and organisational, both at the level of individual decision-making and notions of love and realising emotions.

459.   Suttner, R. 'African National Congress (ANC): Attainment of power, post liberation phases and current crisis', *Historia*, Vol 52, Issue 1, 2007, 1-46.

The focus in this article is on the conditions under which the ANC emerged as the overwhelmingly dominant force in South Africa, and the current crisis which may signify the long-term vulnerability of the ANC as an all-powerful unified organisational force. The rise to dominance and the threats to the organisation are analysed within the context of wider political factors which influenced the evolution of the organisation or internal dynamics which are threatening its very existence.

460.   Suttner, R., *The ANC in South Africa to 1976*, Jacana, Johannesburg, 2008.

461.   Suttner, R., 'Culture(s) of the ANC of South Africa: Imprint of exile experiences', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, (21), 2003, 303-320.

462.   Suttner, R., 'Early history of the African National Congress (ANC) underground: From the M-Plan to Rivonia', *South African Historical Journal* (49), 2003,123-146.

463.   Suttner, R., 'The formation and functioning of intellectuals within the ANC–led liberation movement', in Thandeka, M. (ed), *African Intellectuals*, CODESRIA/Zed Press, 2005, 117-154.

464.   Suttner, R., *The ANC's underground in South Africa*, Auckland Park, Jacana, 2008.

It is commonly held that the ANC – after its banning in 1960 and the imprisonment of its leaders – largely disappeared off the face of South Africa until public support for it revived in the wake of the Soweto uprising of 1976. This book takes issue with that view. Drawing on substantial oral testimony, Raymond Suttner develops a convincing case that internally based activist, sometimes working independently of the ANC in exile and sometimes in combination, were able to reconstitute networks within South Africa after the organisation's banning. He discusses the broad features of their secret underground work, the impact it had on their personal lives, and the opportunities that were presented for both bravery and abuse. One of the distinctive features of his approach is its treatment of such illegal activity through a gendered lens. Suttner concludes by exploring the dominant position which the ANC had established by the 1970s (partly through underground activity), enabling it to become the prime political beneficiary of the Soweto uprising and ultimately creating the conditions for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

465.   Suttner, R., *Crisis of South African liberation: In and beyond the Zuma era*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Mozambique, Maputo, 2010.

466.   Suttner, R., 'Revisiting National Democratic Revolution (NDR): the 'national question'', Paper to be presented to History/African Studies seminar, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, 11 May 2011.

467. *The Green Book* - Report of the Politico-Military Strategy Commission to the ANC National Executive Committee, August 1979. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mk/green-book.html.

468. Tambo, O., 'Communique of the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress', *Mayibuye*, Junie 1985.

469. Tambo, O., 'Press conference in Lusaka: Oliver Tambo", 25.6.1985. Available at http://www.anc.org.za/4467.

470. Tambo, O.R., 'President Tambo addresses the nation on the state of emergency', *Mayibuye*, No. 7, 1985.

471. Tambo, O.R. (1987a) - 'South Africa: Strategic Options for International Companies', Business International Conference, London, 27 May 1987, Mimeo.

472. Tambo, O.R., 'South Africa at the Crossroads', 1987 Canon Collins Memorial Lecture, London, 28 May 1987, Mimeo.

473. Tambo, O. (compiler), *Preparing for Power: Oliver Tambo Speaks*, London, Heinemann African Writers Series, 1987.

474. Tambo Papers, Box 31, 'Statement on the relationship between the ANC (Africa) and M.K.', no signature and no date.

475. Tambo Papers, Box 37, A. Nzo to T. Nkobi, 30 June 1969.

476. Tambo Papers, Box 4, undated notebook, ff. 4–5.

477. Tambo Papers, Box 60, incomplete copy of secret letter to ANC and other liberation movements from an unnamed ministry, probably, the Ministry of Provincial and Local Government, 25 September 1969.

478. Tambo Papers, Box 46, TT Nkobi, 'Memorandum by the ANC (SA) on the implications and consequences of disciplinary action taken against some party members in Lusaka Zambia', 14 December 1970.

479. Tambo Papers, Box 29, 'Report of the secretariat covering the last two years', part 2, probably produced for the NEC meeting held in Lusaka in August 1971.

480. Tambo Papers, Box 33, Special Committee minutes, 11, 12, 17, 24 November, 8 December 1970.

481.   Tambo Papers, Box 60, record of speech by Vice-President Simon Kapwepwe to representatives of liberation movements, no date.

482.   Tambo Papers, Box 60, BD Kalwani, permanent secretary, Ministry of Provincial and Local Government to Chief Representative, ANC, 11 November 1970, acknowledging letter giving list of expelled members of 28 October 1970.

483.   Tambo Papers, Box 4, undated and untitled notebook, 'Comrade Modisane'.

484.   Thomas, S., *The Diplomacy of Liberation: The Foreign Relations of the African National Congress Since 1960*, Tauris Academic Studies, London, 1996.

485.   Trewhela, P., *Inside Quatro.* [online], *Searchlight South Africa*, 1996. Available from: http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/revhist/supplem/hirson/quadro.html.

486.   Trewhela, P., *Inside Quatro: Uncovering the Exile History of the ANC and SWAPO*, Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2009.

487.   Tshwete, S., 'Washington Mpumelelo Bongco', *Dawn, Journal of Mkhonto we Sizwe*, 25th anniversary number, 1986.

488.   Turok, B., *Nothing but the Truth: Behind the ANC's Struggle Politics* (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2003.

489.   United Nations, 'Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa on the Question of Negotiations, 9 October 1987, United Nations, Centre Against Apartheid, *Notes and Documents,* 15/87, November 1987.

490.   University of Cape Town (hereafter UCT), Manuscripts and Archives, Simons Collection, P8, Internal Position.

491.   UCT, Manuscripts and Archives, Simons Collection, P7, 'Grounds of appeal and addendum thereto in the matter of expulsion from the African National Congress of Jeqa Buthelezi, Wilmot Bempe, Alfred Khombisa, Wilson Mbali, Jackson Mlenze, Chris Nkosana, Bruce Pitso, March 1969'.

492.   University of Fort Hare (hereafter UFH), Liberation Archives, Oliver Tambo Papers, Box 81, File B.2.3.1, Political Report of the NEC to the Consultative Conference of the ANC, Morogoro, April 1969.

493.   UFH, Liberation Archives, ANC Morogoro Papers, Box 6, File 53, Problems of the Congress Movement.

494. UFH, Liberation Archives, ANC Morogoro Papers, Box 6, File 53, Report of the Sub-Committee on Problems of the Congress Movement.

495. UFH, Liberation Archives, ANC Morogoro Papers, Box 8, File 68, 'Notes on a meeting of the joint Congress Executives', Morogoro, 26–28 November 1966.

496. University of the Western Cape (hereafter UWC), Mayibuye Centre Historical papers (hereafter MCH) 70, Survey of the External Mission of the African National Congress of South Africa, February 1965.

497. UWC, MCH70, Proposals for strengthening liaison between the External Mission of the ANC and other organisations in the Congress Alliance, November 1965.

498. UWC, MCH02, J. Slovo, 'Thoughts on the Future of the Alliance', April 1969.

499. UWC, MCH70, Duma Nokwe, Directive concerning preparation for Conference, Morogoro, 18 February 1969.

500. Walshe, P., *Black Nationalism in South Africa: A Short History*, SPRO-CAS Publications, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1973.

501. 'War Provocation', 26 March 1962, Cullen Library, Universiy of the Wiwatersrand, ANC, AD 2186 FG, Box 5 Fa44.

502. Wolpe, H., 'Strategic Issues in the Struggle for National Liberation in South Africa', Review (Fernand Braudel Center), Vol. 8, No. 2, The Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa (Fall, 1984), 232-248.

     This article identifies major phases in the structuring of the political terrain after the apartheid regime came to power in 1948, and to discuss connections with class alliances and strategic issues in the 1980S

503. Younis, M.N., *Liberation and Democratization: The South African and Palestinian National Movements,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

504. Yutar Papers, South African National Archives, Pretoria

     a. Police witness reports, 385/24, Vol. 3, Zollie Malindi.
     b. 'Umkhonto we Sizwe', 16/12/61.
     a. Organisation of Local Production', T 125.
     b. T 39, 'Report to Logistics Committee of the [MK] High Command'.
     c. Police Witness reports, Vol. 3, 489-521.
     d. 'Maloone?? 1. Policy of the U.A.R.'
     e. Police Interrogations, 385/25 (Vol. 2), E.S. (Selbourne) J. Maponya, 508-12.

505. Zambia National Archives, MHA1/6/33, 'African National Congress', L. Manga to Assistant Commissioner, CID, 11 September 1970.

Chapter

AFRICAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

506.   Anon., "Acts of Frustration: The African Resistance Movement", date, publication and writer unknown.

507.   Du Toit, A., 'The National Committee for Liberation (ARM), 1960-1964: Sabotage and the question of the ideological subject', MA dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1990.

> The dissertation gives an account of the History of the National Committee of Liberation (NCL), an anti-apartheid sabotage organisation that existed between 1960 and 1964. The study is aimed both at narrating its growth and development in the context of South Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, and explaining its strategic political choices. In particular, the reason for its isolation from the broader struggle against apartheid and its inability to transcend this isolation are investigated.

508.   Du Toit, A., 'Fragile Defiance: the African Resistance Movement', in I. Liebenberg, F. Lortan, B. Nel and G. van der Westhuizen, (eds), *The Long March: The Story of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa*, HAUM, Pretoria, 1994.

509.   Gunther, M., 'The National Committee of Liberation (NCL)/African Resistance Movement (ARM)', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), T*he Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004.

Chapter

ARMED STRUGGLE, THE

510.   '25 Years of armed struggle: Army commissar Chris Hani speaks', *Sechaba*, Dec. 1986.

511.   African National Congress [ANC]. 1978a. *Strategy and tactics of our revolutionary struggle. Our sub-continent has…, unsgd draft document, May 1978* (University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, Karis-Gerhart Collection: A2675, Part III, Folder 29)

512.   African National Congress [ANC]. 1978b. *Strategy and tactics of our revolutionary struggle. The strategic goal which…, unsgd draft discussion document c.1978* (University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, Karis-Gerhart Collection: A2675, Part III, Folder 29)

513.   African National Congress [ANC]. 1979a. *President's draft report, May 1979* (University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, Karis-Gerhart Collection: A2675, Part III, Folder 30)

514.   African National Congress [ANC]. 1979b. *Report and recommendations of the Politico-Military and Strategy Commission to the NEC of the ANC [The "Green Book"]* (University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, Karis-Gerhart Collection: A2675, Part III, Folder 31)

515.   African National Congress [ANC]. 1984a. *Decisions and suggestions from NEC/PMC meeting of 25 January 1984, relations with frontline states* (University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, Karis-Gerhart Collection: A2675, Part III, Folder 54)

516.   African National Congress [ANC]. 1984b. *Fraternal message from the African National Congress to the FRELIMO Party, 31 January 1984* (University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, Karis-Gerhart Collection: A2675, Part III, Folder 54)

517.   African National Congress [ANC]. 1985. *PMC organisational report, c.May 1985* (University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, Karis-Gerhart Collection: A2675, Part III, Folder 61)

518.   African National Congress [ANC], 'ANC structures and personnel, 1960–1994: appendix one', in *Further submissions and responses by the ANC to the questions raised by the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, 12 May 1997 [online]* Available from: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/misc/trca.html [Accessed 13 July 2008]

519.   African National Congress, *List of ANC Members Who Died in Exile* [online], African National Congress, 1996. Available from: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/deathlst.html.

520.   African National Congress, *Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* [online]. African National Congress, 1996. Available from: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/misc/trcall.html.

521.   African National Congress, *Further Submissions and Responses by the ANC to Questions Raised by the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation* [online], African National Congress, 1997, Available from: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=/ancdocs/misc/trc2.html.

522.   African National Congress Political Department, Politics Department on Criminal and Civil Code. *Carter Karis Collection*, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1980.

523.   African National Congress, *Submit or Fight: 30 Years of MK*, Johannesburg, African National Congress, 1991.

524.   'The African National Congress of South Africa in Zambia: the Culture of Exile and the Changing Relationship with Home, 1964–90', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(2), June 2009:303–29.

525.   Aluko, A. 'MK soldiers' viewpoint - Pillars of our army', *Dawn*, 8(3), 1984, 21-24.

526.   Anonymous. 1985. Report on Security and Intelligence. *ANC Collection.* Bellville: Mayibuye Center Archives.

527.   Anonymous, 'Confrontation! The Battle Lines are drawn up!", 'From the Front', *Sechaba*, Vol. 1, No 11, November, 1967.

528.   Author unknown, *Military and Combat Work,* Fort Hare: Liberation Archive, Date unknown.

529.   Author unknown, *Danie Theron Combat School: Basic Tactics of the ANC,* Saxonwold, Andrew Masondo Library, 1985..

530.   Author unknown. 1985. Ingwavuma Diary. *Carter Karis Collection*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

531.   Author unknown, 'MK and the Future', document dated November 1990, South African History Archives (hereafter SAHA), Section 5.17 (Umkhonto we Sizwe).

532.   Babenia, N., *Memoirs of a Saboteur,* Bellville, Mayibuye Books, 1995.

533.   Barrell, H. 1992. The turn to the masses: the African National Congress' strategic review of 1978–1979. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18(1): 64–92.

This paper examines a formal review of strategy undertaken by the African National Congress (ANC) and its influential incorporated ally, the South African Communist Party (SACP), in 1978-79. This review led to changes in their understanding of the immediate strategic tasks before them. These changes turned on the relationship between political and military forms of revolutionary struggle and the tactics of their combination. ANC and SACP strategy between the early 1960s and 1978 centred on the development of a popular armed struggle, situated mainly in the rural areas, for the seizure of state power in South Africa. [2] The strategic review of 1978-79 did not alter the essence of this perspective. What the review did change was the ANC's understanding of the means it should employ to build an organised revolutionary political base for itself inside South Africa. Whereas, since the early 1960s, the ANC had behaved as if armed activity was the major means to develop an organised political base [3], in 1979 the review concluded the main means should rather be political organisation by political means - legal, semi-legal and underground.

534.   Barrell, H., *The ANC's armed struggle*, Penguin Books, London, 1990.

535.   Barrell, H., 'Conscripts to the Age: African National Congress operational strategy', DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1993, available at: http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/library-resources/thesis/barrel_thesis/CHAPT1.htm.

The ANC's stress on armed struggle often, paradoxically, seemed to undermine its efforts to wage armed struggle. Its armed struggle remained at a low level on intensity and posed little military threat to the South African state. A determination to correct this weakness motivated most ANC attempts to reshape operational structures and political mobilisation. By the mid-1980s, however, the ANC's armed struggle was, patently, a military failure. Moreover, mobilisation by political means posed a more serious challenge to the State. Yet the ANC persisted with armed struggle, and its operational strategy still accorded armed force the crucial role in attempting to secure fundamental change.

536.   Benneyworth, G., 'Armed and Trained: Nelson Mandela's 1962 Military Mission as Commander in Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe and Provenance for his Buried Makarov Pistol', *South African Historical Journal*, 63, 1 (March 2011), 78-101.

Firearms are inextricably linked to the history of South Africa's liberation struggle and experiences of decolonisation, liberation, and independence for many African countries. Firearms are often perceived as symbols of emancipation from colonial rule, and military leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, who commanded Umkhonto we Sizwe, are no exception, for he is associated with numerous handguns, military weapons and military ordnance during 1962, in particular to a Makarov pistol, originating from Ethiopia. This heritage item holding symbolic and historical value, Mandela claimed he buried at Liliesleaf farm in Johannesburg shortly before being captured in 1962. Although mentioned fleetingly in Nelson Mandela's autobiography Long Walk to Freedom, the provenance of and knowledge about his pistol and the circumstances under which he received it and how he subsequently buried it, together with ammunition and possibly an Ethiopian army uniform, are not widely known. This article details the process by which I established this provenance during 2004 to 2010, and contextualises Nelson Mandela's broader military activities in Africa, discussions he held with freedom fighters and military personnel in Ethiopia and Morocco, the type of military training he underwent, weapons he handled, and activities in South Africa upon his return, once armed and trained.

537.   Bopela, T. and Luthuli, D., *Umkhonto we Sizwe: Fighting for a divided people*, Galago Publishing Pty Ltd, Johannesburg, 2005.

538.   Booyse, W.J., 'Die ANC se militere strategie en aspekte van gewapende geweld in die RSA: 1976 tot Julie 1986', *Staakundige oorsig 1986*, 1986, 77-92.

539.   Booyse, W.J., 'Acts of terrorism in SA: January 1980 - June 1988', *Freedom Alert*, 1988, 1-7.

540.   Booyse, W.J., 'The concept "people's war" in the strategy of the ANC and the PAC: A comparative analysis', D. Phil. Thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1990.

> The purpose of this thesis is to provide a comparative analysis of the concept "people's war" as it manifests itself in the strategies of the ANC and the PAC. The concept "people's war" within the framework of this thesis is seen as a product and manifestation of revolution as a twentieth century phenomenon. This specific approach forced one to evaluate revolution within its historical and philosophical context as a twentieth century phenomenon in chapter two. Accordingly a variety of theories and approaches were identified that have had a direct bearing on the revolutionary thought in the Third World in the twentieth century. As a result it was necessary to briefly discuss revolutionary warfare models. Chapter three serves as the pivot of the study in that it is in this chapter where the four components that constitute a people's war were developed. According to available research material this is the first theoretical framework ever developed according to which it may be determined whether a revolution constitutes a people's war revolution or not. The four component of the concept "people's war" namely: nationalism, the revolutionary party, the people's army and the united front therefore serve as the basis according to which the strategies of the ANC and the PAC are compared.[12]

541.   Braam, C., *Operation Vula*, Jacana, Bellevue, 2004.

542.   Brockman, B., 'Contextualising the emergence of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing', in *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2007.

> This essay is an attempt to contextualize the BMW, a semi-clandestine paramilitary structure, closely linked to the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Staffed predominantly by primary and high-school students from Bonteheuwel, the BMW waged a campaign of violence resistance against the apartheid government and its functionaries from 1986-1989. The emergence of the BMW can best be explained by tracing the historical development of political activism in Bonteheuwel from the area's establishment in 1960 unti the mid-1980s.[13]

543.   Campbell, C. and Connolly, I., 'The Sharp End: Armed Opposition Movements, Transitional Truth Processes and the *Rechtsstaat*', *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Volume 6, Issue 1, 11-39.

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[12] Booyse, W.J., 'The concept "people's war" in the strategy of the ANC and the PAC: A comparative analysis', D. Phil. Thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1990, x.

[13] Brockman, B., 'Contextualising the emergence of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing', in *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2007, 177.

While ex-combatant and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration issues have generated rich literatures, transitionary armed opposition movements – actors central to transitional justice processes – have been neglected. This article addresses part of this research gap, focusing on the agency of armed movements with respect to three key transitional justice themes: transition, law and truth processes in the law-based *rechtsstaat*. Drawing on examples from South Africa, Namibia, Israel/Palestine and the Basque country, the article offers a framework for analyzing this agency by exploring the political opportunity structures presented by truth processes, as well as their implications for the movements' mobilizing structures and framing processes. This analytical framework is grounded in original Northern Ireland data drawn from interviews with former Irish Republican Army (IRA) activists, IRA public statements and *Sinn Féin* election manifestos. The data suggests that transitionary armed opposition movements see transitional justice as a site for continuing their political projects and potentially inflicting political damage to their opponents, as well as of attrition, given the victim–perpetrator character of such movements. The truths emerging from transitional processes may reflect the degrees of agency, entrepreneurship (including deliberate silences) and resources deployed by both state and nonstate actors.

544.   Cawdra, G., Kraak, G. and O'Sullivan, G. (eds), *War and Resistance: Southern African Reports*, London, Macmillan, 1994.

545.   Cherry, J., 'Armed struggle and sectarian violence: South Africa and Northern Ireland compared', in Ludke, A. and Weisbrod, B. (eds), *No Man's Land of Violence: Extreme wars in the 20th Century*, Gottingen, Wallstein Verlag, 2006.

546.   Cherry, J., *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, Jacana Media, Johannesburg, 2011.

547.   Crais, C., *The politics of evil: Magic state power, and political imagination in South Africa,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002.

548.   Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Sylvia Neame Papers

        a.   A2729, Fred Carneson interview with Neame.
        b.   Jack Hodgson interview with Neame.
        c.   Defence papers of the Rivonia Trial, AD 1844 Box 3 A12-A16, A 12.1, Bennet Nvuya Mashiyana's testimony; Berrange Cross notes.

549.   Davis, S., 'Cosmopolitans in close quarters: Everyday life in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe (1961-present)', PhD thesis, University of Florida, 2010.

This dissertation is a history of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the African National Congress. This work is a multi-sited study of five different episodes that occurred during three decades of armed struggle inside and outside of South Africa. Each of these episodes offer opportunities to reflect on the ways this history has been written, suggest the reasons why some narratives are favored over others, as well as indicate pathways toward alternative retellings of this history. The study explores these themes by weaving forty-five oral interviews into selections taken from seven thousand pages of documents and readings of published narratives, all in an effort to uncover histories of this army often displaced by official accounts. This project grew out a Masters thesis which investigated the historiography on the ANC in exile through the lens of radio broadcasting.

550. Douek, D., "'They Became Afraid When They Saw Us': MK Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Bantustan of Transkei, 1988–1994", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2013, 207–225.

> The increasingly overt sympathies of the Transkei Bantustan military ruler, Bantu Holomisa, towards the African National Congress (ANC) during the late 1980s preceded the unbanning of the ANC by the South African government, and created a regional stronghold for the ANC and for its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Interviews with ex-combatants and archival research shed new light on MK activities in the Transkei during the years 1988–1994, and on the extensive counterinsurgency campaign mounted by South African Defence Forces Military Intelligence to weaken MK. This campaign included an attempt to topple Holomisa by a coup which was thwarted by MK forces several months after negotiations between the ANC and the South African government began in February 1990. MK forces based in the Transkei continued a duel in the shadows with the apartheid military until the ANC came to power in 1994. This little-known case illustrates MK's ability to organise and operate effectively when backed by a supportive regime. It also contributes to the historiographical debate about the ANC's military activities during the transition era, suggesting that during this period MK's strategy was primarily a defensive response to apartheid counterinsurgency rather than an offensive strategy to shape the transition in the ANC's favour.

551. Ellis, S. 'The genesis of the ANC's armed struggle in South Africa, 1948-1961', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 37, Issue 4, 2011, 657-676.

> Revelations made by veterans of the period, and the opening of various archives, have thrown significant new light on the origins of Umkhonto we Sizwe. It is now clear that the South African Communist Party (SACP) was the first component of the congress alliance to decide to launch an armed struggle against the apartheid state, in late 1960, having consulted the Chinese leader Mao Zedong in person. Only later was the issue debated in the senior organs of the African National Congress and other allied organisations. It has also become apparent that the first commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Nelson Mandela, was a member of the SACP. The main thrust of these observations is to demonstrate the degree to which the start of the armed struggle in South Africa was inscribed in the politics of the Cold War.

552. Gibbs, T., 'Chris Hani's 'Country Bumpkins': Regional Networks in the African National Congress Underground, 1974–1994', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 37, Issue 4, 2011, 677-691.

> This article considers the social hinterland of leading members of the ANC underground who, raised in the Transkei, came of age in the late 1970s. Earlier in the twentieth century, South Africa's Native Reserves were wellsprings of nationalist leadership. Prominent ANC leaders shared a similar regionally-focused set of familial, educational and professional connections that vaulted them to the centre of the nationalist movement. These regional networks remained important feeders for the ANC into the later apartheid era. Chris Hani recruited his leading cadres from a small pool of young men educated in Transkei's élite schools and earmarked for senior posts in the Bantustan bureaucracy. This social proximity of élite ANC cadres and leading Bantustan functionaries made the boundaries between opposition and collaboration permeable. While the ANC's attempted alliance with KwaZulu chief minister Buthelezi failed, hardening the distinction between militant nationalism and apartheid-corrupted ethnicity, its relationship with the Transkei's Bantu Holomisa is a counter-example of the blurring of these political identities.

553.   Goodwin, J., '"The Struggle Made Me a Nonracialist": Why There was so Little Terrorism in the Antiapartheid Struggle', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, Volume 12, Number 2 / June 2007, 193 – 203.

Most theories of terrorism would lead one to have expected high levels of antiwhite terrorism in apartheid South Africa. Yet the African National Congress, the country's most important and influential antiapartheid political organization, never sanctioned terrorism against the dominant white minority. The author argues that the ANC eschewed terrorism because of its commitment to "nonracial internationalism." From the ANC's perspective, to have carried out a campaign of indiscriminate or "categorical" terrorism against whites would have alienated actual and potential white allies both inside and outside the country. The ANC's ideological commitment to nonracialism had a specific social basis: It grew out of a long history of collaboration between the ANC and white leftists inside and outside the country, especially those in the South African Communist Party.

554.   Hani, C., '25 years of armed struggle', *Sechaba*, Dec. 1986.

555.   Hani, C. 'The Wankie Campaign', *Dawn,* 10 (1), 1986, 4-6.

556.   Hough, M., 'Armed progaganda', *ISSUP Strategic Review*, August, 1980, 1-2.

557.   Houston, G., 'The post-Rivonia ANC/SACP underground', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa.* Vol 1. (1960-1970), Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004.

558.   Houston, G. and B. Magubane, 'The ANC Political Underground in the 1970s', in South Africa Democracy Education Trust (SADET) compiled, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: Volume 2 [1970-1980]*, (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2006), 371-451.

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section the focus is on the underground political work of individuals and small groups of people based inside South Africa. We begin by looking at the activities in the early 1970s of internal underground activists in ANC networks that were initiated during the second half of the 1960s, with a focus on the Johannesburg area. This is followed by case studies of individuals who became involved in underground activities by linking up with ANC activists based inside the country or those in exile. We also focus on the activities of a few individuals who decided to take the initiative to become involved in underground political work without linking up with any of the liberation movements. In the second section of the chapter we focus on the role of the ANC's structures in exile in facilitating the development of an internal political underground. We begin by looking at attempts by the External Mission to initiate the development of an ANC political underground inside South Africa by sending individuals and groups into the country in the period from 1970 to 1973. This is followed by an examination of the activities of the ANC from 1973 onwards in the countries bordering on South Africa, in order to develop an internal political underground. A study is also made of the role of propaganda activists, as well as that of ANC activists and groups in the establishment of new political organisations towards the end of the decade.

559.   Jenkin, T., *Talking to Vula: The Story of the Secret Underground Communication Network of Operation Vula*, 1995. Articles from Mayibuye, reproduced on http://wwww.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/vula.html.

560.   Johns, S., 'Obstacles to Guerrilla Warfare- A South African Case Study', *Journal for African Studies,* vo1.11, no.2, 1973.

561.   Karis, T. and Gerhard, G., 'The Turn to Violence Since May 31, 1961', in Karis and Gerhard, (eds), *Challenge and Violence, 1953-1964*, New York, Hoover Institution Press, 1977, Vol. 3 of T. Karis and G. Carter, (eds), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of South African Politics in South Africa*, 1882-1964, New York, Hoover Institution Press, 1971-2010.

562.   Kasrils, R., 'The revolutionary army', *Sechaba*, September 1988.

563.   Kasrils, R., *Armed and Dangerous: From Undercover Struggle to Freedom*, Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg & Cape Town, 2004.

564.   Ketelo, B. et. al. 'A Miscarriage of Democracy: the ANC Security Department in the 1984 Mutiny in Umkhonto we Sizwe', *Searchlight South Africa,* 5, 2992.

565.   Kgobe, T., 'Is South Africa suited for guerrilla warfare?', *The African Communist*, 117, Second Quarter, 1989.

566.   Lamb, G. and Mokalobe, M.P., 'Soldiers of misfortune: the forgotten warriors of South Africa's liberation struggle', Paper presented at the International Conference on "Re-conceptualising democracy and liberation in Southern Africa", 11-13 July 2002, Windhoek, Namibia, convened by the Nordic Africa Institute, the Legal Assistance Centre, and the Namibia Institute for Democracy.

567.   Landau, P.S., 'The ANC, MK, and 'The Turn to Violence' (1960–1962)', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, 538-563.

   Why did the African National Congress (ANC) appear to embrace violence in 1961? Can one say it did so? Was the Communist Party responsible behind the scenes? What did the 'turn to violence' mean? With a plethora of new sources and reminiscences emerging, one can begin to craft a set of answers. Communists as Communists did not determine the timing of the ANC's embrace of MK (*Umkhonto we-Sizwe*, 'Spear of the Nation'). The ANC was a large member-based organisation which could not nimbly shift in any direction. During the state's repressive and punitive measures in 1960–1962, however, a group of Communist African men from within the ANC hierarchy made use of the unsettled nature of political life to commit the ANC to a new path. They interacted intensively, together with non-African Communists, in the Treason Trial (1956–1961), and then in jail during the 1960 'State of Emergency'. Their aim was revolution. Preeminent among them was Nelson Mandela.

568. Lass, H.R., 'Die grondleggers van revolusionere oorlogvoering', Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO. 175p. (Sentrum vir Internasionale Politiek. Publikasie No 16), 1975.

569. Legassick, M., *The Strategy of Armed Struggle In South Africa: 1961-1975*, The Center for Humanities Research and the History Department, Belville, 2006.

570. Legassick, M., 'Armed Struggle in South Africa: Consequences of a Strategy Debate', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 21:2, 285-302.

> This paper reviews the strategies of MK. It is argued that the political economy of South Africa differed from the other largely peasant societies of southern Africa. There would have been the possibility of organizing the working class at the head of a movement to achieve national and social liberation by ending capitalism and establishing a workers' democracy (which is different from a 'people's democracy'). Yet this was not the strategy of MK. This paper argues, in fact, that MK lacked a realistic strategy for achieving power, despite the heroic sacrifices of its combatants. In the end the negotiated solution in South Africa was not a 'choice' by the ANC leaders but forced on them because they had no alternative. Ironically the result in South Africa has been the establishment of a bourgeois democracy which, because of the strength of the working class and hence of civil society, has far greater resilience than in the other countries of southern Africa.

571. Legassick, M., *Armed Struggle and Democracy: The Case of South Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2002.

> This paper will review the strategy of MK, and changes in it, together with that of other liberation movements in Southern Africa (FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO, ZANU and ZAPU). It is argued that the political economy of South Africa (secondary industrialization, substantial working class) differentiated it from the other largely peasant societies of Southern Africa. In the latter (along a similar pattern to China) it was possible under the conditions then obtaining for bureaucratic (one-party) regimes to be established on a non-capitalist basis through rural guerrilla warfare, and such were achieved in Mozambique and Angola. In Zimbabwe at the time of independence a similar outcome would have been possible but was not the option taken by ZANU. A similar outcome in Namibia was cut across by the social counter-revolution taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

572. Legum, C., 'Guerilla warfare and African liberation movements', *Africa Today*, 14(4), 1967, 5–10.

573. Le Roux, C.J.B., 'Umkhonto we Sizwe: its role in the ANC's onslaught against white domination in South Africa, 1961-1988', Ph D thesis, University of Pretoria, 1992. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

> This thesis includes chapters on The drift towards armed struggle, 1912-1960; The decision to commence with the armed struggle; The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe; The internal development of the armed struggle; The external development of the armed struggle; The relationship between Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC-SACP alliance; The organisation, leadership and funding of Umkhonto we Sizwe; The recruitment, training and arming of Umkhonto we Sizwe's cadres; The failure of Umkhonto's armed mission.

574.   Lissoni, A., 'Transformations in the ANC External Mission and Umkhonto we Sizwe, c. 1960–1969', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, Special Issue: Liberation Struggles, Exile and International Solidarity, 287-301.

This article focuses on key policy, strategic and ideological developments in the ANC external mission and its army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), during their first decade of exile. It seeks to illustrate that the ANC's transformation into a liberation movement in exile during this period and its continued survival were not a matter of unproblematic progression. Rather, this process entailed a series of re-negotiations and re-adjustments, which were triggered by changes in the material conditions of struggle as they unfolded after Sharpeville. The difficulty experienced by the ANC leadership in exile in grappling with these changes produced potentially disintegrative internal strains in the second half of the decade, which can be viewed as the main catalysts behind the call for a Consultative Conference in Morogoro in 1969. At a leadership level, these tensions concerned issues of representation, organisational structure and, ultimately, political strategy. At the heart of the debate between the ANC and its allies was the full incorporation of all South African exiles previously associated with the Congress Movement into the external mission, signalling a gradual transition from the multi-racialism of the 1950s to the creation of a unitary, non-racial liberation front. Closely related to the issue of non-racialism was the progressive adjustment of the ANC to the armed struggle, which was made especially difficult by the continued separation of military from political structures. Hence the concern of this article with the state of affairs within MK, in particular with pressures from below, matters of military strategy, and the relationship between the military and the political movement.

575.   'List of MK Operations'. Available at www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/misc/trc2.html.

576.   Lodge, T., "People's War or Negotiation? African National Congress Strategies in the 1980s". In Moss, G. and Obery, I (eds.) *South African Review 5.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1989.

577.   Lyons, T. and Israel, M., 'Women, Resistance and the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa', *African Studies Association of Australasia and The Pacific. Review and Newsletter* (21:2), 1999, 5-12.

578.   Magubane, B., Bonner, P., Sithole, J., Delius, P., Cherry, J., Gibbs, P. and April, T., 'The turn to armed struggle', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa. Vol 1 (1960-1970)*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004, Chapter 2, 53-146.

579.   Manthatha, S., 'People's war stages and tasks', *Dawn*, 6(4), 1982, 9-24.

580.   Marepo, L., 'The Role of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in the national liberation struggle in South Africa with reference to the rural far Northern Transvaal, 1976-1990', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 2007.

581.   Marepo, L., 'MK and the reistance to incorporation of Moutse into the KwaNdebele Bantustan, 1985-1987', in *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2007.

582.   Mashinini, 'Preparing the Fire Before Cooking the Rice Inside the Pot: Some Burning Questions of our Revolution', *Sechaba*, April 1985.

583.   Meer. F. *The trial of Andrew Zondo: a sociological insight*, Johannesburg, Skotaville, 1987.

584.   Mercer, G. and Dennis Mercer, D., *From Shantytown to Forest: The Story of Norman Duka*, LSM Publishers, Vancouver, 1974.

> Norman Duka was born and raised in an African "location" (the shantytown of the book's title) outside of East London in Cape Province. As a boy he spent several weeks visiting his father's family in a rural area. This experience put him in touch with his traditional roots. He was drawn to rural ways, but at the same time he noticed the lack of city-style amenities like good water to drink. His was the poorest background of any of the militants portrayed. He was conscious of his family's poverty from school age, and was finally forced by it to abandon his formal education. As a young teenager he entered the urban labor pool, taking the first of a series of menial jobs. Only the menial job sector was open to him despite his high pass in Standard Six at school. Duka's mother was a Christian. His father was not. Both endured hardship to send their children to school. His father was an ANC member and it was through him that the young Norman received his first initiation into political life. As his disillusion in the job market increased Duka was increasingly influenced by the arguments of a friend of his father. This man finally convinced the young man of the need for armed struggle. Duka agreed to being smuggled out of the country for military training. At the appointed hour he left family, girl-friend, job, and country for Tanzania and eventually for training in Russia. Although two other of the militants in this series were also trained in the Soviet Union, only Duka gives the experience more than passing mention. He tells very little except that it was cold, his unit learned fast, and the Russians were friendly. There is no mention of ideological training. In a long concluding section Duka details his unit's attempt to infiltrate their way back into South Africa from Zambia through Zimbabwe. Of course no overall picture of the episode is given. The venture ends with the arrest of the participants in Botswana. They are convicted of illegal armed entry and imprisoned. After their release they were flown back to Zambia, where Duka was assigned a desk job.[14]

585.   Migwe, K., 'Further contribution on arming the masses', *The African Communist*, (89), Second Quarter, 1982, 77-87.

586.   Migwe, K., 'Lessons of our peple's war: Part II', *Dawn*, 6(3), March 1982, 14-19.

587.   Mkhwanazi, S., 'Our vanguard and the seizure of power', *Sechaba*, 23(l), January 1989, 22-25.

588.   Motumi, T., 'Umkhonto we Sizwe - structure, training and force levels (1984 to 1994)', *African Defence Review*, 18, 1994.

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[14] Broadhead, S.H., 'What It Means to Be an African Revolutionary: The Use of Biography in Teaching about Africa The Making of a Middle Cadre', *ASA Review of Books*, Vol. 4, No. 1978, 6.

589.   Motumi, T., 'The Spear of the Nation: The recent history of Umkonto we Sizwe (MK)', in Cilliers, J, and Reichardt, M. (eds), *About Turn: The Transformation of the South African Military and Intelligence*, Halfay House, Institute for Defence Policy, 1995.

590.   Mtintso, T., 'Women in MK', Interview with Devan Pillay, *Work in Progress.* (80), 1992, 18-19.

591.   Mtolo, B., *Umkonto we Sizwe: The Road to the Left*, Drakensberg Press Limited, Durban, 1966.

592.   Muthien, Y., *State and Resistance in South Africa, 1939-1965*, Brookfield, VT, Ashgate, 1994.

593.   Mzala., 'Armed Struggle', *African Communist,* 82, 1980a.

594.   Mzala., 'Has the Time Come?', *African Communist,* 86, 1980b.

595.   Mzala., 'On the Threshold', *African Communist,* 102, 1980c.

596.   Mzala., 'Cooking the Rice Inside the Pot', *Sechaba*, January 1985.

597.   Mzala., 'MK: Part 1', *Sechaba*, December 1986.

598.   Mzala., 'MK: Part 2', *Sechaba*, January 1987a.

599.   Mzala., '*Umkhonto We Sizwe*: Building People's Forces for Combat War and Insurrection, Part 2', *Sechaba*, January 1987b.

600.   Mzala., 'Towards People's War and Insurrection", *Sechaba*, April 1987c.

601.   Mzala., 'Is South Africa in a Revolutionary Situation?', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 16,3, 1990.

602.   Ngculu, J., 'The role of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the creation of a democratic civil-military relations tradition', Institute for Security Studies (ed), *Ourselves to Know*, ISS, Pretoria, 2003.

This paper seeks to trace the history of MK, focusing on how the tradition of political accountability and subordination of MK soldiers to the political leadership was exercised. Of course, this tradition of accountability was not unique to MK. Many liberation movements in Southern Africa embraced traditions of political subordination with varying degrees of success. Similarly, in the struggle of the Vietnamese against French and American imperialism, strong political leadership of the guerilla formation was emphasized. During their struggle against the Czar, the Bolsheviks developed the concept of Commissars, who were party loyalists charged with making sure that people 'towed the party line'. This tradition of commissars was later to be

adopted by many liberation movements including the ANC. The author reflects on how this particular MK tradition contributed to the creation of strong civil-military relations in the democratic South Africa.[15]

603.   'Notes of Meeting with Chris Hani, Chief of Staff and Deputy Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and Steve Tshwete, Political Commissar', from an interview by John D. Battersby, 3 June 1988, Lusaka, SAHA, section 5.17 (Umkhonto we Sizwe).

604.   Notes of the interview with Chris Hani and Steve Tshwete", 3.6.1988. Available at www.aluka.org/action/showMetadata?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.INT19880603.043.049.

605.   Nqose, Z., *The Luthuli Detachment*, Qoma Films, Cape Town, 2007.

606.   'Office of the Military Council of Transkei: Address by Major General Bantu Holomisa to the MK Conference in Venda, 9 August 1991', SAHA Section 5.17 (Umkhonto we Sizwe).

607.   'People's war and insurrection: The subjective factor', *Mayibuye*, 3, 1989.

608.   Pilcher, R. Occupational Hazards: Observations of Conditions in Umkhonto we Sizwe's Angolan Camps, BA Hons thesis, University of Cape Town, 1998.

609.   Rakgoadi, P.S. 'The Role of the Self-Defence Units (SDUs) in a Changing Political Context'. http://www.csvr.org./index.php?

610.   Ralinala, M., J. Sithole, G. Houston and B. Magubane, 'The Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns', in SADET (ed.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004.

611.   Reno, W., *Warfare in independent Africa*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2011.

612.   Roos, N., *Ordinary Springboks: White Servicemen and Social Justice in South Africa, 1939-1961*, London, Ashgate, 2005.

613.   Scholtz, L. and Scholtz, I., 'The Conference of Kabwe and the ANC/SACP's armed struggle', *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, Vol. 51, no. 4, Dec. 2011.

The ANC/SACP alliance has always defended their armed struggle by referring to the long nonviolent struggle against apartheid before 1961 and the fact that the then Government's intransigence forced their recourse to violence. The alliance further contends that their armed struggle never included indiscriminate terrorism and attacks against civilians, but that the Government's own brutal violence caused a situation where the liberation movement had to accept that civilians would be caught in the cross-fire. The purpose of this article is to analyse this contention and the role the Conference of Kabwe in Zambia in June 1985 played in the

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movement's decision making. It is argued that the armed struggle, up to 1983, did indeed testify to a moral unwillingness to shed blood. But the South African attack on ANC targets in Matola, Maputo in 1981, caused a mindshift, and Oliver Tambo promised vengeance. The upshot was the Church Street Bomb of 1983, in which 19 people, including 12 civilians, were killed. At Kabwe the ANC National Consultative Conference decided that the avoidance of civilian casualties could no longer stand in the way of military operations. This was communicated to the operatives on the ground in a way in which they understood that no holds were barred any more, and the result was an indiscriminate wave of terrorism against restaurants, disco's, sports venues, shopping malls, and the like. The ANC leadership became worried about the adverse publicity and in 1987 tried to reign in MK, but the armed wing was basically out of control. The later years' armed campaign is weighed against the Geneva Convention, and the conclusion is that MK's actions in the latter years were not only inefficient but morally dubious.

614. Seidman, G., "Guerrillas In their Midst: Armed Struggle in the South African Anti-Apartheid Movement', *Mobilization: An International Journal*, (6:2), 2001, 111-127.

Echoing a general silence in social movement theory, discussions of South Africa's antiapartheid movement tend to ignore the impact of armed struggle on mobilization. The antiapartheid movement is usually described in terms of mass mobilization and civil rights struggle rather than as an anticolonial movement involving military attacks by guerrilla infiltrators and clandestine links between open popular groups and guerrilla networks. This article explores some of the reasons why researchers might avoid discussing armed struggle, including some discomfort around its morality. Then it considers how more systematic investigation of armed struggle might change our understanding of the anti-apartheid movement, including its legacies for post-apartheid politics. Finally, it suggests that these questions may be relevant for social movement theories.[16]

615. Sejake, S., *Inside the Wankie Campaign: ANC-ZAPU Armed Actions in Rhodesia During 1967-68* [online] Pan-African News Wire, 2007. Available from: http://panafricannews.blogspot.com/2007/11/inside-wankie-campaign-anc-zapu-armed.html.

616. Shubin, V., *ANC: A View from Moscow*, Mayibuye Books, Cape Town, 1999.

617. Sibeko, A. [Ronnie Kasrils], 'The Underground Voice' in Mattelart, Armand and Seth Siegelaub (Eds*). Communication and Class Struggle, Vol 2, Liberation, Socialism*, International General, New York, IMMRC, Bagnolet, France, 1983 [1977], 203-207.

618. Simpson, T., 'The People's War of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 1961-1990', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2006.

619. Simpson, T. 'Main Machinery: The ANC's Armed Underground in Johannesburg during the 1976 Soweto Uprising', *African Studies*, Volume 70, Issue 3, 2011, 415-436.

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[16] Seidman, G., "Guerrillas In their Midst: Armed Struggle in The South African Anti-Apartheid Movement', *Mobilization: An International Journal*, (6:2), 2001, 111.

Having completed their training in Military Combat Work (MCW) in the Eastern Bloc by the early months of 1976, the first of the new generation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) recruits were prepared for infiltration into South Africa by the mid-year. This article tells the story of the first unit to be deployed into South Africa in the new phase of the African National Congress's (ANC) armed struggle. It details some of the challenges they faced implementing the lessons of MCW in the practical circumstances faced in South Africa. The years preceding 1976 had seen the ANC unable to prosecute military operations within South Africa owing to the logistical challenges of launching incursions to South Africa from their bases in Zambia and Tanzania. Independence for Angola and Mozambique had made such incursions possible, but only just, as this article shows. It explains how issues of command and control in a theatre of war spread over the whole southern African region remained formidable problems for the movement. This was the major factor that stalled the endeavours of this unit in reaching the state where it could begin operating militarily. It was a mix-up that occurred during an attempt that was made to establish contact between the ANC's internal and external structures to discuss these issues, which led to the collapse of the mission. Finally, the article will consider the lessons learned by the ANC from the mission, and explain the significance of the experience within the entire context of the history of the armed struggle.

620. Simpson, T., 'Military Combat Work: the Reconstitution of the ANC's Armed Underground, 1971–1976', *African Studies*, Volume 70, Issue 1, 2011, 103-122.

This article describes the African National Congress (ANC) underground in South Africa in the years immediately preceding the 1976 Soweto uprising, and it makes three main contributions to the existing literature on the topic. The first is primarily descriptive, and involves providing greater detail than has hitherto been offered on the ANC's clandestine organisational presence in neighbouring Swaziland, Mozambique and Tanzania that facilitated the revival of the underground in South Africa. The other two are of value in analysing the longer history of the ANC's armed struggle: firstly, the article describes Military Combat Work, the training regime offered to *Umkhonto we Sizwe* cadres in the Soviet Union, and which formed the template that was to guide the prosecution of the armed struggle in future years. The second involves backdating to the pre-Soweto uprising period, many of the challenges facing the armed struggle that historians have hitherto characterised as being a post-June 1976 phenomenon. This article describes the Challenges the ANC in exile faced hosting the hundreds of cadres that joined its ranks after recruiting work within South Africa began in the early to mid-1970s.

621. Simpson, T., "'Umkhonto we Sizwe, We are Waiting for You': The ANC and the Township Uprising, September 1984 – September 1985", *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 61, Issue 1, 2009, 158-177.

This article discusses the ANC's relationship with the youth-led township rebellion of the mid 1980s which has not received adequate attention in the existing literature on South African resistance politics. The argument made is that while the ANC lacked a physical presence in the townships and was thus unable to organise the uprisings, the appeal of its confrontational policies – and above all its armed struggle – meant it was accorded the mantle of symbolic leadership by the youths spearheading the fighting. The intangibility of mass consciousness and the difficulty of gauging it though conventional archival sources means the article relies heavily on the testimony of contemporary witnesses, and particularly journalists. The origins and dynamics of the uprising are investigated in the article and the gestation of the insurrection within the townships for almost a year before its eventual eruption is discussed, as is the manner in which the rebellion's lack of formal leadership proved to be its greatest strength by making it difficult to quell. The timeframe

covered spans the first year of the uprising because it witnessed in microcosm the basic themes which dominated mass politics in South Africa for most of the following decade.

622.   Simpson, T., 'The making (and remaking) of a revolutionary plan: strategic dilemmas of the ANC's armed struggle, 1974–1978', *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, 312-329.

After the African National Congress' (ANC's) political and military structures within South Africa were destroyed by police repression in the mid-1960s, there was a hiatus of a decade before the movement could contemplate resuming military operations within South Africa. By the mid-1970s, the ANC found that the events that made this resumption possible also severely constrained its scope for action. While Mozambican independence gave the ANC a common border over which it could conduct attacks into South Africa, restrictions imposed by Mozambique's government limited the ANC's freedom to use the border in the same way that other African liberation movements had done in their struggles. This article argues that the ANC's focus on military operations deep within the South African interior limited the ability of its rear bases to supply internal military units and thus made its army dependent on underground political structures for sustenance. The article explains how the absence of such structures resulted in significant casualties and contributed to the ANC's decision to convene a review of strategy in 1978.

623.Simpson, T. 'Toyi-Toyi-ing to Freedom: The Endgame in the ANC's Armed Struggle, 1989–1990', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, Special Issue: Liberation Struggles, Exile and International Solidarity, 507-521.

This article focuses on the twelve-month period between August 1989 and August 1990 which proved to be the final year of the African National Congress's (ANC) armed struggle against the South African government. This period is interesting because it dramatised the central paradox that existed throughout the ANC's armed struggle, namely its material weakness that was belied by its immense symbolic strength. In August 1989, the ANC's proposals for negotiations were accepted by African leaders, while in South Africa, F.W. de Klerk acceded to the South African state presidency. These events considerably improved the prospects of a negotiated settlement. However, by August 1990, the ANC and the South African government had still not begun formal negotiations, and the bone of contention between them was the ANC's continued commitment to violence. This highlights the second key theme: namely, the immense symbolic significance carried by the question of violence in the conflict. At stake was the credibility of the ANC's claims to be South Africa's national liberation movement. The ANC needed to perpetuate the notion of MK as an effective fighting force in order to sustain its claim that negotiations had been achieved through its actions, and that it was entering into talks on its own terms. Meanwhile for the government, these considerations operated in reverse: it was anxious to counter the notion that the ANC had fought its way to the negotiating table. This article will discuss how the two sides jostled over this question in the period leading to the ANC's unilateral suspension of its armed struggle in August 1990.

624.   Sithole, J., 'The ANC Underground in Natal', in South Africa Democracy Education Trust (SADET) compiled, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: Volume 2 [1970-1980]*, (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2006), 531-567.

625.   Slovo, J., 'It was just the beginning - The MK sabotage campaign', in *Submit or Fight! 30 Years of Umkhonto we Sizwe*, South African Communist Party Political Education Section, Johannesburg, 1991.

626.   Slovo, J., 'The sabotage campaign', *Dawn Souvenir Issue,* 1986.

627.   Stadler, H., *The Other Side of the Story. A True Perspective*, Contract, Johannesburg, 1997.

628.   Suttner, R., 'The African National Congress (ANC) Underground: From the M-Plan to Rivonia', *South African Historical Journal* 49 (Nov. 2003), 123-146.

>   Existing scholarship on African National Congress (ANC) underground organisation suffers from an over-reliance on documentary resources, which has tended to conceal its texture, complexity and detail. This article covers an early part of that experience, reinterpreting some literature on the ANC's M-Plan as well as using oral evidence to throw light on its meaning and impact. The historiography is given a different interpretation mainly because this contribution places more weight on the Plan than is usually given. Its impact was far wider than most scholars suggest. In particular, it formed the basis for establishing the ANC underground immediately after its banning.

629.   Jenkin, T., *Talking to Vula. The Story of the Secret Underground Communication Network of Operation Vula*. Articles from *Mayibuye*, reproduced on 1995. http://wwww.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/vula.html.

630.   '*Take the Struggle to the White Areas*! Make the whole of South Africa ungovernable! Paralyse apartheid!' Official ANC leaflet distributed inside South Africa in the latter half of 1985. Available at www.anc.org.za/4677.

631.   Tambo, o.r., '"Umkhonto we Sizwe: Born of the People", Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, delivered on Heroes' Day, 16 December 1986 on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army', UWC, RIMA, Umkhonto we Sizwe Collection (MCH 150.

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633.   The State vs Peter Mokaba, Portia Nhlapo, and Jerome Joseph Maake.

634.   The State vs. Washington Pumulelo Bongco, URU 1964 2266 (DEEL V) 4820, National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria.

635.   The State vs. Wilton Mkwayi, TAB WLD CC1964 578, National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria.

636. Thomas, C., 'Bloodier than black and white: liberation history seen through detective sergeant Donald Card's narrative of his investigations of Congo and Poqo activities, 1960-1965', *New Contree*, No. 50 (November 2005), 39-58.

This article explores the evasions, omissions, and twists that made possible the black and white liberation history that are currently consumed. To do so, the activities of the Congo, or iKongo movement, are probed into as well as that of Poqo. It is done through the story of police detective Donald Card, who had been involved in almost every significant event in South African history the past five decades. The why of certain events and developments, including crime under the cloak of politics, are often ignored or romanticised. This included charges of torture and brutality, pushed so readily into the public domain – as in *Red Dust*, the latest drama on torture in South Africa.

637. Turok, B., 'South Africa: The Search for a Strategy', *Socialist Register*, 10 (1973), 341-376. Available at http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/search/titles?searchPage=9.

638. Turok, B., *The ANC and the turn to armed struggle, 1950-1970*, Johannesburg, Jacana, 2012.

639. Twala, M. and Bernard, E., *Mbokodo: Inside MK, A Soldier's Story*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 1994.

This is a look at the other side of the ANC, i.e. the rehabilitation and prison camps. Here we get a view of Quatro, of the tortures that went on there and of Mbokodo, the ANC security agency. Among the torture methods described are jumping on the heads of suspects 'to see if they would burst'; throwing stones at the eyes of suspects standing against walls, dripping melted plastic on genitalia and open wounds, whipping to death with barbed wire, sjamboks and electric cable and burning the souls of the feet with red hot pieces of iron.

640. 'Umkhonto we Sizwe Operational Report to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission'. Available at www.anc.org.za/2652.

641. Van Driel, N.M., 'The ANC's first armed military operation: the Luthuli Detachment and the Wankie campaign, July - September 1967', MA dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2003. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

This mini-thesis tells the story of the African National Congress' (ANC's) first armed military operation and its Luthuli Detachment. The latter joined forces with the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) and crossed the Zambezi River on 31 July 1967 into Rhodesia. Their mission was twofold: the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) would embark on a long march home to South Africa, whilst some MK members would assist ZAPU's military wing, ZPRA, to establish a guerrilla base at Lupane in north-east Rhodesia. The planners of the march intended to avoid contact with the Rhodesian security forces. This was not to be. A number of skirmishes between the two opposing forces lasted from 13 August to 4 September 1967. The Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, invited his South African counterpart John Vorster to send South African security reinforcements to Rhodesia to counter the guerrilla forces.

642. Von den Steinen, L., *Experiencing the Armed Struggle: The Soweto Generation and After*, Ph D thesis, University of Cape Town, 2007.

> This study explores the experiences of the rank-and-file soldiers ofUmkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Anny. Extensive interviews by the author and other researchers reveal the voices of the soldiers themselves. The African National Congress and Pan African Congress archives at the University of the Western Cape and the University of Fort Hare supplement and verify these oral testimonies, as do some published sources. Most previously published materials about the armed struggle against apartheid have already focused on diplomacy, strategy and tactics, operations, leadership, and human rights abuses to the neglect of the soldiers' actual experiences. This study complements these with significant new oral history materials from the Soweto generation of soldiers and their successors. When dealing with MK, many authors have documented issues of the camp structure in Angola, and operations inside South Africa, so much of this detail is only addressed briefly, leaving space to explore the soldiers' experiences. In the case of APLA, very little has been written on its history, and more detail is provided on these subjects. This study therefore deals with the soldiers' politicisation and motivation for joining the armed struggle, their experiences in leaving South Africa and training in exile, the crises in exile which limited their effectiveness for a time, their return to fight in South Africa, and their difficulties in the "new" South Africa. These materials reveal that vast problems remain facing these veterans of the struggle against apartheid, and that they have the potential, if properly supported and employed, to contribute substantially to the development of present day South Africa. Conversely, if their neglect continues, they also have the potential to bring vast harm to the country. Further use of the investigative tools of oral history, especially if extended to the former soldiers' vernacular languages, is necessary to augment the history of South Africa, and these soldiers' contributions.

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Chapter

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   On 21 March 1960, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe led a mass defiance of South Africa's pass laws. He urged blacks to go to the nearest police station and demand arrest. Police opened fire on a peaceful crowd in the township of Sharpeville and killed 69 people. The protest changed the course of South Africa's history. Afrikaner rule stiffened and black resistance went underground. International opinion hardened against apartheid. Sobukwe, leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, was jailed for three years for incitement. At the end of his sentence the government, fearful of his power, rushed the so-called 'Sobukwe Clause' through Parliament, to keep him in prison without a trial. For the next six years, Sobukwe was kept in solitary confinement on Robben Island, the infamous apartheid prison near Cape Town. On his release, Sobukwe was banished to the town of Kimberley with very severe restrictions on his freedom. He died there nine years later in February 1978. This book is the story of this South African hero – the lonely prisoner on Robben Island. It is also the story of the friendship between Robert Sobukwe and Benjamin Pogrund whose joint experiences and debates chart the course of a tyrannous regime and the growth of black resistance.

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723.   Sachs, A., *The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs*, Harvill Press, London, 1966.

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727.   Simons, R.A., *All My Life and All My Strength: Autobiography*, (edited by) Raymond Suttner, STE Publishers, Johannesburg, 2004.

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729.   Sisulu, W., *I Will Go Singing. Walter Sisulu speaks of his life and the struggle for freedom in South Africa*, In conversation with George M Houser and Herbert Shore, Robben Island Museum, In Association with The Africa Fund, New York, (nd) c. 2000.

730.   Slovo, J., *Slovo: The Unfinished Autobiography*, With an introduction by Helena Dolny, Ravan Press, Hodder & Stoughton, Randburg and London, 1995.

731.   Smith, D.J., *Young Mandela: The Revolutionary Years*, New York: Little Brown, 2010.

732.   Smith, J. and Tromp, B., *Hani: A Life Too Short*, Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2009.

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734.   Sparg, M. et al., *The Angolan Diaries of Jack Simon.* Carter Caris Collection, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1991.

735.   Strachan, H., *Make a Skyf, Man!*, Johannesburg, Jacana, 2004.

736.   Suttner, R., *Inside Apartheid's Prison. Notes and Letters of Struggle*, Ocean Press, Melbourne and New York, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2001.

737.   Temkin, B., *Buthelezi: a biography*, Frank Cass London, 2003.

738.   Tsholoba, M.E., *In and Out of Robben Island Prison: an autobiography of M. E. Tsholoba*, Mr. Menziwe Esau Tsholoba, Cape Town, 2010.

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740.   Tutu, D. (edited by J. Allen), *The Rainbow People of God: A spiritual journey from apartheid to freedom*, Cape Town, Double Story Books, 2006.

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742.   Vale, P., '*Pivot, Puppet or Periphery: The Cold War and South Africa*', Working Paper No. 9, New York University: International Center for Advanced Studies, 2003.

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744.   Vale, P. and Baines, G. (eds), *Beyond the Border: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late Cold War Conflicts,* Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008.

745.   Van der Merwe, H.W., *Peace Making in South Africa: A Life in Conflict Resolution*, Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2000.

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747.   Van Rooyen, J., *Hard Right: The New white power in South Africa*, London: I. B. Tauris, 1994.

748.   Van Zyl Slabbert, F., 'The Dynamics of Reform and Revolt in Current South Africa', *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, Delivered at Brasenose College, Oxford University October 27 and 29 and November 5, 1987.

749.   Venter, A. J., *The Terror Fighters: A Profile of Guerilla Warfare in Southern Africa*, Cape Town: Purnell, 1969.

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751.   Vermaak, C., *Braam Fischer, The Man with Two Faces*, Johannesburg: A.P.B Publishers, 1966.

Chapter

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

752.   Adhikari, M., 'From Manenberg to Soweto: race and coloured identity in the black consciousness poetry of James Matthews', *African Studies*, 62:2, 2003, 171-186.

The Black Consciousness poetry of James Matthews, internationally recognized Coloured writer from the Cape Flats, reflects the growing popularization amongst politicised Coloured people during the 1970s of the idea that racial distinctions in general, and Coloured identity in particular, had historically been used by the white supremacist establishment to divide and rule the black majority. This insight, by no means novel, provided the main thrust to the popular rejection of Coloured identity in the anti-apartheid movement of the 1980s. Coloured rejectionism had, however, originated within a small section of the Coloured intelligentsia, in particular amongst those active within the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) in the early 1960s and grew into a significant movement by the time it peaked at the end of the 1980s. Though confined to a politicised minority within the Coloured community itself, and observed mainly in public discourse or for pragmatic reasons,3 the disavowal of Coloured identity had by the early 1980s nevertheless become a politically correct orthodoxy within the anti-apartheid movement, especially in the Western Cape. In response to the overt racism of apartheid, the democratic movement embraced non-racism as a cornerstone of its philosophy and any recognition of Coloured identity was condemned as a concession to apartheid thinking. This tendency was, however, reversed during the four-year transition to democratic rule as radical changes to the political landscape in the first half of the 1990s once again made the espousal of Coloured identity acceptable in left-wing and "progressive" circles.

753.   Alexander, N., 'Black Consciousness: A Reactionary Tendency?', in Pityana, B., Ramphele, M., Mpumlwana, M. and Wilson, L. (eds.), *Bounds of Possibility.* Cape Town, David Philip, 1991.

754.   Alexander, N., 'Mngxitama, A. Alexander, A. and Gibson, N.C. (eds), *Biko Lives! Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

755.   Arnold, M. (ed.), *The testimony of Steve Biko: Black Consciousness in South Africa*, Granada Publishing, New York, 1979.

756.   Badat, S., *Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid: From Saso to Sanco, 1968–1990*, HSRC, Pretoria, 1999.

757.   Bernstein, H., *Number 46 – Steve Biko,* IDAF, London, 1978.

758.   Biko, B. S. (ed), *Black Viewpoint*, Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1972.

759.   Biko, S., *The Testimony of Steve Biko*, ed. M. Arnold, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1979.

760.   Biko, S., *I write what I like*, Johannesburg, Picador Africa, 2004.

761. Brown, J., 'SASO's Reluctant Embrace of Public Forms of Protest, 1968–1972', *African Historical Journal*, 62:4, 716-734.

This article suggests that the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) began its life committed to a policy of non-confrontational protest and that – until 1972 – its leaders sought to prioritise strategies of negotiation over strategies of public protest. This general policy was confirmed in SASO's response to white student protests in 1968 and 1970, as well as in a series of discussion documents and General Council resolutions proposed in 1970 and 1971. This policy was, however, challenged by the events that took place at the University of the North following the expulsion of Onkgopotse Tiro in 1972. A wave of seemingly spontaneous student protest forced SASO's leaders to reconsider their apparent suspicion of public, confrontational forms of protest and reluctantly to accept the necessity of committing the organisation to such protests. I argue that this reluctant embrace was the product of contingent circumstances and pressures from below, rather than the result of an ideological or theoretical shift on the part of SASO leadership. This in turn suggests an alternate approach to the history of SASO, an approach that focuses less on a process of ideological development and more on the contingent details of its institutional history.

762. Brown, J., 'An Experiment in Confrontation: The Pro-Frelimo Rallies of 1974', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 1, 2012, 55-71.

This article examines the political nature of South Africa's Black Consciousness movement through an account of the pro-Frelimo rallies organised in Durban and at the University of the North by the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC) in September 1974. It places these rallies in the context of these organisations' adoption of confrontational and public forms of protest after 1972. These represent a high-water mark in Black Consciousness organisation and provided the excuse for the state's prosecution of the leaders of the movement. Despite this, these rallies have been understudied. This article therefore presents a new account of these protests. It shows how the leaders of SASO and the BPC progressively revised their ideas about public confrontation through the process of organising these rallies. After the Minister of Justice announced his intention to ban them, these leaders refused to back down. The rallies each took place as planned, and each provoked a response from local police forces – which, in turn, were clearly expecting the rallies and prepared for the task of dispersing them. This article suggest that the embrace of confrontational forms of protest by SASO and the BPC should be understood as representing a significant moment in the development of public forms of mass protest in South Africa.

763. Charney, C.R., 'Civil Society vs the State: Identity, Institutions, and the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa', PhD thesis, Yale University, 2000. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

This dissertation presents an actor-oriented theory of transtions from authoritarian rule and tests it on the case of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa between 1966 and 1979. It begins by critiquing prevailing structuralist theories of regime change as reductionist, economistic, and elitist. It suggests an alternative based on collective actors and discourse, focused on three casual factors - oppositional social movements, changing state-society relations, and civil society institutions - which politicize collective identity and arouse mass mobilization, creating regime crises.

764.   Denis, P., 'Seminary Networks and Black Consciousness in South Africa in the 1970s', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 62, Issue 1, 2010, Special Issue: FEATURE: LIBERATION HISTORY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, 162-182.

   The article argues that a significant number of priests and pastors trained in seminaries in the 1970s were influenced by the Black Consciousness movement. The South African Student Association (SASO) had branches in at least three seminaries for blacks, the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice, the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Umphumulo and St Peter's Seminary at Hammanskraal. Many students or former studens from these institutions were members of SASO. Some were involved in Black Community Projects (BCP) initiatives, particularly in the Eastern Cape, while a few assumed leadership positions in the Black Consciousness movement. No Christian institution played a more important role in the development of Black Consciousness than the black seminaries. For the people trained in these seminaries, the involvement in SASO, the BCP and the other components of the Black Consciousness movement had a lasting effect on their understanding of ministry or, if they left active church service, on the orientation of their professional life. While studying for the ministry, they discovered ways of integrating spiritual life, social action and political engagement that they had never imagined before.

765. Dollie, N., 'The National Forum', in South African Research Service (ed), *South African South Review* 3, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1986.

766.   Fatton, R., *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The Dialectics of Ideological Resistance in White Supremacy* SUNY, Albany, 1986).

767.   Frankel, P., 'The Dynamics of a Political Renaissance: the Soweto Students Representative Council', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 7, 3. 1980.

768.   Fredrickson, G.M., *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa*, New York, 1995.

769.   Fredrickson, G.M., *Black Power in the United States and Black Consciousness in South Africa: Connections and Comparisons*, in R. Greenstein (ed.), *Comparative Perspectives on South Africa*, London - New York 1998, 185-216.

770.   Gerhart, G.M., *Black Power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*, London, University of California Press, 1972.

771.   Gibson, N., 'Black Consciousness 1977-1987; The Dialectics of Liberation in South Africa', *Africa Today*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Black Consciousness in South Africa (1st Qtr., 1988), pp. 5-26.

   This essay seeks to assess BC's development over the last ten years, with special reference to its relation to Marxism, since, as will be demonstrated, both Marxist slogans and some, dialogue with Marxist concepts have played an increasing role in the movement in this period. Black Consciousness was an important part of a new stage in the South African revolt in the 1970s. Emerging out of the very colleges the government had set up to control black students' minds, BC's founders recognized the importance of the mind of the oppressed. At its inaugural conference at Turfloop in 1969 they redefined the word 'black' to mean a new sense of unity and

liberation of the oppressed and dropped the term 'Non-White,' which they viewed as a negation of their being. Over the last ten years BC has been a recognizable force and has obviously influenced the present situation. Most radicals, leaders of trade unions and popular organizations, even if not adherents, have roots in BC and have a relationship to its concepts and prescriptions, because BC did raise questions and did present a new concept of liberation. However it will be argued that although BC was a new philosophic point of departure for the liberation movement, it's philosophic development has remained in a very preliminary stage. 'It remains to be seen" Lebamang Sebidi writes, "whether it was a shift at the level of principles (ideology) or merely strategy and tactics." I will argue that the continual attempts to "broaden" BC by incorporating Marxism into its ideology have been a failure not because the concept is wrong but because it has taken on board very doctrinaire and narrow concepts of 'scientific socialism' that go by the name of Marxism. Much still could come from a discourse with Marx, especially Marx's Humanism.

772. Gibson, n., *Black Consciousness 1977–1987: The Dialectics of Liberation in South Africa*, Centre for Civil Society Research, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Report no. 18, Durban, 2004.

773. Gibson, N., *Black Consciousness after Biko: The dialectics of liberation in South Africa*, *1977-1987*, in A. Mngxitama, A. Alexander, N.C. Gibson (eds.), *Biko Lives! Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*, New York. 2008, 129-155.

774. Gibson, n., *Fanonian Practices in South Africa: From Steve Biko to Abahlali Basemjondolo*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2011.

775. Gqola, P.D., 'Contradictory Locations: Black women and the Discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa', *Meridians*, 2, 1, 2001.

776. Hadfield, L., 'Restoring Human Dignity and Building Self-Reliance: Youth, Women, and Churches and Black Consciousness Community Development, South Africa, 1969–1977', Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 2010.

777. Hadfield, L., 'Biko, Black Consciousness, and 'the System' eZinyoka: Oral History and Black Consciousness in Practice in a Rural Ciskei Village', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 62, Issue 1, 2010, Special Issue: FEATURE: LIBERATION HISTORY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, 78-99.

Part of a larger research project on the community development programmes of the Black Consciousness movement (1969–1977), this article focuses on the relationship between the Zanempilo Community Health Centre and the people of Zinyoka, the village where Zanempilo operated. The article begins with an overview of community work within the Black Consciousness movement and the formation of the Black Community Programmes (BCP) organisation. It then follows Steve Biko to King William's Town, where he established a branch of the BCP. The article turns to Zinyoka as it explains why and when Zanempilo was built there and analyses its influence on the community. Drawing upon oral history interviews of Zinyoka residents and BCP employees, it argues that Black Consciousness action in the form of the clinic physically and economically improved Zinyoka, if only temporarily, and instilled a sense of human dignity in the residents. Situating this story in Zinyoka brings into relief the dynamics of Ciskei politics in the village in the 1970s and the role of the apartheid 'system', a landed, educated black class and the

church. It adds to our understanding of the Black Consciousness movement as it demonstrates that oral history and the history of grassroots movements is important to liberation movement historiography.

778.   Hirschmann, D., 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 28, No. I, I990.

779.   Howarth, D., 'Complexities of identity/difference: Black Consciousness ideology in South Africa', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Volume 2, Issue 1, 1997, 51-7.

The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa has been criticized by a number of academic and non-academic commentators for failing to contribute substantially to the overall trajectory of political resistance in the post-Sharpeville period, for constituting a reactionary ideology of cultural authenticity and racial particularity, and for simply repeating other forms of separatist ideology such as those of Black Power in the US, or Africanism in South Africa. My account challenges this dominant reading by drawing upon a theory of discourse, which has been articulated by writers such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Moujfe and Slavoj Zizek. In so doing, I examine three different discursive strategies by which the ideology of Black Consciousness was constituted and formed during the latter part of the 1960s and early 1970s. These include: (i) the reversal of the White/Black hierarchy in apartheid South Africa; (ii) a complex mediation between the ideas and values of 'universality' and 'particularity'; and (Hi) the Derridean logic of ' iterability'.

780.   International University Exchange Fund, *Who Are the Real Terrorists? A Document on the SASO/BPC Trial*, International University Exchange Fund, New York, 1977

781.   Isaacs, H.E., *The PAC in the 1980s: Chronic instability and revolutionary ineffectiveness*, London: Unknown, 1987.

782.   Isaacs, H.E., 'Full Circle: Reflections on Home and Exile', MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2002.

783.   'Judgment in S v. Cooper, 15 December 1976', A2675/III/286, Department of Historical Papers Collection, University of the Witwatersrand.

784.   Lobban, M., *White Man's Justice: South African Political Trials in the Black Consciousness Era*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996.

785.   Lodge, T., *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983).

786.   Lorenz, N., 'Responses by black women to race and gender dynamics under South Africa apartheid with special reference to the Black Consciousness Movement', MA dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2002.

Black women's oppression under apartheid was based on four interacting forces: race, class, gender and nationality. Although this rendered their status in both feminist and anti-apartheid policies unique, it was never addressed as such. The national liberation movement defined

women's role in the struggle in male dominated terms and did not acknowledge 'gender' as a legitimate political issue until the 1980s.

787.   Maaba, B. and Mzamane, M., 'The Black Consciousness Movement in Exile, 1980-1990', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, *Volume 4*, *1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

788.   Macqueen, I.M., 'Re-imagining South Africa: Black Consciousness, radical Christianity and the New Left, 1967 – 1977', Doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2011.

This thesis places Black Consciousness in comparative perspective with progressive politics in South Africa in the late 1960s and the 1970s. It argues that the dominant scholarly focus on Black Consciousness, which is passed over as a 'stage' in the Black struggle against white supremacy, insufficiently historicises the deeper roots, and the wider resonances and ideological contestations of the Black Consciousness movement. As they refined their political discourse, Black Consciousness activists negotiated their way through the progressive ideologies that flourished as part of the wider political and social ferment of the 1960s. Although Black Consciousness won over an influential minority of radical Christians, a more contested struggle took place with nascent feminism on university campuses and within the Movement; as well as with a New Left-inspired historical and political critique that gained influence among white activists. The thesis draws closer attention to the ways in which Black Consciousness challenged white activists in the late 1960s, who were primarily able, albeit it with pain and difficulty, to sympathetically interpret and finally endorse Black Consciousness. The thesis challenges the idea that Black Consciousness achieved a complete 'break' with white liberals, and argues that black and white activists maintained a dialogue after the black students' breakaway from the National Union of South African Students in 1968. The thesis looks in turn at: the role played by the ecumenical movement in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s; student and religious radicalism in the 1960s; second wave feminism and its challenge to Black Consciousness; the development of Black Theology, and the relationship between Black Consciousness activists and the ecumenical Christian Institute; it closes with a study of the interplay between intellectuals Steve Biko and Richard Turner in Durban, and the significance of white students' and Black Consciousness activists' interaction in that city in the 1970s.

789.   Macqueen, I.M., 'Black Consciousness in Dialogue in South Africa: Steve Biko, Richard Turner and the 'Durban moment', 1970–1974', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, July 22, 2013**.**

This article examines a progressive moment under apartheid referred to retrospectively as 'the Durban moment' by activists. By exploring the friendship of assassinated activists Stephen Bantu Biko and Richard Turner, the paper calls for a nuanced assessment of the rich context of the emergence of Black Consciousness under apartheid, and shows how the rigid racial and ethnic categories imposed by the state could be challenged by creative and resourceful intellectuals. The paper draws on interviews, writings produced at the time, court transcripts and the secondary literature to argue that Black Consciousness was intimately linked on many levels to this progressive 'moment' in South Africa under apartheid, which has resonances for activists still today.

790.   Macqueen, I.M., 'Resonances of Youth and Tensions of Race: Liberal Student Politics, White Radicals and Black Consciousness, 1968–1973', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 65, Issue 3, 2013, 365-382.

This paper examines the relationship between white liberal students and black students in the Black Consciousness-aligned South African Students' Organisation (SASO). It explores the often fraught personal relationships between young leaders, but also points out their commonalities: a search for ideas, resonances they felt with international struggles for justice, and the unique and distinctive history that characterised South Africa at this period. In South Africa in the early 1970s activists elaborated the radical ideas of the 1960s and as international movements for social justice lost their momentum in other countries, opposition to state power resurfaced in South Africa. The paper points to the personal transformations in white student leaders as they sought to accommodate the Black Consciousness challenge and respond in constructive ways. It also points to the regional histories of radicalism, focusing first on the Cape, secondly the Northern Transvaal and finally Durban.

791. Macqueen, I.M., 'Students, Apartheid and the Ecumenical Movement in South Africa, 1960–1975', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 2, 2013, 447-463.

This article examines ecumenical endeavour and student politics in South Africa in the 1960s and early 1970s to bring into fresh perspective sources of antiapartheid activism. The article explores Christian ecumenical developments in the twentieth century and specifically the crisis point reached in 1960 after the Sharpeville massacre. It turns to discuss the formation of two key black student leaders, Steve Biko and Barney Pityana, in the Eastern Cape and discusses their creation of the black-led South African Students' Organisation (SASO) in 1968. I explore a fraught but productive relationship between the growth of Black Consciousness and a developing commitment to social justice by student Christian organisations. A political culture of dialogue enabled the message of Black Consciousness to be quickly communicated to a broad cross section of progressive political actors in the early 1970s. A prime legacy of the ecumenical endeavour of the 1960s was its emphasis on unity and muting of strict orthodoxy, an approach that facilitated such cooperation. I argue that the theological radicalism of the ecumenical movement provided a reference point from which to understand and come to terms with the challenge of the emergent Black Consciousness movement.

792. Macqueen, I.M., 'Categories of Struggle: Reassessing Black Consciousness in South Africa through Gender, 1967-1976', in Salvaterra, C. and Waaldijk, B. (eds), *Paths to Gender: European Historical Perspectives on Women and Men*, Plus-Pisa University Press, Pisa, 2009.

The political and cultural ideology of Black Consciousness (BC) in South Africa has attracted much study and its role in the undermining of Apartheid continues to evoke debate. It began under apartheid in the late 1960s as a radical assertion of African cultural pride and autonomy, consciously extending its definition of 'black' to all oppressed groups within the country. Its adherents, following leader Steve Biko, emphasised that the most important weapon in the hands of the oppressor were "the minds of the oppressed". A gendered analysis of the history of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) raises the problematic of its exclusivist masculine articulations of autonomy, evident in its slogans, for example 'Black man, you are on your own'. Whereas some argued that the BCM had a significantly positive impact on black women in South Africa, the articulation of BC remained rooted in an assertion of black 'manhood rights'. Feminism as it was gaining force in the United States was seen as irrelevant to the needs of blacks in South Africa. That BC did not extend its undermining of the normative political force of white culture, to a reassessment of gender and traditional values, leads to a questioning of the historical limitations of its revolutionary humanism. This study examines these themes and

attempts to offer ways in which a gendered analysis contributes to the continued historical revaluation of BC and its legacy in South Africa.[17]

793.	Magaziner, D.R., *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968–1977*, Ohio University Press, Athens, 2010 and Jacana, Johannesburg, 2010.

794.	Magaziner, D., *Pieces of a (Wo)man: The Politics of Gender and Identity in Black Consciousness, 1968-1977*, Unpublished Mss.

795.	Magaziner, D., 'Pieces of a (Wo)man: Feminism, gender and adulthood in Black Consciousness, 1968-1977', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 37, Issue 1, 2011, 45-61.

> More than three decades after the death of Steve Biko and the banning of Black Consciousness organisations, the movement's ideology, politics and political philosophy are subject to heated debate. Nowhere is this more evident than in the areas of gender and women's participation, subjects about which the Black Consciousness archival record is reticent. This article argues that since Black Consciousness was a political philosophy concerned, above all, with the politics of self-identification, its era offers valuable insights into gender's fraught role in South African and African social movements. It traces a politics of gendered identification from the late 1960s – when multi-racial activists associated with both the South African Students' Organisation and University Christian Movement entertained the possibility of women's liberation – through the mid-1970s, when women asserted themselves as vocal, self-confident 'black men' in new political groups. By the late 1970s, however, gendered ideas about suffering and sacrifice were limiting women's political possibilities, and led some to advocate new forms of resistance that promoted a domestic space apart from politics.

796.	Magaziner, R., '"Black Man, You Are On Your Own!": Making Race Consciousness in South African Thought, 1968–1972', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 42, 2 (2009), 221–40.

797.	Maimela, M.R., 'Black consciousness and white liberals in South Africa: paradoxical anti-apartheid politics', DLit et Phil thesis, University of South Africa, 1999. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

> This thesis includes chapters on Black Consciousness, Black Theology of Liberation and the World Council of Churches; The National Union of South African Students and the South African Students Organisation; Steve Biko and his influence on the activities of the Black Consciousness Movement; Women and the Black Consciousness Movement; Biko's death and the Inquest; The Liberal Reaction to the Biko Inquest; Epilogue as a Universal political figure.

798.	Mandela, N., 'Whither the Black Consciousness Movement?', in Maharaj, M. (ed), *Reflections in prison*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2001.

799.	Mangena, M., *On Your Own: The evolution of Black Consciousness in South Africa/Azania*, Vivlia Publications, Johannesburg, 1989.

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[17] 259.

800.   Mangena, 'The Black Consciousness Philosophy and the Woman's Question, 1970-1980', in Mngxitama, Alexander, Gibson, *Biko Lives! Contesting the Legacy of Steve Biko*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008.

801.   Marx, A.W., *Lessons of Struggle. South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990.* Oxford University Press. Cape Town, 1992.

802.   'Minutes of the 1st National Congress of the BPC, Dec. 1972', A2675 (Karis-Gerhart Collection) III/282, Department of Historical Papers Collection, University of the Witwatersrand.

803.   Mngxitama, A., Alexander, A. and Gibson, N.C., *Biko Lives! Contesting the Legacy of Steve Biko*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008.

804.   Mokoape, K., Mtintso, T. and Nhlapo, W., 'Towards the Armed Struggle', in B. Pityana, M. Ramphele, M. Mpumlwana and L. Wilson (eds), *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*, David Philip, Cape Town, 1991.

805.   Moloi, T., 'Bodibeng High School: Black Consciousness Philosophy and Students Demonstration, 1940s–1976', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 63, Issue 1, 2011, 102-126.

    This paper examines the factor(s) that caused students to demonstrate in 1976 through a case study of Bodibeng High School in Maokeng, Kroonstad, in the northern Free State. It shows the role of the teachers influenced by the Black Consciousness philosophy. The latter caused the behavioural change of some of the students at Bodibeng High School, from submissive to assertive, and political. Bodibeng High School, dating back to the 1940s, was one of the major centres of education for African students in the then Orange Free State (now Free State Province). It was one of the two day schools to offer matric as early as 1940, and the only one to have its matriculants writing the Joint Matriculation Board Examination in the mid 1960s, instead of the Bantu Education's senior certificate examinations. The school attracted an influx of students from all over the country, and some of the best teachers. There were three phases in the history of the school; each phase can be characterised in terms of the degree of its engagement in the political affairs of the day. The first, from the 1940s to 1950s, was one where teachers engaged both education and politics actively. The second, from the 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s was a period of apparent quiescence. The third, from the early 1970s, was characterised, once again, by active engagement of students and teachers with politics. In the latter period, the Black Consciousness philosophy was the major influence. This paper will show that the influence of the Black Consciousness philosophy and the role of the younger and politically conscious teachers played an important part in influencing some of the students at Bodibeng to demonstrate in 1976.

806.   Moodley, K., *The Continued Impact of Black Consciousness*, in Pityana, Ramphele, Mpumlwana, Wilson, *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness,* Cape Town 1991.

807.	Mzamane, M., Maaba, B. and Biko, N., 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa', 1970-1980, in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

> Black Consciousness in South Africa arose from the deepening crisis under apartheid, and began to affect a new generation of racially oppressed groups that were obliged to devise new strategies to cope with their existential situation. The ideology found expression in many forms but was generally closely in tune with popular needs, particularly those of black students in the late 1960s and in the 1970s. In this chapter, the history of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) is traced. Student struggles of the early 1970s are also carefully recorded, as is the apartheid state's reaction. Core material includes a scholarly analysis of the uprising in Soweto, the murder of Steve Biko in police detention and the outlawing of Black Consciousness organisations in October 1977.

808.	Mzamane, M.V. and Maaba, B., 'The Azanian People's Organisation, 1977-1990', in SADET (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol.4, 1980-1990*, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2010.

809.	Nkondo, G.M., ed., *Turfloop Testimony: The Dilemma of a Black University in South Africa*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1976.

810.	No Sizwe, *One Azania One Nation: The National Question in South Africa,* London, Zed Books, 1979.

811.	Nyatsumba, K., "Azapo and the PAC - Revolutionary Watchdogs", in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds), *SA Review 6—From Red Friday to CODESA*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1992.

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813.	Pityana B. *et al.*, *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*, Cape Town, Zed, 1990).

814.	Poswa, M., *"Black Consciousness": A Reactionary Tendency*, Cape Town, Teachers' League of South Africa, 1982.

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816.	Ramphele, M., *Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman Leader,* Feminist Press, New York, 1995.

817.	Ramphele, M., 'The Dynamics of Gender Within Black Consciousness Organisations: A Personal View', in B. Pityana, M. Ramphele, M. Mpumlwana, L. Wilson (eds.), *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness,* Cape Town, 1991.

818. Records of the University Christian Movement (AD1126), D6(a), 'Black Women and the Black Theology', Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

819. Records of the University Christian Movement, AD1126, A4, J. Moloto, 'Notes for IDAMASA Conference', no date [1970–1971?], Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

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821. Records of the University Christian Movement, AD1126, A4(e), 'Conference Report', July 1971, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

822. Records of the University Christian Movement, A2675, F748, untitled paper by M. Masekela, December 1971, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

823. Records of the University Christian Movement, A2675: F739, 'Amended Constitution', SASM, 1973, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

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825. Records of the University Christian Movement, A2675, F289, 'Black Renaissance Convention: Report', December 1974, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

826. Records of the University Christian Movement, A2675, F289, 'Putting the Black Renaissance Convention in the Correct Perspective', 16 January 1975, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

827. Sole, K.E., 'Authority, authenticity and the black writer: depictions and community in selected fictional black consciousness texts', PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand 1993.

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829. 'The System on the Attack', A2675/III/284, Department of Historical Papers Collection, University of the Witwatersrand.

830. Thomas, C.C., 'Disaffection, Identity, Black Consciousness and a New Rector: An Exploratory Take on Student Activism at the University of the Western Cape 1966–1976, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 54, No.1, 2005.

831.   UNISA SASO Ace 153, Minutes of the proceedings of the Third General Students' Council of the SASO, St Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal, 2-9 July 1972, resolutions 19/72 and 24/72.

832.   UNISA SAS Ace 153, Coetzee, 'SASM' and 'Memorandum on attempts by black organisations to recruit tsotsis, school students and teachers'.

833.   UNISA SASO Ace 153, Coetzee, Security Police memorandum: 'SASM'.

834.   UNISA SASO Ace 153, Report of the People's Experimental Theatre to the Fourth GSC, St Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal, 14-22 July 1973.

835.   UNISA SASO Ace 118, SASO memorandum: 'Commission on the Damaging Effects Of Afrikaans as a Medium of Instruction', undated.
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837.   UNISA SASO Ace 163, 'Commission Report: Community Development', undated (probably presented during the Fourth GSC, 14-22 July 1973).

838.   UNISA SASO Ace 153, Security Police memorandum on Youth Organisations.

839.   Van Wyk, C. (ed.), *Celebrating Steve Biko: We Write What We Like*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2009.

840.   Wolfson J.G.E., ed., *Turmoil at Turfloop: A Summary of the Reports of the Snyman and Jackson Commissions of Inquiry into the University of the North*, Johannesburg, SAIRR, 1976.

841.   Woods, D., *Biko*, Paddington Press, London, 1978.

Chapter

CIVIC MOVEMENT, THE

842. Adler, G. and Steinberg, J. (eds.), *From Comrades to Citizens: The South African civics movement and the transition to democracy*, London, Macmillan, 2000.

843. Ballard, R., Habib A., and Valoodia, I. "Introduction: From Anti-Apartheid to Post Apartheid Social Movements, in Ballard el al (eds) *Voices of Protest*, University of KwaZulu Natal: UKZN Press 2006.

844. Bekker, S *et al*, 'Local Government Transition in Five Eastern seaboard Towns', *Politikon*, Vol. 24, No.1, June 1997.

845. Bond, P., 'South African People Power since the mid-1980s: two steps forward, one back', *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 33, Issue 2, 2012, Special Issue: People Power in the Era of Global Crisis, 243-264.

> The advent and growth of a community-based democracy movement in South Africa in the late 1970s was decisive in destabilising the apartheid regime and paving the way to democracy. But in the quarter century since then progressive civil society has ebbed and flowed, reaching a peak in the early 1990s as an anti-apartheid force, retreating into a 'honeymoon period' with Nelson Mandela's anc government during the late 1990s, and emerging as 'new social movements' around 1999. These latter included the Treatment Action Campaign, which won enormous victories in cheapening aids medicines, and urban community movements which advocated improved water/sanitation, electricity and housing. Within five years these movements had either won or begun to fade; more recent people power has taken the form of disruptive – but ultimately disorganized – township insurgencies. In cases where the popular movements allied with the Congress of SA Trade Unions, they made progress, but the latter's political allegiances to the anc and the unions' ability to replace the anc president in 2007 meant continuing gridlock for social and economic change, as society remained under neoliberal public policy domination.

846. Burman, S. and Scharf, W., 'CreatingP eople's Justice: Street Committees and Peoples Courts in a South African City', *Law and Society Review*, 24, 3, 1990, 693-44.

847. Carter, C., 'Comrades and Community Politics: The construction of Hegemony in Alexandra Township, South Africa, 1984-1987', Ph.D. Thesis, Mansfield College, University of Oxford. 1991

848. Carter, C., 'Community and Conflict: The Alexandra Rebellion of 1986', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18, 1, 1991, 115-42.

849. Carter, C., "'We are the Progressives': Alexandra Youth Congress Activists and the Freedom Charter, 1983-85", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17, 2, 1991, 197-220.

850. 'Civics in South Africa', *Development and Democracy*, No. 8, November 1994.

851.   Cooper, C. and Ensor, L., *PEBCO: A Black mass movement*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1981.

852.   Coovodia, C., 'The Role of the Civic Movement;, in Swilling, M, Humphries, R and Shubane, K (eds) *Apartheid City in Transition*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991.

853.   Cullinan, K., 'Moving the masses', *Work in Progress*, No. 84, September 1992.

854.   Evans, M., 'The rise and decline of community organisations: An assessment of PEBCO', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 6, Nos. 2 and 3, 1980.

855.   Lanegran, K. 'Civic Associations in Transitional Local Government Structures in South Africa', *Critical Sociology*, vol. 22, no. 3, October 1996, 113-134.

This paper examines the participation of civic associations in transitional local government structures in three South African cities. It concludes that as legitimate political structures evolve through a democratization process, those social movements that strive to influence policy-making discover they must access those structures through political party allies or become political parties themselves. Such associations abandon their social movement status and grow less autonomous than when they formed protest movements to mobilize disenfranchised citizens. This paper suggests that civics found their autonomous influence eroding as two imperatives, one external and the other internal, affected them. The methods the civic movement used to demand reforms of the apartheid government became less effective and less attractive to civic supporters. Their internal imperative to seek engagement in the political system forced the civics to respond to this new environment by sacrificing their autonomy.

856.   Lanegran, K., 'Social movements, democratisation and civil society: The case of the South African civic associations', Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida, 1997.

857.   Maharaj, B., 'Urban struggles and the transformation of the apartheid local state: the case of community and civic organizations in Durban', *Political Geography*, Volume 15, Issue 1, January 1996, Pages 61–74.

Although the global focus on South Africa has been at the national level, the struggle for the transformation towards a post-apartheid society is being played out largely at the local level. In fact it has been pressure for change at the local level from civic, community, ratepayers and residents' associations that has significantly informed national events. This paper examines the role of civic and community struggles in influencing the transformation of the local state in Durban from the early 1980s to the present time. The Durban Housing Action Committee resisted rent increases for low-income groups and opposed evictions, while the Campaign for a Democratic City initiated demands for a non-racial democratic city. These grassroots initiatives forced the local state to negotiate with the civic and community organizations. This paper also addresses the neglected question of the impact of social movements on local state transformation. It suggests that civic organizations represent powerful agents for socio-spatial transformation.

858.   Maseko, S.S., 'Civic movement and non-violent action: The case of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee', *African Affairs*, 96, 1997, 353-369.

The inner life and organizational style of the civic moment in South Africa during the turbulent years of apartheid has received little attention. This article examines a civic body called the Cape Areas Housing Action committee (CAHAC). It demonstrates that CAHAC functioned as a centralized organization, although its constitution envisaged it operating as an umbrella body. This was because its affiliated structures were either dormant, weak or non-existent. CAHAC's structures and decision-making processes, including the control of finances were dominated by a small group of individuals who composed its leadership. In that way democratic control of the organization from below was sacrificed, if not totally undermined. The effectiveness or otherwise of methods of struggle employed by CAHAC are also analysed. Finally, on a broader conceptual point, it is argued that the strength of social movements depend on their ability to maintain a niche for themselves which makes the inherently reform oriented formations.

859.   Mashinini, A., 'Dual power and the creation of people's committees', *Sechaba*, 20(4), Aprril 1986, 25-30.

860.   Mashinini, A., 'Dual power and the creation of people's committees', *Sechaba*, 21(5), May 1987, 2-6.

861.   Mayekiso, Mzwanele, 'Civic Struggles for a New South Africa: the Making of a Social Movement in Alexandra Township', MS, nd.

862.   Mayekiso, M., *Township Politics: Civic Struggles for New South Africa*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1996.

863.   Ndletyana, M., 'Changing Role of Civic Organisations from the Apartheid to the Post-Apartheid Era. A Case Study of the Alexandra Civic Organisation', MA Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1998.

864.   Pillay, P. N., *Alexandra: An Analysis of Socio-Economic Conditions in an Urban Ghetto*, Cape Town: SALDRU, 1984.

865.   Sarakinsky, M., 'From Freehold Township to Model Township: A Political Histo-ry of Alexandra 1905-1983', Honours Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984.

866.   Seekings, J., 'PoliticalM obilisation in the Black Townships of the Transvaal', in, P. Frankel, N. Pines, and M. Swilling (eds), *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa. Johannesburg*, Southern Books, 1988.

867.   Seekings, J., 'Civic Organisations in South African Townships in Moss', G. & Obery, I. (eds.), *South African Review 6: From 'Red Friday' to CODESA*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1992.

868.   Seekings, J., "From quiescence to 'people's power': Township politics in Kagiso, 1985–1986", Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies, Volume 18, Issue 1, 1992, 20-41.

Many of South Africa's townships erupted in revolt during the mid-1980s. At least two forms of transition to revolt and confrontation can be identified. Different factors shaped the respective processes and outcomes of political mobilisation and protest. Existing case-studies tend to focus on the first form: the initial transition to confrontation in each region, in which local factors were of primary importance. This article focuses on the second form: the 'belated' transition, in which mass protest occurred in one township some time after violent conflict had become endemic in the surrounding region. The case-study of Kagiso township on the West Rand shows how supra-local factors, in particular regional and national organisation, played an important role in these belated transitions. In Kagiso, as in many other townships, consumer boycotts served as the medium for national influence on local politics. But external factors only led to mass mobilisation in conjunction with other, local factors.

869.   Seekings, J., 'The Decline of South Africa's Civic Organizations, 1990-1996', Critical Sociology, vol. 22, no. 3, October 1996, 135-157.

Strategic choices were an important factor in the decline of neighborhood-based civic organizations in South Africa's black townships during the process of democratization. But these strategic choices need to be understood in terms of the initial character of civic organizations as a "popular" rather than "social" movement in the 1980s, and the changes in the political context in the early and mid-1990s. During 1990-92 civics sought to define distinct roles for themselves representing the "community" or "civil society." But they did so within a conceptual framework that ignored, and could not accommodate, the emergence of "political society" (i.e., a party system, competitive elections and representative government) at the local level. This ensured their marginalization during 1994-96.

870.   Seethal, 'Civic organizations and the local state in South Africa, 1979-1983', Ph. D. thesis, University of Iowa, 1993.

871.   Supreme Court of South Africa (WitwatersrandL ocal Division). 1987. The State vs. Moses J. Mayekiso, Paul N. Tshabalala, Richard M. Mdakane, Obed K. Bapela, and Mzwanele Mayekiso, before the Honourable Mr. Justice van der Walt (Case No. 115/ 87), Cheadle Thompson and Haysom Attorneys, Johannesbur.

872.   Supreme Court of South Africa (Witwatersrand Local Division). 1987. The State vs. Ashwell M. Zwane, Vusi A. Ngwenya, Andrew Mafutha, David Mafutha, Arthur S. Vilakazi, Albert A. Sebola, Piet Mogano, and Phillemon C Phalongwane, before the Honourable Mr. Justice Grosskopf (Case No. 50/87), Priscilla Jana and Associates Attorneys, Johannesburg.

873.   Swilling, M. 'Civic associations in South Africa', *Urban Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1993.

874.   Tetelman, M., 'We Can: Black Politics in Cradock, South Africa, 1984-85', Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1997.

Chapter

COLOURED RESISTANCE

875.   Giliomee, H., 'The Non-Racial Franchise and Afrikaner and Coloured Identities, 1910-1994', *African Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 375 (Apr., 1995), 199-225

876.   Goldin, I., *Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa*, Longman, New York; 1987.

877.   UWC, Mayibuye Archives, MCH70, Memo on Coloured People Congress External Representation [n.d.].

878.   UWC, MCH70, Barney Desai and Cardiff Marney, Memorandum to the External Mission of the African National Congress – External Representation, London, 18 June 1964.

879.   UWC, MCH70, *CPC International Bulletin*, 19 March 1966, London.

Chapter

CONSUMER, RENT AND OTHER BOYCOTTS

880.   Clingman, S. et al. 'Food, Authority and Politics: Student Riots in South African Schools 1945-1976', in *Regions and Repertoires: Topics in South Africa Politics and Culture.* University of Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg, 1991.

881.   Helliker. K., Roux, A. and White, R., '"Asithengi!": Recent Consumer Boycotts', in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds.), *South African Review 4*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987.

882.   Jochelson, K., 'Local Authorities on their Knees', *Work in Progress*, 4, Sept.-Oct. 1986.

883.   Middelton, J., 'The consumer boycott a people's weapon', *Sechaba*, 20(49), April 1986, 7-11.

884.   Pottinger, B., 'The Eastern Cape Boycotts', *Frontline*, March 1981, 19-24.

885.   Seekings, J., 'People's Courts and Popular Politics', in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds), *South African Review 5*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1989.

886.   Swilling, M., '"The buses smell of blood": The East London Bus Boycott', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 9, No. 5, March 1984.

887.   Swilling, M., 'Stayaways, urban protest and the state', in South African Research Services (eds.), *South African Review 3*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1986.

Chapter

Destabilisation of the Frontline States

888.   Ahwireng-Obeng, F. and McGowan, P., 'Partner or Hegemon: South Africa in Africa, Part One', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 16 (1), 1998, 5-38.

889.   Brittain, V., *Hidden Lives, Hidden Deaths: South Africa's Crippling of a Continent*, London: Faber and Faber, 1988.

890.   Hanlon, J., *Apartheid's Second Front: South Africa's War against its Neighbours*, London: Penguin, 1986.

891.   Hanlon*, J., *Beggar Thy Neighbour*, London, James Currey, 1988.

892.   Johnson, Pand David Martin's (1989*) Apartheid Terrorism, the Report on the Devastation of the Frontline States for the Common Wealth Committee of Foreign Ministers*, London: James Currey, 1989.

893.   McGowan, P.J., and Ahwireng-Spence Obeng, F., 'Partner or Hegemon? South Africa in Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 16(1), 1996, 5-38.

894.   Metrowich, F. R., *South Africa's New Frontiers*, Sandton: Valiant Publishers, 1977.

895.   Metz, S., 'Pretoria's "total strategy" and low-intensity warfare in Southern Africa', *Comparative Strategy*, Volume 6, Issue 4, 1987, 437-469.

> Since the late 1970s the Republic of South Africa has faced mounting internal and external threats to the white regime which it assumes are motivated and controlled by the Soviet Union. Pretoria's response to this has been the creation of what is called the "Total Strategy." This is characterized by a near wartime level of resource mobilization, the integration of political, economic, and military resources, and a combination of negative and positive inducements used against threats to the regime. Since its inception, negative inducements, particularly the use of force, have increasingly been stressed at the expense of positive inducements. The Total Strategy represents the most sophisticated development of low-intensity conflict doctrine in the world today, particularly the psychological dimensions of conflict, but its long-term viability may be challenged by a range of dilemmas and contradictions.[18]

896.   Minter, W., *Apartheid's Contras: An inquiry into the Roots of war in Angola and Mozambique*, London: Zed Books, 1994.

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[18] Metz, S., 'Pretoria's "total strategy" and low-intensity warfare in Southern Africa', *Comparative Strategy*, Volume 6, Issue 4, 1987, 437.

897.   Saunders, C., 'The South Africa-Angola talks, 1976-1984: a little-known cold war thread', *Kronos*, 37, 2011, 104-119.

> That South Africa invaded Angola in 1975, in an abortive attempt to prevent a Marxist government coming to power there, and that the South African Defence Force then repeatedly attacked Angola from 1978, is relatively well known. That representatives of the South African and Angolan governments met on many occasions from 1976 is a largely untold story. This article uses documentation from the archives of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, along with other sources, to analyse these talks and the Cold War context in which they took place.[19]

898.   Scholtz, L., 'The Namibian Border War: An Appraisal of the South African Strategy', *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2002.

899.   Stiff, P., *The Covert War: Koevoet Operations in Namibia 1979-1989*, Galago, 2000.

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[19] Saunders, C., 'The South Africa-Angola talks, 1976-1984: a little-known cold war thread', *Kronos*, 37, 2011, 104.

Chapter

EDUCATION STRUGGLES

900.   Abrahams, S., *Education in the Eighties: The Proceedings of the Kenton Conference* 1988, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1988.

901.   Alexander, N., *Education and the Struggle for National Liberation In South Africa*, Johannesburg, Skotaville, 1990.

902.   Anderson, G.M., 'Racial Identity, the Apartheid State, and the Limits of Political Mobilization and Democratic Reform in South Africa: The Case of the University of the Western', *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, Volume 3, Issue 1, 2003, 29-52.

> In this article I examine how a so-called "bush" college designated under Apartheid for the education of Coloured (mixed-race) students contributed to the radicalization of South Africa's Western Cape region. The creation of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) was part of an Apartheid divide and rule strategy to inhibit the development of political alliances between mixed-race and indigenous African peoples. However, in 1982, UWC rejected the use of Apartheid classifications for selecting entrants, thereby establishing the country's first non-racial, open admissions policy. UWC paid a price for its principled efforts, as the Apartheid regime slashed state subsidies and engaged the institution in a protracted legal and ideological struggle over the right to determine its own educational policies. Viewing UWC's transformation as microcosm of the country's negotiated settlement to end Apartheid, the article concludes with a critical discussion of Coloured identity and the limits of democratic reform in post-Apartheid South Africa.[20]

903.   Hartshorne, K., *Crisis and Challenge: Black Education 1910-1990*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1992.

904.   Houghtoun, B., '"The Voice Of The People ": Personal reflections on the impact of the 1985 class/school boycott on a Cape Town High School community and the development of learning materials on this boycott for a history course', M. Phil. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2000.

905.   Hyslop, J. 'Social Conflicts Over African Education in South Africa from the Late 1940s to 1976', Ph.D. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1990.

906.   Hyslop, J., *The Classroom Struggle: Policy and Resistance in South Africa-1940-1990*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1999.

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[20] Anderson, G.M., 'Racial Identity, the Apartheid State, and the Limits of Political Mobilization and Democratic Reform in South Africa: The Case of the University of the Western', *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, Volume 3, Issue 1, 2003, 29.

907.   'Inside Boycotts- A teachers story', *Deduct*, UCT Education Faculty, October, 1985.

908.   Jordi, R., 'Towards People's Education: The Boycott Experience in Cape Town's Department of Education and Culture High Schools from July 1985 to February 1986', Honours Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1987.

909.   Kallaway, P., 'Education and the State: From Mass Education to Bantu Education to People's Education', in Young, D. and Burns, R. (eds), *Education at the Crossroads*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1987.

910.   Levin, R., 'People's education and the struggle for democracy in South Africa', in Unterhalter, E. Wolpe, H. Botha, T. Badat, S. Dlamini, T. Khotseng, B. (eds), *Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles.* Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1991.

911.   Levin, R Moll, I. Narsing, Y., 'The specificity of struggle in South Africa education', in Unterhalter, E. Wolpe, H. Botha, T. Badat, S. Dlamini, T. Khotseng, B. (eds.), *Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles.* Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1991.

912.   Mathabatha, S., 'The struggle over education in the northern Transvaal: the case of Catholic Mission Schools, 1948-1994', University of the Witwatersrand M.A. Dissertation, 2001.

913.   Mathabatha, S., 'Missionary schools, student uprisings in Lebowa and the Sekhukhuneland students' revolts, 1983–1986', *African Studies*, Volume 64, Issue 2, 2005, 263-284.

> The central focus of this article is the political turmoil that affected schooling in Lebowa from the late 1970s onwards and its consequences for the missionary institutions. It argues that the changing political climate and an increase in mass schooling in Lebowa homeland from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s had negative effects on missionary institutions, especially those in the Sekhukhuneland area. It will be shown that despite their being relatively well equipped and managed – compared to community schools in the region – missionary schools, particularly those in the Sekhukhuneland, were not spared from disruptions, but were drawn into the turmoil. The article also suggests that missionary institutions were gradually drawn into the mainstream political upheavals by the presence of Lebowa government officials' children in their schools.

914.   Mathabatha, J.S.N., *The Struggle Over Education in the Northern Transvaal: The Case of Catholic Mission Schools, 1948-1994*, Rozenburg Publishers, SAVUSA/NiZA, Amsterdam, 2005.

915.   Moll, L., 'The South African Democratic Teachers Union and the politics of teacher unity in South Africa', in Unterhalter, E. et. al. (eds.) *Apartheid Education And Popular Struggles*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1991.

916.   Molteno, F., *1980: Students Struggle for their Schools*, Cape Town, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1988.

917.   Muller, J., 'Peoples' Education and the NECC', in *South African Review 4*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987.

918.   Muller, 1., 'People's education and the NECC: the choreography of education struggle', in Millar, C. et al. (eds.) (1991) *Breaking 'the' Formal Frame.* Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1991.

919.   National Education Crisis, 'Teachers Learn Lessons From Schools Boycott', *Work In Progress,* No. 45, 1986.

920.   National Forum (1986) 'Resolutions on education, The Azanian Manifesto and the education struggle', in Millar et al. (eds), *Breaking 'the' Formal Frame*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1986.

921.   Patel, E., 'The Committee of 81 – the students' revolt', Lecture delivered at the 2nd Ashley Kriel Memorial Youth Lecture, University of the Western Cape, 18 August 2005. Available at www.ijr/org.za.

922.   Obery, I., 'People's Education: Creating a Democratic Future'. *Work In Progress,* Braamfontein, South African Research Service, 1987.

923.   Reeves, C., *The Struggle To Teach*, Cape Town, Maskew Millar Longman, 1994.

924.   South African Youth Congress, 'Everyone and Everything for the Liberation Struggle', COSATU Second National Congress, 1987.

925.   Unterhalter, E. Wolpe, H. Botha, T. Badat, S. Dlamini, T. Khotseng, B. (eds), *Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles.* Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1991.

926.   Vassen, M., 'Beyond the barricades: the 1985 schools boycott and the vicissitudes of the Athlone Students Action Committee (ASAC)', BA Hons dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1995. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

> This dissertation seeks to explore the schools boycott experience in the Athlone area. It is not merely an attempt to document the specificity of events which unfolded in the Athlone schools but, more significantly, it is an attempt to elucidate and understand an experience which operated at a myriad of levels, and as such, eschews a simplistic analysis or categorisation. One of the cardinal concerns of the dissertation is an attempt to comprehend the actions of the Athlone Students Action Committee (ASAC), the powerful area-based student structure which emerged to direct and co-ordinate the boycott in the Athlone area.

927.   Wolpe, H., *The Struggle against Apartheid Education: Towards People's Education in South Africa,* Research and Education in South Africa (RESA), Paper No.3., 'Education and social transformation: problems and dilemmas', in Unterhalter, E., Wolpe, H. and Botha, T. (eds.) (1991) *Education In A future South Africa: Policy Issues For Transformation.* Houghton, Heinemann, 1988.

928.   *Work In Progress,* 'Student and Youth Politics in the Western Cape', Mimeo, 1987.

929.   Young, D. and Burns, R. (eds), *Education at the Crossroads*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1987.

Chapter

COURT CASES

930.   State versus Moses Mayekiso and Four Others.

931.   State vs Ashwell Mxolisa Zwane and Seven Others.

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

932.   Anderson, S. B., 'The End Conscription Campaign in Cape Town, 1983-1989', BA Hons Dissertation, *African Studies*: University of Cape Town, 1990.

933.   Cherry, J., 'The End Conscription Campaign in South Africa: War Resistance in a Divided Society', *History Compass*, Volume 9, Issue 5, May 2011, 351–364.

   The End Conscription Campaign was a war resistance movement in South Africa between 1984 and 1993. This article examines the strategy behind this unique movement, and explores its relationship to the South African liberation struggle and the anti-apartheid movement. The militarisation of South African society and the uprising against apartheid by the black majority, both of which intensified during the decade of the 1980s, created the context within which this movement gained momentum. It is argued that although the End Conscription Campaign was not able to impact upon the military efficiency of the South African Defence Force, it was able to make an important contribution to the liberation struggle through its undermining of the legitimacy of the Defence Force in the eyes of the conscripted population.

934.   Phillips., M.W., 'The end conscription campaign 1983-1988: a study of white extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid', MA thesis, University of South Africa, 2002.

   This thesis includes chapters on the role of South African Defence Force in perpetuating the apartheid state; The emergence of conscientious objection: early alliances and issues leading to the formation of the ECC; building the ECC; the campaign takes off; a changing campaign under the state of emergency; the end of the campaign; Changing whites attitudes to conscription as reflected by the white commercial press; Changing white attitudes to conscription as reflected by white popular magazines; The role of graphics in the conscription debate.

Chapter

INDIAN RESISTANCE, SOUTH AFRICAN

935.   Desai, A. *Arise ye Coolies: Apartheid and the Indian*, Johannesburg, Impact Africa, 1996.

936.   Dhupelai-Mesthrie, U., *From Cane Fields to Freedom: A chronicle of Indian South Africans*, Cape Town, Kwela, 2001.

937.   Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U., 'The revival of the Natal Indian Congress', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

938.   Naidoo, K., 'Class consciousness and organisation: Indian political resistance in Durban, South Africa, 1979-1996', unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1997.

Chapter

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

939.   Ali, S.S., 'United Nations' Role in South Africa: Constraints and Possible Options', *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 3, July 1986, 225-237.

The principle of the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, of which apartheid is an institutionalised form, has become one of the cornerstones of the international community's concerns. As the community's watchdog, the United Nations has accorded, a high priority to this principle. Article 56 of the United Nations Charter stipulates thatbn 'all members pledge themselves to take joint action in cooperation with the Organisation for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55', which includes 'universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.' Equally, the concern of the international community has been evident in the progressive evolution of the General Assembly's recommendations, resolutions and decisions, of the relevant international instruments, of its policy of sanctions, albeit by no means satisfactory, and the prominence this principle receives in various UN organs and activities, in particular the programmes undertaken under the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. However, the supportive role of the United Nations in the struggle being waged against apartheid within South Africa and Namibia, highly commendable though it is, has unfortunately been considerably weakened by the lack of consensus in dealing with systematic violations of international norms by the Pretoria regime for the maintenance of apartheid, as well as over the strategies to be adopted to resist this unjust and oppressive system. In the specific context of the present structure of the United Nations, particularly the powers given to the Security Council, these divergencies are found to be major constraints as they have the inevitable impact of impeding enforcement measures. As a consequence today, the continuing gulf between international law and reality threatens the very credibility of the world organisation especially as far as its human rights policies with regard to South Africa are concerned. The struggle within the United Nations system against apartheid, inevitably slow moving, nonetheless continues as can be seen from the evolution of measures taken. It will also be seen that the world body, undeterred by persistent disagreements over principle, its interpretation and enforcement, continues to explore possible options in shaping policies to be able to deal more effectively with the scourge of apartheid and thereby strengthen the ethical foundations of the international community and a civilised system of peaceful coexistence. The situation, therefore, though highly complicated, is not entirely hopeless. On the contrary there is room for optimism that meaningful consequences will emerge from these efforts of the United Nations to eliminate apartheid as well as to bring about a qualitative change in and protection of a whole range of human rights.[21]

940.   Anti-Apartheid Movement, 'Anti-apartheid demo', *AAM News*, November 1986.

941.   Anti-Apartheid Movement, *Annual report of activities and developments 1985/86*, London, 1986.

942.   Anti-Apartheid Movement, 'Manifesto for sanctions', *AAM News*, Jan/Feb, 1987.

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[21] Ali, S.S., 'United Nations' Role in South Africa: Constraints and Possible Options', *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 3, July 1986, 225.

943.   Anti-Apartheid Movement, 'People's sanctions now', *AAM News*, December 1987.

944.   Anti-Apartheid Movement, *Annual report of activities and developments 1986/87*, London, 1987.

945.   Anti-Apartheid Movement, 'Freedom at 70 for Mandela', *AAM News*, April 1988.

946.   Anti-Apartheid Movement, *Minutes of an executive meeting - June, 21*, 1988.

947.   'Bernstein interview with Abdul Minty', Mayibuye: transcribed oral collection, 163–90.

948.   Breytenbach, W., 'Cuito Cuanavale revisited: Same Outcomes, Different Consequences', in *African Insight*, 27 (1), 1997, 61-67.

949.   Brittain, V.., 'Cuba and Southern Africa', in *New Left Review*, 172, 1988, 117-124.

950.   Campbell, H., 'The Military Defeat of the South Africans in Angola', in *Monthly Review*, 40 (11), 1989, 1-15.

951.   Campbell, H., 'Cuito Cuanavale', in Crahan, M.E. *et. al*. (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

952.   Campbell, H. 2008. "Cuito Cuanavale: A Tribute to Fidel Castro and the African Revolution" in *Pambazuka News*, Issue 377, 2008. Available at http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/48547.

953.   Carstens, K., 'The Response of the Church In the USA to Apartheid', *Africa Today*, 14, No 1, 1967.

954.   Castro, F., 'Cuba Responds to the Invasion of Angola', in Deutshman, D. (ed), *Angola and Namibia: Changing the History of Africa*, Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1989, 61-68.

955.   Davis, S.M., 'The Bush Presidency and South Africa: Congress and the Sanctions Outlook', Occasional Paper, The South African Institute of International Affairs, May 1989.

956.   Domínguez, J.I., *To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba's Foreign Policy*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

957.   Dosman, E. 2008. "Countdown to Cuito Cuanavale: Cuba's Angola Campaign" in Baines, G. and Vale, P. (eds), *Beyond the Border War: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late-Cold War Conflicts*, Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2008, 207-228.

958.   Fieldhouse, R., *Anti-Apartheid: A History of the Movement in Britain*, London, Merlin, 2005.

959. Filatova, I. 'South Africa's Soviet Connection', *History Compass*, Volume 6, Issue 2, March 2008, pages 389–403.

> To outward appearance at least, South Africa and the Soviet Union did not enjoy close relations during most of the 20th century. Diplomatic relations existed on paper between the Boer republics and Russia during the Anglo-Boer war but they ended when the republics lost their independence. During the 1920s and 1930s trade was negligible, and the new high point in mutual interest and relations came only during the Second World War, when Soviet diplomatic or trade missions opened in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town. This official relationship was broken by the National Party government in 1956, and was re-established only in the early 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of apartheid. Diplomatic relations were, however, just the tip of the iceberg. The Soviet Union maintained a close connection with the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) and, later on, with both the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP), the CPSA's successor. This article attempts to assess the extent and importance of this connection, and its influence on South Africa's transition to democracy and on the political players in today's South Africa.[22]

960. Filatova, I. and Davidson, A., *The Hidden Thread: Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era*, Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2013.

961. George, E., *The Cuban Intervention in Angola, 1965-1991: From Che Guevara to Cuito Cuanavale*, London and New York: Frank Cass, 2005.

962. Gleijeses, P., 'Havana's Policy in Africa, 1959-76: New Evidence from Cuban Archives', in *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, 1996. Available at http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ACF191.pdf.

963. Gleijeses, P., *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa: 1959-1976*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

964. Gonzalez, E. and Ronfeldt, D., *Castro, Cuba and the World*. Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1986.

965. Gurney, C., '''A Great Cause'': The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, June 1959–March 1960', *Journal of Southern African Affairs*, 26/1, March 2000, 123–44.

966. Herbstein, D., *White Lies: Canon Collins and the Secret War Against Apartheid*, Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2004.

967. Huddleston/J. Collins Interview, Mayibuye Archive, University of the Western Cape (UWC): MCA5-171cc (IDAF Collection).

968. Israel, M., *South African Political Exile in the UK*, London, Macmillan, 1999.

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[22] Filatova, I. 'South Africa's Soviet Connection', *History Compass*, Volume 6, Issue 2, March 2008, pages 389.

969.   Kasrils, R., 'Historic Turning Point at Cuito Cuanavale', Address at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, 2008. Available at http://www.pmpsa.gov.za/FILES/pdfs/Kasrils.pdf.

970.   Klein, G., 'Publicising the African National Congress: *The Anti-Apartheid News*', South African Historical Journal, Volume 63, Issue 3, 2011, 394-413.

> Harnessing international support for the struggle against apartheid was a major aspect of international solidarity work, and publicising the atrocities of apartheid and the role of the liberation movements in combating apartheid was therefore a campaign priority. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) emphasised informing the British public about developments in South Africa as one of its core functions. In this article one aspect of this activity – namely the AAM's own publication, *The Anti-Apartheid News* – is analysed. A survey of the paper illustrates how the AAM used it to inform the British public about both apartheid and the African National Congress's (ANC) history and ideology. Through the newspaper the AAM was able to increase international solidarity with and support for the ANC. The article argues that the AAM therefore played a pivotal role in popularising the ANC and helping to establish its reputation internationally as the authentic representative of the people of South Africa.

971.   Klein, G., 'The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and Political Prisoner Campaigns, 1973–1980', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, Special Issue: Liberation Struggles, Exile and International Solidarity, 455-470.

> This article analyses selected Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) activities designed to publicise political prisoners and detainees. The political prisoner campaign was one way in which the AAM highlighted the role of the liberation movements fighting apartheid. It illustrates how the AAM not only played a key part in exposing the immorality of apartheid, but also in popularising the liberation movements, and especially the African National Congress (ANC). All AAM activity broadly supported the liberation movements, informed British public opinion on conditions in South Africa, and aimed to change British government policy. However, certain actions focused more specifically on popularising the liberation movements and specific members in these movements. Political prisoner campaigns showed the difficulties faced by specific people caught up in the South African judicial system and the way in which the South African government used trials and jail sentences to weaken the liberation movements. On the one hand, the AAM attempted to highlight the activity of the liberation movements inside South Africa and the violence of the South African regime. On the other hand, it appealed to international concerns about human rights. The AAM aimed to invert the idea that the liberation movements were primarily responsible for violence through focusing on violence by the regime. Of all the campaigns for individual prisoners, that for Nelson Mandela achieved the highest profile. These campaigns were effective in increasing international criticism of apartheid and provided an opportunity for many concerned about human right to take a stand against apartheid.

972.   LeoGrande, W.L. *Cuba's Policy in Africa, 1959-1980: Policy Papers in International Affairs, No.13*, University of California, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1980.

973.   Luthuli House ANC Collection, Johannesburg:

   a.   ANC/UK/Ireland Mission: AAM, Series II: Campaigns, Box 8, Folder 9, SATIS.

974.   Mandela, N., 'Cuba has done much for the peoples of Africa', in Mandela, N. and Castro, F. (eds), *How Far We Slaves Have Come*, New York: Pathfinder Press, 1991.

975.   Mesa-Lago, C. and Belkin, J.S. (eds), *Cuba in Africa*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1982.

976.   Müller, J.A., *"The Inevitable Pipeline into Exile": Botswana's Role in the Namibian Liberation Struggle*, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Basel, 2012.

977.   Mzamo, W.J, 'Zambia, the ANC and the struggle against apartheid 1964-1990', MA dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, 1992.

> This study directs its attention to the support that Zambia extended to the ANC in the struggle against apartheid. It examines Zambia's support for the ANC within the context of the conflict between the liberation movements and the White minority governments in Southern Africa, and seeks to find out to what extent Zambia's commitment to the liberation of Southern Africa from White minority rule was translated into meaningful support for the ANC. While the focus of the study falls on Zambia's support for the ANC, the following issues have been taken up: the concept of a host state and liberation in Southern Africa, the organisation and growth of the ANC under the refuge of a host state, and the effects on Zambia of her support for the ANC.

978.   Reddy, E.S., 'United Nations and Apartheid – A Chronology'. Available at http://www.anc.org.za/un/un-chron.html.

979.   Reddy,E.S., 'AAM and UN: Partners in the International Campaign Against Apartheid', at 'The AAM: A 40-year Perspective', London, 1999.

980.   'E.S. Reddy page: Articles, Papers and Speeches', available at http://www.anc.org.za/un/reddy/#COLLECTIONS.

981.   Rhodes House, Oxford, Archive of the AAM (MSSAAM):

   a. SATIS Minutes 1988–1989: 30 April 1990, Rhodes House, Oxford, Archive of the AAM (MSSAAM) 1796.
   b. Committee Minutes and Papers: various minutes 28/10/1963–2/7/1964, MSSAAM1778.
   c. Newsletters and Press Releases: including The World Committee, 9 January 1963, 'Report from Prison', 22 November 1963, MSSAAM1779.
   d. SA Freedom News; MSSAAM 941.
   e. Various ANC Publications, MSSAAM943.
   f. National Committee Minutes, 1960–81, MSSAAM43.
   g. Committee Minutes and Papers: various minutes 14/9/1964–25/3/1970, MSSAAM1778.
   h. Correspondence/ Papers OAU, 1971–93: Free Mandela Campaign memories, no author, MSSAAM1362.
   i. Anti-Apartheid News, April 1973, MSSAAM2201,
   j. Correspondence/ Papers OAU, 1971–93: UN Press Release, 17 August 1973, MSSAAM1362.
   k. SATIS Minutes, 1974–1980: 8/2/1974, MSSAAM1795.
   l. General Correspondence: 1973–1980: AAM General letter 4/10/1973, MSSAAM1802.
   m. Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1967–1981: 5 September 1977, MSSAAM780.
   n. Correspondence with British government, letter 15/5/1978, MSSAAM1805.
   o. Nelson Mandela's 60th Birthday, MSSAAM1908.
   p. Annual Report, MSSAAM13.

q. Executive Committee Minutes, 1978–1985, MSSAAM68.
r. Mandela Campaign 1980–1982, MSSAAM1909.

982.   Risquet, J., 'Defeating the South Africans in Angola was decisive for Africa: Interview with Jorge Risquet', in Deutschmann, D. (ed), *Angola and Namibia: Changing the History of Africa*, Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1989.

983.   Saney, I., 'African Stalingrad: The Cuban Revolution, Internationalism, and the end of Apartheid', in *Latin American Perspectives*, *Issue150*. 33:5, 2006, 81-117.

984.   Saney, I., 'Homeland of Humanity: Internationalism within the Cuban Revolution', in *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 164, 36 (1), 2009, 111-123.

985.   Sapire, H. 'Liberation Movements, Exile, and International Solidarity: An Introduction', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 2009, Special Issue: Liberation Struggles, Exile and International Solidarity, 271-286.

986.   Sarmiento, O.N., 'A postcolonial analysis of Cuban Foreign Policy towards South African Liberation Movements, 1959-1994', MA dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2010.

987.   Saunders, C., 'Foundations of Anti-Apartheid: Liberal Humanitarians and Transnational Activists in Britain and the United States, c.1919–64', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 63, Issue 3, 2011, 492-494.

988.   Shubin, V., *The Hot 'Cold War': The USSR in Southern Africa*, Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008.

989.   Shubin, V., 'Unsung Heroes: The Soviet Military and the liberation of southern Africa', in Onslow, S. (ed), *Cold War in Southern Africa: White power, black liberation*, Routledge, 2009.

990.   Smith, T., "'The Spirit of the Sierra Maestra': Five Observations on Writing about Cuban Foreign Policy", in *World Politics*, 41 (1), 1988, 98-119.

991.   Solop, F.I., 'From the margins to the mainstream: the anti-apartheid movement and the politics of agenda-setting in the United States', PhD thesis, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1990.

This dissertation articulates, and details, the relationship between the anti-apartheid movement and United States policy relations with South Africa between 1960 and 1986. The research is based upon an analysis of an original events data set, interviews with legislators, movement activists, and corporate actors involved in the debate over economic sanctions, and a thorough review of Congressional hearings and movement literature. As demonstrated, anti-apartheid movement influence in the policy process emerged from a dialectical relationship between the capacity of the movement to influence policy and a window of opportunity created from tensions between the executive and legislative branches over control of this foreign policy area. The result

of this process was that the movement was able to push adoption of economic sanctions against South Africa further and faster than would otherwise have been the case.

992.   Steward, A., *The World, The West and Pretoria*, New York: David Mackay, 1997.

993.   Stultz, N.M., 'Evolution of the UN Anti-apartheid Regime', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 13 (1991), 1–23.

994.   Taber, M. (ed), *Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-1980: Fidel Castro Speeches*, New York: Pathfinder Press, 1981.

Chapter

JOURNALS AND NEWSPAPERS

995. *African Communist*

996. *Azanian Combat*

997. *Azanian Commando (Supplement to Azanian Combat)*

998. *Azanian News*

999. *Azanian Woman*

1000. *Dawn*

1001. *Financial Mail*

1002. *Mayibuye*

1003. *The Post*

1004. *Sechaba*

1005. *The Sowetan*

1006. *Umsebenzi*

1007. *Work in Progress*

Chapter

NEGOTIATIONS AND TRANSITION

1008. Adam, H., 'Minority Monopoly in Transition: Recent Policy Shifts of the South African State', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Dec., 1980), 611-626.

1009. Adler, G. and Steinberg, J. (eds.), *From Comrades to Citizens: The South African civics movement and the transition to democracy*, London, Macmillan, 2000.

1010. Allen, J. (ed), *The Rainbow People of God: The Making of a Peaceful Revolution,* New York: Doubleday, 1994.

1011. African National Congress, National Working Committee, *Negotiations: A Strategic Perspective,* November 18, 1992. Reprinted at URL: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/transition/perspect.html.

1012. ANC, *Ready to Govern; ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa,* published by the Policy Unit of the ANC, Johannesburg, 1992.

1013. ANC, *Constituent Assembly and Interim Government,* discussion paper prepared by the ANC Department of Political Education, 1991.

1014. Atkinson, D. 'Brokering a miracle? The multiparty negotiated forum' in *South African Review 7*, S. Friedman and D. Atkinson (eds.), *The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1994.

1015. Bennun, M. and Newitt, M.D.D., (ed), *Negotiating Justice: A New Constitution for South Africa,* Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995.

1016. Berat, L. and Yossi Shain, Y., 'Retribution or Truth-Telling in South Africa? Legacies of the Transitional Phase', *Law & Social Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter, 1995), 163-189.

    Almost from the start of South Africa's transition to democracy in the 1990s, the issue arose of how those both within the National Party government and from the opposition who had committed human rights abuses would be treated. Like many other countries undergoing democratic regime change, South Africa's endeavors to exorcise the demons of its past while ensuring stability have depended and continue to depend to a certain extent on the delicate choice between truth telling and retribution, a choice, in turn, closely tied to the process of democratization and to the distributionof power within the body that led the change. The authors ask how the nature of the South Africant ransition and the character of the transitional authority affected the treatment of past abuses. They further examine the way the transitional authorities balanced retribution and truth telling and the consequences of their actionsf or the stability of the new democracy.

1017. Bond, *Elite Transition*, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2005.

1018. Bond, P. and Mayekiso, M., 'Developing resistance, resisting development': Reflections from the South African struggle', *The Socialist Register*, 1996, 33-61.

1019. Boraine, A. (ed), *The Healing of a Nation?,* Cape Town: Justice in Transition,1995.

1020. Booth, D., 'South Africa: The politics of pre-negotiations, 1989–1991', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 27, Issue 3, 1992, 478-491.

> The international community has hailed South African state president, F.W. de Klerk, a 'liberator'. De Klerk liberalised the political process and deracialised aspects of state and society. But how committed to racial reform are he and his government? The regime's policies, strategies and tactics over the last two years raise many concerns that the international community has either baulked or simply ignored. The argument that the government must be rewarded and encouraged is fallacious. The South African government reacts only to pressure. The international community acted prematurely by lifting some sanctions and is undermining the prospects for a post-apartheid society based on equal rights.

1021. Buthelezi, M.G., *South Africa: My Vision of the Future,* Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1990.

1022. Cloete, F., 'Negotiating Political Change in South Africa' in Nieuwmeijer, L. and Cloete, F. (eds), *The Dynamics of Negotiation in South Africa,* HSRC, Pretoria, 1991.

1023. Colinge, J., 'Launched on a bloody tide - negotiating the new South Africa', in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds), *South African Review 6: From 'Red Friday' to Codesa.* Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1992.

1024. Crocker, C., *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood*, New York, Norton, 1992.

1025. Daniel, J., "A Response to Guelke: The Cold War Factor in South Africa's Transition," in Journal of Contemporary African Politics, Vol. 14, No.1, January, 1996.

1026. De Kadt, R., 'The fragile metaphor: inside the social contract', *Indicator SA,* Vol.9 (2), 1992.

1027. De Klerk, F.W., *Letter to Nelson Mandela from F.W. DeKlerk, Annexure B,* July 2, 1992. Reprinted at URL:http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/transition/lett2july.html.

1028. De Klerk, F.W., *Statement by President F. W. De Klerk on the Timetable for Further Constitutional Reform,* November 26, 1992. Reprinted at URL: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/transition/timetable.html.

1029. De Klerk, W., 'The Process of Political Negotiation: 1990–1993', in De Villiers, B. (ed), *Birth of a Constitution,* Capetown: Juta & Co., 1994.

1030.	Douek, D., 'Counterinsurgency's Impact on Transitions from Authoritarianism: The Case of South Africa', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 2, 2013, 255-275.

> Counterinsurgency's impact on transitions from authoritarianism remains poorly understood and under-theorized. Using archival sources and interviews with ex-rebels, this paper examines the apartheid counterinsurgency programme's hidden history. A programme of clandestine violence and intelligence operations orchestrated at the regime's highest military and political echelons, it intensified during the 1990–1994 transitional period. This paper analyses its impacts on the state and its security sector during and after the negotiated transition. By marginalizing former rebels with high popular legitimacy, counterinsurgency compromised South Africa's process of security sector reform, while helping to preserve entrenched criminal networks and racist tendencies within the police and army. This has perpetuated institutional illegitimacy and corruption, and weakened security sector responses to South Africa's post-transition surge of violent crime, thereby undermining democratic consolidation. Apartheid counterinsurgency has also left lasting impacts at the social capital and participatory levels, contributing to the erosion of trust between civil society and the state.[23]

1031.	Du Bois-Pedain, A., *Transitional Amnesty in South Africa*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2007.

1032.	Du Plessis, L. and Corder, H. *Understanding South Africa's Transitional Bill of Rights*, Kenwyn: Juta, 1994.

1033.	Du Toit, A., *South Africa as another case of transition from authoritarian rule*, Idasa, Cape Town, 1990.

1034.	Du Toit, P. & Esterhuyse, W. (eds), *The myth makers: the elusive bargain for South Africa's future*, Southern, Halfway House, 1990.

1035.	Du Toit, P. 'Bargaining power: dependence capabilities and tactical options in South African politics, *Politikon,* Vol.18 (2), 1991, pp.74-90.

1036.	Eades, L.M., *The End of Apartheid in South Africa*, Westport, Conn Greenwood Press, 1999.

1037.	Esterhuyse, W., *Endgame: Secret Talks and the End of Apartheid*, Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2012.

1038.	Friedman, S., *The Shapes of Things to Come? National Party Choices in the South African Transition,* CPS Transition Series, Johannesburg, 1992.

1039.	Friedman, S., *The Long Journey: South Africa's quest for a negotiated settlement*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1993.

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[23] 255.

1040. Friedman, S. & Atkinson, D. (eds.), *South African Review 7: The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*, Raven Press: Johannesburg, 1994.

1041. Friedman, S., "Too little knowledge is a dangerous thing: South Africa's bargained transition, democratic prospects and John Rawls's 'veil of ignorance'", *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 25:1, 57-80.

> The way in which transitions to democracy are achieved is often held to shape the polity which they produce. An influential view thus relies on John Rawls's 'veil of ignorance' to stress uncertainty among political protagonists as the optimal guarantor of democratic institutions: the less those who draft the rules know about the likely outcome of their choices, the more likely is it that they will choose democratic mechanisms. The article argues that this approach is inapplicable to the South African case and therefore, perhaps, to other pacted transitions. A key expectation underpinning the settlement was that the outcome of majority rule was certain: the National Party therefore sought to negotiate a constitution which diluted its effect. But inadequate information prompted it to choose options which were suboptimal both for its own interests and for democratic consolidation: the electoral system is analysed as a case in point. In South Africa, therefore - and perhaps in other pacted transitions - information deficits are a constraint, rather than an asset, to the design of appropriated democratic institutions.

1042. Friedman, S. and Atkinson. D. (eds.), *The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1994.

1043. Gastrow, P., *Bargaining for Peace: South Africa and the National Peace Accord*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1995.

1044. Ginsburg, D., 'The Democratization of South Africa: Transition Theory Tested', *Transformation*, 29, 1996.

1045. Giliomee, H. 'The Last Transition to democracy', *SA International*, 22, 1992, 11 -112.

1046. Giliomee, H., ''Survival in Justice': An Afrikaner Debate over Apartheid', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35 (3), 1994.

1047. Giliomee, H., 'Surrender without Defeat: Afrikaners and the South African "Miracle"', *Daedalus*, Vol. 126, No. 2, Human Diversity (Spring, 1997), 113-146.

1048. Graham, M., 'Coming in from the cold: the Transitional Executive Council and South Africa's reintegration into the international community', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Volume 49, Issue 3, 2011, 359-378.

> South Africa's 'miraculous' transition from apartheid to democracy, 1990–1994, has been widely investigated in the current literature, but the activities of the Transitional Executive Council, and, more importantly, those of its composite sub-councils have been neglected. This study analyses the significant influence the Sub Council on Foreign Affairs (SCFA) had on the shape of South Africa's foreign policy after April 1994. The influence the Department of Foreign Affairs had over the organisation and activities of the SCFA is also explored. In shaping the final recommendations

of the Sub Council, so that they closely represented those of the Department, the SCFA's proposals also reflected the norms and values of the wider international community. It is argued that entrenched domestic and international interests 'captured' the new South Africa's foreign policy, seriously impinging on the African National Congress's room for manoeuvre internationally and ultimately acting as a significant factor in accounting for the country's perceived inconsistent foreign policy after 1994.

1049. Grobbelaar, G., 'Bittereinders - Dilemmas and Dynamics on the Far Right, in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds), *South African Review 6: From 'Red Friday' to Codesa.* Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1992.

1050. Guelke, A., *South Africa in Transition: The Misunderstood Miracle,* London, IB Taurus Publishers, 1999.

1051. Guelke, A., 'South Africa: The Long View on Political Transition', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 3-4, 2009, Special Issue: Pathways from Ethnic Conflict: Institutional Redesign in Divided Societies, 417-435.

> The article revisits South Africa's unexpected transition to majority rule during the early 1990s. It underscores how surprising this development was by recalling the range of possibilities that appeared to exist at the time of apartheid's demise. The course of events that led to the African National Congress's achieving its objective of one person one vote in an undivided country is briefly explained, while the longer term trends that helped to make such an outcome possible are also identified. The manner in which the country has managed without the political devices commonly associated with the governance of deeply divided societies is analyzed.

1052. Habib. A., 'The transition to democracy in South Africa: developing a dynamic model', *Tranmsformation*, 1995.

1053. Hammill,M., 'Crossing the Rubicon: South Africa's Post-Apartheid Political Process,1990– 1992', *International Relations* 12 (1994):9–37.

1054. Hatchard, J. and Slinn, P., 'The Path Towards a New Order in South Africa', *International Relations*, 12, 1995, 1–26.

1055. Haysom, N. 'Negotiating a political settlement in Swth Africa', in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds), *South African Review 6: From 'Red Friday' to Codesa.* Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1992.

1056. Horowitz, D.L., *A democratic South Africa: Constitutional engineering in a divided society*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1991.

1057. Howarth, D., 'Paradigms Gained? A Critique of Theories and Explanations of Democratic Transitions in South Africa', in David Howarth and Aletta J. Norval (eds.), *South Africa in Transition*, New York:St. Martins, 1998.

1058. Johnson, R.W. and Schlemmer, L. (eds), *Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996.

1059. Laurence, P., 'South African Communist Party Strategy Since February 1990', in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds), *South African Review,* vol. 6, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1992.

1060. Lawrence, R. "Introduction: From Soweto to Codesa", in: Friedman, S. & Atkinson, D. (eds.), *South African Review 7: The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*, Raven Press: Johannesburg, 1994.

1061. Liebenberg, I., 'The long haul to democracy: The Story of Constitutional Development and Transition in South Africa', *Journal for Contemporary History,* vol 21(2), 1996.

1062. Lodge, T., 'The African National Congress in the 1990s', in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds), *South African Review,* vol. 6, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1992.

1063. Lodge, T., 'Post-modern Bolsheviks - SA Communists in Transition', *South Africa International,* Vol.22 (4), 1992.

1064. Louw, R. (ed.), *Four Days in Lusaka: Whites in a Changing Society*, Johannesburg: Five Freedoms Forum, 1989.

1065. Macklin, G., 'The British Far Right's South African Connection: A.K. Chesterton, Hendrik van den Bergh, and the South African Intelligence Services', *Intelligence and National Security*, Volume 25, Issue 6, 2010, 823-842.

> Utilising a new documentary source, namely correspondence between A. K. Chesterton (1899–1973), one of the most important figures of the post-war far right in Britain, and H. J. van den Bergh (1914–1997), the head of the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS), this article presents a case study that leads to an enhanced understanding of the nature and workings of the overseas activities of the South African security apparatus during the 1960s, its allies and its targets. The article examines and evaluates the evidence presented in this correspondence regarding the covert operations of the South African secret services against anti-apartheid activists and other exiled 'subversives' based in Britain. It will demonstrate how the South African apartheid regime operated through an ideologically aligned far right proxy to physically disrupt anti-apartheid meetings and to monitor exiled dissidents, their activities and potential sources of finance, as well as exploring how Chesterton helped to refine van den Bergh's personal intellectual framework and his definition of the who and what stood behind 'sabotage' and 'subversion' in South Africa.[24]

1066. Mandela, N., *Memorandum to F.W. De Klerk,* June 26, 1992. Reprinted at URL: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/memo920626.html.

1067. Mandela, N., *Letter from Nelson Mandela to F.W. De Klerk,* July 9, 1992. Reprinted at URL:http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/fwletter.html.

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[24] Macklin, G., 'The British Far Right's South African Connection: A.K. Chesterton, Hendrik van den Bergh, and the South African Intelligence Services', *Intelligence and National Security*, Volume 25, Issue 6, 2010, 823.

1068. Marais, H., *South Africa, Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition,* Zed Books, New York and Cape Town, 1997.

1069. Marx, A.W., 'Apartheid's end: South Africa's transition from racial domination', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 20, Issue 3, 1997, 474-496.

South Africa's transition to inclusive democracy does not conform to the prevalent theories of either revolution, or élite controlled 'pact-making' as in Brazil. As a country long divided between supporters and opponents of racial domination, the loyalty of the former prevented a revolutionary overthrow, and the resistance of the latter drove and impinged upon negotiations. To account for South Africa's transition, we must take cognizance of the history of racial domination as the central impediment to democracy in that country. I argue that such racial domination was encoded as a means of unifying white ethnic groups, previously at war. Over the course of this century, amidst ongoing tension, intra-white conflict was diminished with policies unifying whites on racial grounds. But such policies, excluding blacks, provoked massive resistance. When white unity had been more largely achieved, and the nation-state and its economy threatened by growing protest by the majority, apartheid was ended. This process conforms with the seminal argument of Dunkwart Rustow (1970), that democracy can be achieved only with greater 'national unity' gained through contestation.[25]

1070. Morris, M. & D. Hindson, 'The Disintegration of Apartheid: From Violence', in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds.) in *South African Review 6: From 'Red Friday' to CODESA,* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1992.

1071. Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds.) in *South African Review 6: From 'Red Friday' to CODESA,* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1992.

1072. Murray, J.M., *Revolution Deferred: The Painful Birth of Post Apartheid South Africa*, Verso, London, 1994.

1073. Noonan, P. *They're Burning the Churches: the Final Dramatic Events that Scuttled Apartheid*, Bellevue: South Africa, 2003.

1074. Ottoway, M., 'Liberation Movements and transition to democracy: the case of the ANC', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2, 9, 1991.

1075. Phillips, I. 'Negotiation and armed struggle in contemporary South Africa', *Transformatio*n, 6, 1988.

This article concentrates on the relationship between *negotiation* - as a means of escaping the historical impasse whereby present generations cannot guarantee future generations of Southern Africans stability, security and justice - and the strategy of *armed struggle* - as merely one factor in the vast array of different strategies - as considered by the ANC alliance and deployed in various ways. The context within which this relationship is examined is twofold: * the historical rejection of the politics of negotiation by successive South African governments and

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[25] Marx, A.W., 'Apartheid's end: South Africa's transition from racial domination', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 20, Issue 3, 1997, 474.

their allies; * the retention of the politics of negotiation as a desirable form of activity by democratic organisations that has been supplemented by other forms of struggle as time has passed.

1076.   Rantete, J., *Room for Compromise: The African National Congress and Transitional Mechanisms,* CPS Transition Series, Johannesburg, 1992.

1077.   Rantete, J. and Giliomee, H., 'Transition to Democracy through Transaction?: Bilateral Negotiations between the ANC andNP in South Africa', *African Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 365 (Oct., 1992), 515-542.

1078.   Rantete, J., 'The ANC and the Negotiated Trajectory to Power, l990 - June 1992', unpublished manuscript.

1079.   *Record of Understanding,* September 26, 1992. Reprinted at URL: http://www.anc.org.z/ancdocs /history/transition/record.html.

1080.   Reid, G. and Cobbett, W. "Negotiating in Bad Faith", in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds.) *South African Review 6: From 'Red Friday' to CODESA,* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1992.

1081.   Schrire, R., 'The End of the Botha Era', in *Adapt or Die: The End of White Politics in South Africa,* South Africa Update Series, Ford Foundation, 1991.

1082.   Shaw, M. "The Bloody Backdrop: Negotiating Violence" in: Friedman, S. and Atkinson, D. (eds.), *South African Review 7: The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*, Raven Press: Johannesburg, 1994, p.182-203.

1083.   Simpson, J.D.R., *The Boipatong Massacre and South Africa's democratic transition*, Leiden, African Studies Centre, 2011.

1084.   Simpson, J.D.R., 'Boipatong: The Politics of a Massacre and the South African Transition', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: Part Special Issue: Religious Biography, edited by Achim von Oppen and Silke Strickrodt, 623-647.

   The Boipatong massacre is widely regarded as a key moment in South Africa's transition to democracy. The massacre is also frequently cited as an example of state complicity in the political violence that shook the country during a period of negotiation and reform. Yet, limited scholarly attention has been given to the details of the event. This article examines the Boipatong massacre in detail, with particular emphasis on how the event's meaning has been contested by different individuals and groups. Analysis of these contestations gives insight into the dynamics of the South African transition, shedding light on the struggles that have defined it. Through the agency of various political actors, a dominant interpretation of the Boipatong massacre arose in its wake, with massive political impact. 'Boipatong' brought the South African transition much closer to culmination, because at a crucial point in negotiations it was successfully broadcast as an event that epitomised unending state-sponsored violence. This decisive interpretation remains widespread in scholarship and popular memory, even though

repeated contestation has rendered it increasingly questionable. Because its truths made a profound contribution to what is now post-Apartheid South Africa, they continue to exert considerable influence upon knowledge of the event.

1085. Sisk, T.D., *Democratization in South Africa: The Elusive Social Contract*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press,1995.

1086. Slabbert, F. van Zyl (2006) *The Other Side of History: An Anecdotal Reflection on Political Transition in South Africa.* Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2006.

1087. Slovo, J., 'Negotiations: What Room for Compromise', *African Communist* (Fall 1992):36–40..

1088. Spaarwater, M., *A Spook's Progres*s: *From Making War to Making Peace*, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2012.

1089. Szeftel, M., 'Ethnicity and Democratization in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy* 60 (1994.

1090. Taylor, I. and Vale, P., 'South Africa's Transition Revisited: Globalisation as Vision and Virtue', *Global Society*, Volume 14, Issue 3, 2000, 399-41.

1091. *The Groote Schuur Minute,* May 4, 1990. Reprinted at URL http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/transition/minutes.html.

1092. Van der Merwe, H.W., *Peace Making in South Africa: A Life in Conflict Resolution*, Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2000.

1093. Van Nieuwkerk, A. and Van Staden, G. (eds), *Southern Africa at the Crossroads: Prospects for the Political Economy of the Region,* Special Studies Series, SAIIA, ohannesburg, 1991.

1094. Van Nieuwkerk, A., 'Transitional politics in South Africa: From Confrontation to Democracy', Occasional Paper, South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, 1992.

This paper is concerned with the politics of transition in South Africa, which is defined as the movement away from apartheid and minority domination towards some form of democracy. This movement is characterised by a process of phased negotiations, in which the key political actors in South Africa are locked in an interdependent relationship. Because the outcome of the process - a negotiated settlement - depends on a series of compromises and concessions, it is by its very nature open-ended. This means that even if a settlement isreached, democracy might not automatically follow - South Africa might experience a regression to a new form of autocracy. In the light of these assumptions, the paper tries to look at the meaning of transition and the context within which it applies to South Africa; the role of key political actors and their strategic choices; and possible outcomes to the process. Because transitional politics in South Africa is so

fast-moving and unpredictable, the paper focuses on the time period between February 1990 and September 1992.[26]

1095. Van Vuuren, W., 'Transition Politics and the Prospects of Democratic Consolidation in South Africa', *Politikon* 22, 1995.

1096. Van Wyk, B.J., 'The balance of power and South Africa's transition to democracy', Masters' dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2005.

1097. Van Zyl Slabbert, F., *The Quest for Democracy: South Africa in Transition*, Penguin, Johannesburg, 1992.

1098. Waldmeir, P., *Anatomy of a miracle: the end of apartheid and the birth of a New South Africa*, Penguin, London, 1997.

1099. Welsh, D., *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2009.

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[26] Van Nieuwkerk, A., 'Transitional politics in South Africa: From Confrontation to Democracy', Occasional Paper, South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, 1992, 1.

Chapter

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

1100. *81 MM Mortar,* by the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, 12 October 1978, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1101. Administrative Report Presented to the Administrative Committee of the Central Committee on April 30, 1979. By Henry Isaacs, Acting Administrative Secretary, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1102. APLA/PAC questionnaires, (The PAC archives have several boxes of questionnaires filled out by people applying to join APLA), PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1103. Army Leadership Discussion Paper on Current Party- Programme, dated 1992, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1104. Autobiography of Goodman Phiri, 3 Apri11989, on his application to join the PAC, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1105. Autobiography of Patrick Tseko Mokoakoa, 11 February 1991, on his application to join APLA, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1106. *Azania Combat: Official Organ of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army,* Issue No. 5*,* Quarterly, 1987, Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives Historical Papers Section, Political Organizations, Box 1-29.

1107. Azanian People's Liberation Army Military Leadership Code of Conduct, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1108. Azanian Peoples Liberation Army Service Offences, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1109. The basic document of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa*,* March 1965, Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives Historical Papers Section, Political Organizations, Box 1-35.

1110. Battersby, J., 'Running with the PAC', *Work in Progress*, September 1993.

1111. Bethal Trial Records, Department of Historical Papers Collection, University of the Witwatersrand.

1112. Bolnick, J., "Potlako Leballo: The man who hurried to meet his destiny," The *Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 29, No.3, 1991, 413-442.

This is an account of the early life of a widely regarded hero of resistance in South Africa who constantly betrayed the absurdity, the hypocrisy, and the staggering human frailty of the modern leader. In later years Potlako Kitchener Leballo also gained renown as a mesmerising orator who lived to dramatise, to command the centre of attention, to captivate listeners with impassioned stories. Having grown up in a world of oral culture it is not surprising that he expressed himself best in the spoken rather than the written word. Leballo's autobiographical sketches, which have been recorded piecemeal by numerous authors, are festooned with exaggerations, illusions, and ambiguities. However, he was an intelligent fabricator of information, with a talent for fitting a story into its appropriate context. This alone makes him an exciting subject for a biography, since the reconstruction of his life and its links to the social structure provide stiff tests for the sleuthing and analytical skills of the researcher.[27]

1113. Booyse, W.J., 'The re-emergence of the PAC;, *Freedom Bulletin*, (9), September 1987, 1-4.

1114. Booyse, W.J., 'The concept "people's war" in the strategy of the ANC and the PAC: A comparative analysis', D. Phil. Thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1990.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a comparative analysis of the concept "people's war" as it manifest itself in the strategies of the ANC and the PAC. The concept "people's war" within the framework of this thesis is seen as a product and manifestation of revolution as a twentieth century phenomenon. This specific approach forced one to evaluate revolution within its historical and philosophical context as a twentieth century phenomenon in chapter two. Accordingly a variety of theories and approaches were identified that have had a direct bearing on the revolutionary thought in the Third World in the twentieth century. As a result it was necessary to briefly discuss revolutionary warfare models. Chapter three serves as the pivot of the study in that it is in this chapter where the four components that constitute a people's war were developed. According to available research material this is the first theoretical framework ever developed according to which it may be determined whether a revolution constitutes a people's war revolution or not. The four component of the concept "people's war" namely: nationalism, the revolutionary party, the people's army and the united front therefore serve as the basis according to which the strategies of the ANC and the PAC are compared.[28]

1115. Command Report, written by M. Koli, Commander, marked as received by headquarters in Tanzania on 16 May 1987, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1116. Confidential M.C. Directive to APLA, undated, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1117. Constitution of the Veterans Association of South Africa, no date, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1118. Corporal Punishment (C.P.) In the PAC, as a Disciplinary Measure, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

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[27] Bolnick, J., "Potlako Leballo: The man who hurried to meet his destiny," The *Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 29, No.3, 1991, 413.

[28] Booyse, W.J., 'The concept "people's war" in the strategy of the ANC and the PAC: A comparative analysis', D. Phil. Thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1990, x.

1119. Cox, R., *Pan-Africanism in Practice: PAFMECSA 1958-1964*, Oxford University Press, London, 1964.

1120. Daniels, R., 'Message of Paarl POQO Record is Indisputable', in *Azanian Combat*,

1121. Davis, S.M., *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's Hidden War,* Cape Town, AD. Donker, 1987.

1122. Dimpho, M., 'PAC strategy of people's war lays emphasis on rural warfare', *Azania Combat*, (6), 1988, 11-12.

1123. Discipline of the Battlefield, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1124. Dlamini, M., *Robben Island Hell-Hole. Reminiscences of a Political Prisoner in South Africa*, Africa World Press, Trenton, New Jersey, not dated.

1125. Domingos, P. 'APLA plays its part as true people's army', *Azania Combat*, (61), 1988, 14-16.

1126. Driver, C.J., *Patrick Duncan: South African and Pan-African*, James Currey, Oxford, 2000.

1127. Ebrahim, G. 'ANC coopting NACTU', *PAC Newsletter*, August, 1988, 1-4.

1128. Glaser, C., 'When are they going to fight? Tsotsis, Youth Politics and the PAC', in Bonner, P., Delius, P. and Posel, D. (eds.), *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935-1962*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1993.

1129. Hlongwane, A. 'To Independence Now! Tomorrow the United States of Africa: The Story of Zephania Lekoame Mothopeng (1913 to 1990)', Master of Arts Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand. 2002.

1130. Hlongwane, A. 'Reflections on the Pan Africanist Congress 'Underground' in the Era of the 1976 Youth Uprisings', *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.3, no.4, December 2009.

> The 1976 uprisings have given rise to extensive academic research, party polemics and a diverse literary output in genres like poetry and fiction. Academic research has focused largely on the causes of the 1976 uprisings and their impact on the South African political scene; on the significance of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and its philosophy in directly or indirectly shaping the politics of a large section of the student population of the time; on the state in the 1970s; and on the role of the then outlawed liberation movements like the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC). This article looks at the PAC in this era: at its state of organisation, at attempts to revive the organisation's underground machinery within South Africa and at how it developed its political theory in the context of exile. In particular, it investigates the impact of the 1976 uprisings on the thought and practice of the organisation.

1131. Hlongwane, A., *We are our own liberators. A Biography of John Nyati Pokela (1921-1985),* unpublished manuscript.

1132. Isaacs, H., *Struggles within the Struggle: An inside view of the PAC of South Africa,* unpublished manuscript, (not dated, but from the mid-1980s).

1133. Isaacs, H.E., 'Full Circle: Reflections on Home and Exile', MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2002.

1134. Junior Command and Staff Course, Phase 3, Junior Division the Staff College: Military Intelligence and Security, dated 1991, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1135. Ka Plaatjie, T., 'Factionalism, Misrepresentation and Power Struggle in the PAC 1966-1978: A Working Paper*',* Presented at the South African Historical Association Conference, University of Western Cape 11-14 July 1999.

1136. Ka Plaatjie, T., 'The PAC's internal underground activities, 1960-1980', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

   The key underground activities of the PAC, mainly insurgent activities of Poqo, occurred after two major aboveground actions: the March 1960 anti-pass campaign that ended with the Sharpeville massacre; and the march on parliament in Cape Town at the end of the same month. Leadership conflicts, however, became a feature of PAC politics that was to affect the organisation virtually throughout its existence. This chapter begins by examining how leadership conflicts affected the activities of the PAC inside the country in the 1960s. For a large part of the 1960s the PAC was in disarray, with a considerable number of its leaders and members sentenced to short terms of imprisonment for their actions during the anti-pass campaign. Consequently, it was only in 1961 that the leaders who had escaped imprisonment and those who had been released from prison were able to regroup. This set in motion plans for the underground activity of Poqo. A brief analysis of Poqo activities is included, with emphasis on activity after the series of arrests in 1963. In the1970s an attempt was made, largely by PAC members released from prison in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to revive the internal underground. Zephania Mothopeng, John Ganya, Mark Shinners and others played a leading role in establishing contact with the external mission of the PAC, recruiting new members to the PAC, establishing underground cells, and sending recruits outside the country.

1137. Ka Plaatjie, T., 'The PAC in exile', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

   In this chapter, the exile experience of the PAC is covered, beginning with the establishment of external offices, the formation of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA), and its activities until the late 1970s. However, no sooner had the PAC established itself in exile than it began to experience leadership problems again; these plagued the organisation throughout its exile, and this study focuses on these upheavals as a background to the 1969 Moshi conference, as well as their impact on the organisation's armed struggle. The outbreak of the student uprising on 16 June in Soweto helped to swell the ranks of the PAC with large numbers of student recruits, and its military wing was boosted. The significance of this influx of

new members is analysed and it is shown how this exacerbated the tensions between Potlako Leballo and Templeton Ntantala. Reference is also made to the events leading to the decisive Arusha Conference in 1978 and the expulsion of Ntantala and his faction from both the PAC and the leadership of the APLA High Command. The Bethal Treason Trial of the PAC's internal leadership is also briefly examined, with particular reference to its impact on the conduct of the armed struggle.

1138. Kondlo, K.M., 'In the twilight of the Azanian Revolution: The exile history of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania 1960-1990', D. Litt. Et. Phil. thesis, Rand Afrikaans University, 2003.

> Very little has been written on this subject, especially during the exile period, which is covered by the research. As a result, a lacuna exists in our understanding of 20th century history of the liberation struggle in South Africa. This study is an attempt to reconstruct aspects of the missing link. It locates the exile history of the Pan Africanist Congress within a broader framework of political developments in Southern Africa. By so doing a wide canvas of factors essential to the colouring of this period are brought to the fore. The study therefore focuses on the internal conflicts in the PAC and how they impacted on the functioning of the organisation during the exile period. The thesis traces the events which led to the banning of the PAC and demonstrates how the organisation re-established itself in exile. Most importantly, it focuses on a critical period which existing scholarly works and even popular literature has overlooked, i.e. the period between 1960 to 1962. The thesis traces the re-formation of the PAC's official infrastructure in Lesotho. It proceeds to examine the organisational developments and internal conflicts at the headquarters of the PAC in Tanzania from 1964 to 1990. It examines sources of conflict during various periods of leadership, i.e. from P.K. Leballo (1962 - 1979), Vusumzi Make period (1979-1981), Nyathi John Pokela (1981-1985) to Johnson Mlambo (1985-1990). In the last two chapters the thesis examines conditions inside PAC camps and the evolution of the PAC's military strategy as sources of conflict. In all the chapters, the permeating theme is that the PAC lacked solid organisational foundations, which manifested in the lack of clear organisational policies respected by everyone, including the leadership of the organisation. The thesis concludes that the history of the PAC in exile is an example of how poor organisational structures can immobilize the progress of a liberation movement.

1139. Leeman, B., *Lesotho and the Struggle for Azania: Africanist Political Movements in Lesotho and Azania: The Origins and History of the Basotholand Congress Party and the Pan Africanist Congress,* University of Azania, London, 1985.

1140. Leeman, B., 'The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania', in Alexander, P., Hutchison, R. and Schreuder, D. (eds), *Africa Today: A Multi-Disciplinary Snapshot of the Continent in* 1995, Canberra: The Humanities Research Centre, The Australian National University.

1141. Letter from Bunga Glen Mpukane to Joe Mkwanazi, 20 June 1983, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1142. Letter from El Sayed El Khouly, Ambassador- Embassy of the Arab Repulic of Egypt, Tanzania to the PAC, dated 7 January 1992, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1143. Letter from Joe Mkwanazi, PAC Administrative Secretary to H. E. Foreign Minister Guinea, dated 3 January 1987, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1144. Letter from Joe Mkwanzai, PAC Adminstrative Secretary to H. E. Foreign Minister Sierra Leone, dated 3 January 1987, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1145. Letter from Johnson Mlambo to H. E. Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of Workers Party of Ethiopia, Provo Military Adminitrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia, Commander in Chief of Revolutionary Armed Forces, dated 20 July 1987, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1146. Letter from Johnson Mlambo to Minister of Defence and National Security for Guinea, dated 21 February 1992, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1147. Letter from W. Mwaipyana of the office of the Prime Minister of Tanzania to the Chief Representative of the PAC, and from W. N. Kaihula of the same office to the Chief Rep, 1979 and 1980, PAC archives at the University of Fort Hare.

1148. Letter from Leballo to 0. B. Bull, 14 May I947; correspondence re. Lovedale riots, Cory Library, Grahamstown.

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> This article examines the activities of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in the former British Protectorate of Basutoland (Lesotho), where the organisation set up its first external headquarters from 1962 to 1965. Following a spell of disorientation in the aftermath of Sharpeville, the PAC leadership (under the command of general secretary P.K. Leballo) gradually regrouped in Maseru where they established a strategic base thanks to the fraternal and material support they received from Ntsu Mokhehle's Basutoland Congress Party (BCP). Here they began to plot a violent uprising in coordination with underground units in South Africa, first in 1963 and again in 1964. The reasons for the failure of both these attempts are analysed in terms of the PAC's exile politics with specific reference to the Basutoland political context. Lastly, the article considers both the immediate and long-term consequences of the Basutoland experience for the PAC exile history.

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> This paper analyses the oral testimonies of former members of AZANYU in Thembisa Township, in the East Rand, South Africa. They provide a rare view to the "hidden histories and untold stories" about the role played by former members of AZANYU in the struggle for liberation in the 1980s and early 1990s. It is argued that the primary reason for the under-documentation2 (i.e. hidden history or untold story) of the role of AZANYU in the struggle against apartheid lies in the reluctance, if not outright refusal, by the former members of AZANYU to be interviewed about their activities and about their organisation's history. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that the former members of AZANYU who had agreed to be interviewed were themselves not willing to speak about some of the activities they were directly or indirectly involved in. This was especially the case when interviewing those members who, at a later stage, had joined the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) – the Pan Africanist Congress' (PAC) military wing. This is in contrast to the willingness and readiness by former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK or Spear of the Nation) to discuss any matter relating to their involvement in MK and their military activities.

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> On 21 March 1960, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe led a mass defiance of South Africa's pass laws. He urged blacks to go to the nearest police station and demand arrest. Police opened fire on a peaceful crowd in the township of Sharpeville and killed 69 people. The protest changed the course of South Africa's history. Afrikaner rule stiffened and black resistance went underground. International opinion hardened against apartheid. Sobukwe, leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, was jailed for three years for incitement. At the end of his sentence the government, fearful of his power, rushed the so-called 'Sobukwe Clause' through Parliament, to keep him in prison without a trial. For the next six years, Sobukwe was kept in solitary confinement on Robben Island, the infamous apartheid prison near Cape Town. On his release, Sobukwe was banished to the town of Kimberley with very severe restrictions on his freedom. He died there nine years later in February 1978. This book is the story of this South African hero – the lonely prisoner on Robben Island. It is also the story of the friendship between Robert Sobukwe and Benjamin Pogrund whose joint experiences and debates chart the course of a tyrannous regime and the growth of black resistance.

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> The author of this contribution examines the role that Cape Town played in the advent of Pan-Africanism in South Africa from abroad through the activist efforts of individuals from the West Indies, United States of America (USA) and West Africa in the early twentieth century. He traces how Pan-Africanism in Cape Town went through a number of different phases, the most important politically being that of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959-60.

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This article explores the evasions, omissions, and twists that made possible the black and white liberation history that are currently consumed. To do so the activities of the Congo, or iKongo movement, is probed into as well as that of and Poqo. It is done through the story of police detective Donald Card, who had been involved in almost every significant event in South African history the past five decades. The why of certain events and developments, including crime under the cloak of politics, are often ignored or romanticised. This included charges of torture and brutality, pushed so readily into the public domain – as in *Red Dust*, the latest drama on torture in South Africa.

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This thesis is concerned with an uprising which occurred during the early morning hours of the 22nd of November 1962 in Paarl- a small agricultural town some 60 kilometres northeast of Cape Town. On this occasion a group of about 250 men,armed with axes, pangas and other home-made weapons, marched from the nearby Mbekweni township to the police station in the town's centre. An event, which lasted no more than three hours, left seven dead and several wounded in its wake. The thesis is concerned with the ways in which the Paarl march had been constructed and written at multiple levels, and asks whether we can move beyond this representation. At a historiographical level it raises the question of how one thinks through a fragment of history and explores such a small event which erupts at one moment and then seems to disappear, without consigning it to the margins of a resistance framework dominated by the history of the ANC.[29]

1218. Van Laun, B.P., 'Of bodies captured: the visual representation of the Paarl march and Poqo in apartheid South Africa', *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies*, Volume 40, Issue 1, 2014, Special Issue: African Photographies: Iterations with Difference I, 43-65.

This article examines the visual representation of the violent march on the Western Cape town of Paarl in November 1962, and the place of photographs as employed by the media, a state-appointed commission of inquiry, and a series of judicial trials in the making of this event and its subjects. It is particularly concerned with a file of photographs of men accused of participating in the march, as a means to potentially enabling more complex and nuanced readings of the uprising than those provided by the textual archive surrounding the event. It considers the ways in which these photographs were used and why, while seemingly meant to give a face to a united Poqo organisation they never take on an altogether-public life. Clearly photographic occasions which were not as rigidly controlled as one would expect from police photographs, these

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[29] Van Laun, B.P., 'In the Shadows of the Archive: Investigating the Paarl march of November 22nd 1962', ma Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2012, 2-3.

photographs reference a multiplicity of genres. Yet at the same time, as the products of police surveillance, they remain deeply complicit in discourses of power and subjectification.[30]

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1221. Von den Steinen, L., 'Experiencing the Armed Struggle: The Soweto Generation and After', PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, June 2007.

> This study explores the experiences of the rank-and-file soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Anny. Extensive interviews by the author and other researchers reveal the voices of the soldiers themselves. The African National Congress and Pan African Congress archives at the University of the Western Cape and the University of Fort Hare supplement and verify these oral testimonies, as do some published sources. Most previously published materials about the armed struggle against apartheid have already focused on diplomacy, strategy and tactics, operations, leadership, and human rights abuses to the neglect of the soldiers' actual experiences. This study complements these with significant new oral history materials from the Soweto generation of soldiers and their successors. When dealing with MK, many authors have documented issues of the camp structure in Angola, and operations inside South Africa, so much of this detail is only addressed briefly, leaving space to explore the soldiers' experiences. In the case of APLA, very little has been written on its history, and more detail is provided on these subjects. This study therefore deals with the soldiers' politicisation and motivation for joining the armed struggle, their experiences in leaving South Africa and training in exile, the crises in exile which limited their effectiveness for a time, their return to fight in South Africa, and their difficulties in the "new" South Africa. These materials reveal that vast problems remain facing these veterans of the struggle against apartheid, and that they have the potential, if properly supported and employed, to contribute substantially to the development of present day South Africa. Conversely, if their neglect continues, they also have the potential to bring vast harm to the country. Further use of the investigative tools of oral history, especially if extended to the former soldiers' vernacular languages, is necessary to augment the history of South Africa, and these soldiers' contributions.

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Chapter

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

1223.   Aitchison, J., 'The civil war in Natal', in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds.), *South African Review 5*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1989, 457-473.

1224.   Aitchison, J., 'The origins of the Midlands War', in D.R. Greenstein (ed.), *The role of political violence in South Africa's Democratisation*, Johannesburg, CASE, 2003.

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1239. Bonnin, D., 'Class Consciousness and Conflict in the Natal Midlands, 1940-1987: The case of BTR Sarmcol workers', MSoc Sci dissertation, University of Natal, Durban, 1988.

1240. Bonnin, D., 'Understanding the legacies of political violence: An examination of political conflict in Mpumalanga Township, Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa', Working Paper no. 44, Crisis State Programme, Development Research Centre, London School of Economics, 2004.

> This paper explores the severe rupture that occurred in the politics of KwaZulu-Natal in the mid 1980s. This rupture is captured in the violent form political conflict took as it griped the province during the latter 1980s and early 1990s. This broader process is examined through an investigation of local level political violence in Mpumalanga Township. During the 1980s, Mpumalanga Township (located about half way between Pietermaritzburg and Durban) was one of the areas most acutely affected by political violence. In order to understand how this rupture occurred and its consequences, it is necessary to look back at a complex set of processes that interlocked over space and time. Violence, it is argued, is embedded in the articulation between local, regional and national dynamics. There are complex relationships between, on the one hand, political interests, social groups and organisational forms, and on the other, the dynamics of gender and generation, with both feeding into political violence.[31]

1241. Bonner, P. and Ndima, V., 'The roots of violence and martial Zuluness on the East Rand' in Benedict Carton, John Laband, and Jabulani Sithole (eds), *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu past and present*, Columbia University Press, New York, NY, 2009.

1242. Bonnin, D. 'Space, Place and Identity: Political Violence in Mpumalanga Township, KwaZulu, 1987-93', Ph.D Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2007.

1243. Bonnin, D., Hamilton, G., Morrell, R. and Sitas, A., 'The struggle for Natal and KwaZulu workers, township dwellers and Inkatha, 1972-1985', in R. Morrell (ed.), *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal*, Durban, Indicator Press, 1996.

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1244. Bonnin, D., 'Spatiality in the construction of identity: African women and political violence in KwaZulu-Natal', *Society in Transition.* 1-4 (1997), 27-42.

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> An examination of political conflict in Mpumalanga Township, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa between supporters of the ANC-aligned United Democratic Front (UDF) on the one hand, and the Zulu ethnic movement, Inkatha, on the other. The article explores the origins of the conflict in the region, and the specific features it took in the township. This closely focused case study provides an opportunity to examine continuities and shifts in the nature of violence, the ways in which conflicts played out on the larger regional political stage act to shape local-level interests and alliances, and the ways in which political identities are shaped by the relationships people build in the particular spaces of households and neighbourhoods.

1246. Bonnin, D., 'Political Violence – Disrupting Ways of 'Doing' Politics: An Exploration of Organisational and Political Life in Mpumalanga Township, 1970s-1980s', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol. 29, 2011.

> This paper is concerned with looking at the dynamics of the local in the township of Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal. As a result of its history and particular circumstances Mpumalanga Township is an ideal location to investigate political violence. It was built in the late 1960s as a model township to accommodate the increasing squatter problem in the Hammarsdale area – an industrial decentralisation point. It also provided a labour force for the Hammarsdale textile factories. Political violence began in late 1986, intensified during 1987 and continued until 1991. As the records of the Unrest Monitoring Project indicated, it was one of the worst affected areas in Natal. A peace pact signed in late 1989 had little effect and large scale attacks on certain sections of the township continued well into 1990. Large areas of the township were emptied and many residents were refugees for over a year. However, by 1992 the peace pact began to have some influence, residents returned and today many outsiders regard Mpumalanga Township as a model of peace. It will demonstrate that townships like Mpumalanga did have, prior to political violence, accepted ways of doing politics. People and organisations, both political and community-orientated, were known to each other. There were established repertoires around the tolerance of organisational diversity; the exchange of ideas; ways of disagreeing; and, respect for generational wisdom and patriarchal authority. However, these accepted ways of doing politics were disrupted over a number of years by a long series of exchanges and interventions that gradually undermined the existing repertoires and increasingly shifted the terrain of politics towards violence. This paper maps this process by looking at the period immediately prior to the violence in Mpumalanga Township and plots in detail the events that disrupted the established 'ways of doing politics'. At some point in the mid-1980s these tacit understandings of how to do politics were disrupted. The 'new' way of doing politics was characterised by violent political struggles between supporters of the UDF and Inkatha.

1247. Bornman, E., Muthien, Y. van Eeden, R. and Wentzel, M. (eds), *Violence in South Africa: A Variety of Perspectives*, HSRC Press, Pretoria, 1998.

1248. Catholic Institute for International Relations, *Now Everyone Is Afraid: The Changing Face of Policing in South Africa*, London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1988.

1249. Charney, C., 'Vigilantes, Clientalism, and the South African State', African Studies Seminar Paper, African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 30th September 1991.

> This paper argues vigilantism is the continuation of clientelist politics by other means, to paraphrase Clausewitz's dictum on war. Drawing on South African experience and other cases, counter-revolutionary vigilantism is defined as the unlicensed use of private violence to defend an oligarchic clientelist state under popular challenge. It has emerged when patronage-based power structures were threatened from below, preying upon cleavages within the groups in revolt. It is extralegal because of institutionalised, if restricted, competition for power in the central state and decentralised due to the brokerage role of local elites. Current manifestations seem connected to the emphasis on such local leaders in 'low-intensity conflict1, the post-Vietnam doctrine of indigenised counterinsurgency. In other words, political vigilantism is a type of violence characterising certain dependent societies.

1250. Charney, C. 'Vigilantes, Clientelism, and the South African State', in *Transformation*, 16, 1991.

1251. Chaskalson, M. and Seekings, J., 'The Awakening: Desparation and Defiance', in Mark Bennett and Deborah Quin (Research Co-ordinators) *Political Conflict in South Africa: Data Trends, 1984-88 An Indicator South Africa Issue Focus*, December 1988.

1252. Cock, J., 'Political Violence', in Brian McKendrick and Wilma Hoffman (eds.) *People and Violence in South Africa*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1990.

1253. Cock, J., *Colonels and Cadres: War and Gender in South Africa,* Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1991.

1254. Cooper, S., 'Political violence in South Africa: The role of the youth', *A Journal of Opinion*, 22, No. 2, 1994, 27-29.

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1256. Davis, N.Z., 'Kinikini's Crude Revenge: Kwa Nobuhle, January 4, 1987', *Eastern Cape Monitor*, 1(1), 1987: 1-10.

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1258. De Haas, M., 'Violence in Natal and Zululand: the 1980s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013.

1259. De Haas, M., 'Violence in Natal and Zululand: the 1990s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013.

1260. De Kock, E., *A Long Night's Damage: Working for the apartheid state*, Contra Press, Johannesburg, 1998.

1261. Denis, P., 'The churches' response to political violence in the last years of apartheid: the case of Mpophomeni in the Natal Midlands', *Studia Hist. Ecc.*, vol.39, no.1, Pretoria May 2013.

> This article discusses the role of the Christian churches in the political conflict that engulfed the black township of Mpophomeni near Howick in the 1980s and early 1990s. It argues that, despite obvious limitations, this role was significant, much more than in other violence-affected areas of Natal. The dismissal of the entire workforce of BRT Sarmcol in May 1985, many of whom lived in Mpophomeni, and their replacement by scabs from Inkatha-dominated areas triggered a cycle of deadly attacks and counterattacks, which only ended in 1993. A collection of oral testimonies, gathered at the time of the conflict and supplemented in recent years as part of a community project, shows that the Mpophomeni residents felt supported by the Christian churches, which provided material assistance to the unemployed, procured land for their cooperative, buried the victims of their enemies, helped the refugees to settle, testified on the involvement of the police in the conflict and supported the efforts of reconstruction. Some residents interpreted their history in religious terms, using biblical analogies. The churches' involvement in the Mpophomeni conflict, however, must be put in perspective. They did not drive the struggle for justice and reparation of the Mpophomeni people; they only supported it. The main impetus came from the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), to which the majority of Sarmcol workers belonged, and from a wide range of anti-apartheid activists - including health professionals, cultural workers, academics and journalists - attracted to the township by the trade unions.

1262. Denis, P., "'Men of the Cloth': The Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa, Inkatha and the Struggle against Apartheid", Journal of Southern African Studies, Volume 34, Issue 2, 2008, 305-324.

> On 25 August 1985, a crowd of a hundred people, led by the mayor of Imbali, Patrick Pakkies, and a member of the KwaZulu Legislature, Velaphi Ndlovu, demanded that the staff and students of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern of Africa (Fedsem) leave their premises by the following Friday, allegedly because they had been instrumental in the school boycott and the street demonstrations organised the same month by the youth in protest against the Imbali Township Council. The seminary community left the area, but they won an interim interdict and came back two weeks later. It is to the history of this episode that this paper is devoted. Did the seminary constitute a threat to the authority of the Imbali Council? To some extent, the Imbali residents who accused Fedsem of being involved in the politics of the township were right. Since the time of the seminary's expropriation from the land it occupied in Alice, staff and students had multiplied the acts of defiance against the apartheid regime. Yet, with a few exceptions,

none of them played an active role in the democratic movement. Clearly, the Imbali residents and their leaders overestimated their influence upon the local youth. Many of them belonged to the very churches that were sending their candidates for the ministry to Fedsem. For them, this institution was nothing other than a terrorist organisation. Chief Buthelezi, who had been supportive of the seminary during its early years, refused to discipline his supporters. The Department of Development Aid, under whose jurisdiction Fedsem fell, would have liked to close the seminary, but it never managed to prove that it represented a threat to law and order.

1263.   Denis, P, Ntsimane, R. and Cannel, T., *Indians versus Russians: An oral history of political violence in Nxamalala (1987–1993)*, Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg, 2010.

1264.   De Villiers, R., 'Inkatha and the State: UDF under attack', *Work in Progress*, 39, 1985.

1265.   Ellis, S., 'The historical significance of South Africa's third force', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 2 (1998), 261–99.

1266.   FEDTRAW, *A Woman's Place is in the Struggle, Not Behind Bars!* Johannesburg: FEDTRAW, n.d.

1267.   Forsyth, P., *Pietermaritzburg Conflict Chronology: Political Developments in Pietermaritzburg, 1980–1986* (Pietermaritzburg: Department of Historical Studies, University of Natal, 1991.

1268.   Foster, D. and Haupt. P. (eds), *The Theaters of Violence: Narratives of Protagonists in the South African Conflict:* Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2005.

1269.   Gobodo-Madikizela, P., 'Legacies of Violence: An In-Depth Analysis of Two Case Studies based on Interviews with Perpetrators of a "Necklace" Murder and with Eugene de Kock', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1999.

1270.   Gottschalk, K., 'The Rise and Fall of Apartheid's Death Squads, 1969–93', in B. Campbell and A. Brenner (eds), *Death Squads in Global Perspective: Murder with Deniability*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2000.

1271.   Greenstein, R. (ed.), *The role of political violence in South Africa's democratisation*, Johannesburg, CASE, 2003.

1272.   Guelke, A., 'Interpretations of political violence during South Africa's transition', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 27:2, 239-254.

This article evaluates conflicting interpretation s of political violence during South Africa's transition between 1990 and 1994. Its point of departure is the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). It is argued that the 'third force' interpretation favoured by the TRC does not provide a convincing explanation of the violence, especially after the Record of Understanding of September 1992. Alternative explanations, including that the violence was the product of political competition among parties contending for power in post-apartheid South

Africa, are analysed. It is also contended that hitherto accounts of the transition have tended to underestimate the impact that violence had on the country's political transformation.

1273. Gultig, J., and Hart, M., "The World is Full of Blood': Youth, Schooling and Conflict in Pietermaritzburg, 1987-1989", *Perspectives in Education,* 11, 2, 1990.

1274. Gump, J. 'Unveiling the Third Force: Toward Transitional Justice in the USA and South Africa, 1973–1994', *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, Volume 15, Issue 1, 2014, 75-100.

>This study compares the American and South African security responses to perceived communist-inspired insurgencies—the American Indian Movement in the USA and the United Democratic Front/African National Congress in South Africa. In each instance, the governments employed third force techniques by utilizing surrogates, informants, provocateurs, and hit squads. As a result, these official entities became complicit in the criminal political violence that ravaged the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, KwaZulu-Natal, and the Rand townships between 1973 and 1994. This study also examines how investigative commissions in each country endeavored to expose official misconduct and hold these agencies accountable for their actions. Despite the differences in the scale of each insurgency as well as the overall purpose of each counterinsurgency campaign, this article finds common ground in the rationale, implementation, and effects of the security responses in each country.

1275. Gwala, N., 'Political Violence and the Struggle for Control in Pietermaritzburg', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3, April 1989.

>The violence in PMB has been the most publicised in the country during the second half of 1987, and yet the least understood in terms of the political dynamics behind it. The focus of the paper will be Edendale, the second largest township in PMB. This paper will look into the following aspects. Firstly, a social and economic profile of the PMB townships, with particular emphasis on Edendale, including some administrative aspects of these townships. Secondly, an attempt will be made to explain the social and political interests battling for the control of Edendale. Thirdly, the basis of Inkatha's attempts at establishing its hegemony in PMB townships will be analysed. Lastly, the paper will conclude by drawing some lessons for the struggle against Inkatha in Natal.

1276. Gwala, N.I., "Inkatha, Confrontation and the Struggle for Control in Pietermaritzburg", Paper presented at the Centre for Adult Education Seminar on Violence, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1988.

1277. Gwala, N.I. "Class Alliances in the Struggle Against Inkatha", *South African Labour Bulletin,* Vol 13, No 3, March/April, 1988.

1278. Harris, P., 'The Role of Right-Wing Vigilantes in South Africa', in *States of Terror*, London: Catholic Institute of International Relations, 1989.

1279. Haysom, N., *Mabangalala: the Rise of Right-Wing Vigilantes in South Africa*, Johannesburg, Center for Applied Legal Studies, 1986.

1280. Haysom, N., *Natal's Killing Fields*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1990.

1281. Hindson, D. and Morris, M., 'Trying to Piece Together the Peace in Natal', *Work in Progress,* 69, 1990.

1282. Hindson, D., Byerley, M. and Morris, M., 'From violence to reconstruction: the making, disintegration and remaking of an apartheid city', *Antipode*, Volume 26, Issue 4, October 1994, 323–350.

> This article analyzes the relationship between violence and the racial city. It examines Durban's construction and disintegration in the context of unsuccessful apartheid reform, and traces corresponding distinct but overlapping stages of violence. Internecine violence of the latter 1980s constituted a racially displaced confrontation over political control and resources of the society transformed into internecine conflict within black residential areas, especially the urban peripheries. The violence was rooted in spatial and material differentiation reinforced by township and shantytown power structures, which clandestine state intervention accentuated. The article concludes by analyzing the new spatial and racial city forms, suggesting alternative urban reconstruction paths to redress the deeper causes of violence.

1283. Hughes, H., "Violence in Inanda, August 1985", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 13, 3, 1987.

1284. IBI and Peace Action, '"Before we were good friends": an account and analysis of displacement in the East Rand Townships of Thokoza and Katlehong', IBI and Peace Action, Johannesburg, April 1994.

1285. International Commission of Jurists, *Signposts to peace: an independent survey of the violence in Natal, South Africa*, December 1990.

1286. Jarstad, A.K., 'Local Peace Agreements: The Road to Peace and Democracy in KwaZulu-Natal?', Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, årg 112 nr 1, 2010.

> This study explores the role of local actors and institutions in mitigating political violence in the South African province KwaZulu Natal. In South Africa, democracy has been introduced successfully, but the transition from apartheid was not at all peaceful. In the run-up to the first democratic elections in 1994, all major parties participated in threats and intimidation and large-scale violence raged throughout the country. After the 1994 election, political violence ceased in most regions, but in KwaZulu Natal there are still outbursts of violence, in particular in relation to elections. At the national level, the power sharing agreement played an important role in facilitating the transition from apartheid towards democratic governance. The study explores the local dynamics in KwaZulu Natal by comparing societies with different types of mechanisms for conflict management – such as local peace agreements and power sharing – and different outcomes in terms of reduction of political violence.

1287. Jeffrey, A., *The Natal story: 16 years of conflict*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1997.

1288. Jili, P., 'The Seven Days War: A politically motivated carnage', Hons dissertation, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1998.

1289. Johnston, A., 'Politics and violence in KwaZulu-Natal', in Gutteridge, W.F. & Spence, J.E. (eds.), *Violence in Southern Africa,* Frank Cass, London, 1997, 79-107.

1290. Kane-Berman, J., *Political violence in South Africa*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1993.

1291. Kannemeyer, D. D. V., *Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Incident which Occurred on 21 March 1985 at Uitenhage*, Cape Town: Government Printer, 1985.

1292. Kentridge, M., *An Unofficial War: Inside the Conflict in Pietermaritzburg*, David Philip, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, 1990.

1293. Keys, R., 'March 27th and 28th 1990: Edendale/Vulindlela Valley, Pietermaritzburg', in Levine, Lou (ed.), *Faith in turmoil: the Seven Days War*, PACSA, Pietermaritzburg, 1999, 93-103.

1294. Klopp J. and Zuern, E., 'The Politics of Violence in Democratization: Lessons from Kenya and South Africa', Comparative Politics, 39, 2 (2007), 1–32.

1295. Krämer, M., 'Changing dynamics of collective violence. A case study of a peri-urban community in KwaZulu/Natal, South Africa', unpublished mimeo, 2002.

1296. Kynoch, G., 'Crime, conflict and politics in transition-era South Africa', *African Affairs*, 104, 416 (2005), 493–514.

> Despite the potentially catastrophic repercussions of South Africa's violent crime epidemic, little progress has been made in understanding why violence has persisted and even escalated since the end of apartheid in 1994. Adopting an historical approach that highlights the persistence of urban violence throughout the twentieth century, this article focuses on the criminal dimensions of the 'political' conflicts of the 1980s and 1990s. The advent of democracy was not in itself sufficient to erase a deeply entrenched culture of violence produced by decades of repressive racial policing, violent crime and social conflict. Moreover, politicized hostilities and the continuing deterioration of law and order structures in the final years of apartheid gave birth to various groups that engaged in criminal violence and provided favourable conditions for well established criminal networks. Such elements were unlikely to put down their guns and relinquish power simply because politicians declared the fighting to be over. Situating transition-era violence within its historic context and broadening the narrow conception of 'political' conflict enable us to better understand both this fractious period and the violence that continues to afflict South Africa.

1297. Kynoch, G., 'Reassessing transition violence: Voices from South Africa's township wars, 1990–4', *African Affairs*, Volume 112, Issue 447, 283-303.

Drawing on interviews with people involved in the communal violence that traumatized Thokoza and Katlehong townships in the early 1990s, this article challenges the received wisdom regarding transition violence in South Africa. Most significantly, it transcends the dominant narrative that African National Congress (ANC) supporters in the townships were under relentless attack by state security units known as the 'third force', along with the co-opted *impis* of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The evidence presented indicates that Inkatha was responsible for much of the violence, but that ANC-affiliated militants also conducted murderous campaigns. Some police commanders and their units initiated violence for political ends, but different police and military groups operated independently and lacked a uniform political orientation. Some favoured the IFP, some backed the ANC, while others were divided or indifferent. Thus, the narrative that casts the ANC as victims of a state-orchestrated onslaught versus the Inkatha sell-outs who opportunistically sided with the white government (and its security forces) does not accurately capture events on the ground in Thokoza and Katlehong, two of the townships most afflicted by transition violence. A more fractured, less partisan picture emerges from the voices of those who survived the township wars.

1298. Levine, L., *Faith in Turmoil: The Seven Days War*, Pietermaritzburg, Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, 1999.

1299. Liebenberg, I., 'The Quest for Liberation in South Africa: Contending Visions and Civil Strife, Diaspora and Transition to an Emerging Democracy', *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol 30, No 2, 2000.

This article is an attempt to outline and describe the organisations (and where applicable personalities) in an inclusive and descriptive research approach in what is termed "the struggle for liberation". This description by nature of South African politics, refers extensively to contending visions and ideologies, to various strategies for liberation and to the eventual transition from a minority state to an emerging democracy. Whereas other papers at this conference/chapters in this publication will refer to strategic and military aspects such as military history, historical military clashes, strategies and tactics, logistics and more contemporary issues such as force deployment and projection and peace operations, this chapter deals with socio-political history and the historical clash over power and scarce values that South Africa(ns) experienced during the 20th century. It is about the politics of difference and unity. And it is about reflections on (a) historical c1ash(es) for power. Further it is about the quest for liberation and democracy in South Africa by the ANC and others before and after the ANC.[32]

1300. Linscott, G., *Natal's killing fields: Roots of the conflict in Natal*: a selection of papers on violence in the colony and province presented at a workshop at the University of Natal on 25-26 October 1993, Pietermaritzburg: Department of Historical Studies, University of Natal, 1994, 81-89.

1301. Lutheran Theological Institute, Pietermaritzburg (LTI)

   a. W. Kistner Collections 1971A, Joint statement of the IFP and ANC, 29 January 1991.
   b. W. Kistner Collections, 3226A, A word of welcome to international mediators by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of IFP, 12 April 1994.

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[32] Liebenberg, I., 'The Quest for Liberation in South Africa: Contending Visions and Civil Strife, Diaspora and Transition to an Emerging Democracy', *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol 30, No 2, 2000, 127-8.

1302. Lyster, R., 'Introduction', in Levine, Lou (ed.), *Faith in turmoil: the Seven Days War*, PACSA, Pietermaritzburg, 1999, 12-14.

1303. Manganyi, C. and du Toit, A. (eds), *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa*, Southern, Halfway House, 1990.

1304. Maré, G. and Hamilton, G., *An Appetite for Power. Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of 'Loyal Resistance'*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987.

1305. Marinovich, G. and Silva, J., *The Bang Bang Club: Snapshots from a hidden war*, Arrow Books, London, 2001.

1306. Marks, M., *Young Warriors: Youth Politics, Identity and Violence in South Africa*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 2001.

1307. Maylam, 'The historical background to the Natal violence', in A. de V. Minnaar (ed.), *Conflict and Violence in Natal / Kwazulu: Historicial Perspectives*, HSRC, Pretoria, 1991, 68-77.

1308. McCarthy, J., and Swilling, M., 'South Africa's Emerging Politics of Bus Transportation', *Political Geography Quarterly*, 4, 1985.

1309. Mbona, M., 'The Church as a peace broker: the case of the Natal Church Leaders' Group and political violence in KwaZulu-Natal (1990-1994)', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, September 2011, 37(2), 245-269.

> Moves by the state to reform the political landscape in South Africa at the beginning of 1990 led to increased tension between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress in the province of Natal and the KwaZulu homeland. Earlier efforts by the Natal Church Leaders' Group to end hostilities through mediation had yielded minimal results. Hopes of holding the first general democratic election in April 1994 were almost dashed due to Inkatha's standoff position until the eleventh hour. This article traces the role played by church leaders in seeking to end the bloody clashes taking place at that time by engaging with the state and the rival political parties between 1990 and 1994. Despite the adoption of new strategies, challenges such as internal divisions, blunders at mediation, and the fact that the church leaders were also "political sympathisers", hampered progress in achieving peace. While paying tribute to the contribution of other team players, this article argues that an ecumenical initiative was responsible for ending the politically motivated brutal killings in KwaZulu-Natal in the early years of 1990.

1310. Melander, E., 'The Limits of Manipulation Theory: The Apartheid Third Force and the ANC-Inkatha Conflict in South Africa', Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy, Volume 8, Issue 4 (Oct 2002).

> The paradox that the overwhelming majority of the fatalities in the political violence during the Apartheid era and the transition to democracy in South Africa were blacks killed by other blacks has in some previous analyses been explained as the consequence of manipulation by the

security agencies of the regime, the secretive so-called Third Force. The case of the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, however, points up a crucial weakness in the manipulation explanation for civil violence in general, and ethnic conflict in particular, namely – how come other actors would allow themselves to be manipulated into taking actions which they know will be very costly and risky? The conclusion of this study is that the manipulation strategy employed by the Third Force to some extent influenced the character of the war between the ANC and Inkatha, but did not cause that war. Instead, the actors' rational pursuit of their own interests under conditions of uncertainty provides a better account for the escalating conflict.

1311.   Merret, C., 'A small civil war: political conflict in the Pietermaritzburg region in the 1980s and early 1990s', *Natalia* 43 (2013), 19– 36.

During the single week from 25 to 31 March 1990 a small-scale war took place to the west of Pietermaritzburg. According to the Truth and ReconciliationCommission (TRC), 200 people died and 20 000 were displaced. They were mainly from Ashdown, Caluza, Mpumuza, Gezubuso, KwaShange and KwaMnyandu in the lower Vulindlela and Edendale areas. There are no figures for those who were injured or disabled.2 Twenty years later ruined, abandoned buildings were still to be found from what became known as the Seven Day War.3 At the same time, with superior media coverage, the battle for Beirut was taking place across the Green Line between Syrian forces and General Michel Auon's Lebanese army: 300 people were killed and 1 200 injured.

1312.   Merret, C., 'Gender, age and the politicisation of space during the time of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa', *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, Volume 21, Issue 5, 2014, 550-566.

This article examines the way in which the modality of the political violence between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front politicised space in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The article demonstrates how place is actively produced through everyday practices. It shows how the spatiality of the violence shifted – from the body to multiple sites of everyday life such as the school and the household and finally to the neighbourhood. Residents were drawn into the violence differentially on the basis of their gender and age, rather than political beliefs and affiliations. Places were politicised in ways that linked their meaning to the political identity of those found in that space. By presenting a spatialised analysis of the political violence, and illustrating how the production of place articulated with the co-production of political identities, this article makes a novel contribution to the existing literature on political violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

1313.   Minnaar, A., 'Patterns of Violence: Case Study of Conflict in Natal during the 1980s and 1990s', in Anthony Minnaar (ed.) *Patterns of Violence: Case Studies of Conflict in Natal*, HSRC Publishers, Pretoria, 1992.

1314.   Minnaar, A., 'The "Third Force": In retrospect', in C. Schutte, I. Liebenberg, and A. Minnaar (eds), *The Hidden Hand: Covert Operations in South Africa*, 2nd edn, Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1998.

1315.   Mkhondo, R., *Reporting South Africa*, Heinemann, Portsmouth, NH, 1993.

1316. Moossage, R., 'The Impasse of Violence: Writing Necklacing into a History of Liberation Struggle in South Africa', M.A. thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2010.

1317. Morris, M. and Hindson, D., 'Political Violence and Urban Reconstruction in South Africa', unpublished paper, July 1991.

1318. Naidoo, K., 'The politics of youth resistance in the 1980s: the dilemmas of a differentiated Durban', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18:1 (1991), 143-165.

> Africans and Asians and 'Coloureds' have been victims of government policy, and have come to accept racial designations. That itself is an acceptance of the doctrine that has been preached. We are not however something or the other. And indeed, in the Government of the country, we are not anything, in the passing of laws, in the adoption of national policies, we are not anything What we have got to try to teach our people is to reject these concepts, but we will have to substitute something in their place. Asians have been told to regard themselves as Africans if they elected to make Africa their home. Now, the question is how do they do this? Of course, it is not sufficient to regard themselves as Africans, we have also to do the regarding, we have to accept them as Africans. How does this work out in practice? It is not easy to say. Sometimes we glorify ourselves into saying we are all South Africans. But for the moment we are not anything, not South Africans.

1319. Napier, C. and Mtimkulu, P., *Pietermaritzburg's Sobantu Village: A case study of control and violence in a Natal Township*, Pretoria, Department of Development Administration and Politics, Occasional Paper No. 1, University of South Africa, 1989.

1320. Natal Diocesan Archives, Pietermaritzburg (DN).

   a. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.2, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 7 May 1988.
   b. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.23, Minutes of the NCLG meeting, 3 July 1989.
   c. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.81, Minutes of NCLG special meeting, 26 January 1990.
   d. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.82, The Natal Crisis, Memorandum presented by John Aitchison to Minister of Law and Order, 29 January 1990.
   e. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.114, Synopsis of NCLG delegation and State President meeting, 11 April 1990.
   f. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.122, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 28 April 1990.
   g. DN, STF to all Ministers and Clergy in Pietermaritzburg, Re: Joint mass action 2-7 July 1990, 22 June 1990 (not indexed).
   h. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.140, STF to the Honourable State President, Re: Mass action 2-7 July 1990, c.a. June 1990.
   i. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.142, South African Council of Churches: press statement and code of conduct during the week of public demonstrations, 27 June 1990.
   j. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.64, Dr F T Mdlalose to the Right Reverend Michael Nuttall, Re: peace talks between UDF/COSATU/ANC/ and Inkatha, c.a. July 1990.
   k. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.157, Report of the ANC, Joint Working Committee of COSATU/UDF (JWC) and NCLG, 7 August 1990.
   l. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.159, Report on Peace Committee of UDF/COSATU and Inkatha Meeting, 8 August 1990.
   m. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.160, Report on NCLG and an Inkatha delegation meeting, 13 August 1990.
   n. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.167, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 17 September 1990.

o. DN/DR/B/17.15.1.172, Points arising out of meeting between Bishops Michael Nuttall, Lawrence Zulu and Dr MG Buthelezi, Re: Proposed meeting at the Bishopscourt, Cape Town, 23 November 1990.
p. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.2, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 31 January 1991.
q. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.2, Mission statement of the NCLG as discussed at the meeting, 31 January 1991.
r. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.6, Dean Forbes and Bishop Nuttall to Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela, 8 March 1991.
s. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.12, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 25 April 1991. See also short notes handwritten by Bishop Nuttall on copy of filed minutes.
t. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.21, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 10 June 1991.
u. DN, Minutes of NCLG and ANC meeting, 19 October 1992 (not indexed).
v. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.107, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of IFP, Greetings to the Bishops of the CPSA, 11 November 1992.
w. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.111, Record of NCLG and ANC & IFP meetings, October–November 1992.
x. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.114, The Diakonia Community Newsletter, December 1992.
y. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.116, Bishop Michael Nuttall's sermon, Natal Peace Service, 13 December 1992.
z. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.122, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 20 January 1993.
aa. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.125, Minutes of NCLG and representatives of Northern Natal Church Leaders' meeting, 23 February 1993.
bb. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.157, NCLG to Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela, 1 July 1993.
cc. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.160, Minutes of NCLG Liaison Committee and representatives of the IFP meeting, 14 July 1993.
dd. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.181, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 20 October 1993.
ee. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.194, NCLG to Chief Buthelezi, Re: statement on elections, 24 November 1993.
ff. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.195, Chief Buthelezi to Norman Hudson, Convenor of the NCLG, Re: response to statement on elections, 25 November 1993.
gg. DN/DR/B/17.15.2.196, NCLG to Chief Minister Buthelezi, 2 December 1993.
hh. DN/DR/B/17.15.3.1, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 11 January 1994.
ii. DN, Michael Cassidy to Michael Nuttall, 1 March 1994 (not indexed).
jj. DN/DR/B/17.15.3.10, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 14 February 1994.
kk. DN/DR/B/17.15.3.15, NCLG Prayer for Elections (not dated).
ll. DN/DR/B/17.15.3.20, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 23 March 1994.
mm. DN/DR/B/17.15.3.33, Church leaders of KZN and AE, open invitation to the Jesus Peace Rally, KwaZulu-Natal, 17 April 1994.
nn. DN/DR/B/17.15.3.54, Minutes of NCLG meeting, 24 August 1994.

1321. Niddrie, D., 'Into the valley of death', *Work in Progress*, 52, 1988, 11–12.

1322. Nkomzwayo, R., 'A mapping of the KwaZulu Natal political conflict with reference to Inkatha (1990-1993)', MPhil dissertation, University of Port Elizabeth, 2002. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

Black political participation in South Africa has experienced many challenges whether under the then restrictive apartheid rule or under the new democratic rule. Because of its very nature, Black political participation is a source of ongoing conflict and is in a constant state of change that has a deep impact on behaviour and on society as a whole. This study analyses and shows the role played by Inkatha and its relationship with other actors from 1990 to 1993 in order to avoid a repetition of conflict and violence.

1323. Nomoyi, N. and Schurink, W., '*Ukunxityiswa kwempimpi itayari njengotshaba lomzabakaza*: An exploratory study of insider accounts of necklacing in three Port Elizabeth townships', in E. Bornman, Y. Muthien, R. van Eeden and M. Wentzel, eds, *Violence in South Africa: A Variety of Perspectives* (Pretoria: HSRC Press, 1998.

1324. Phillips, M., 'Divide and Repress: Vigilantes and State Objectives in Crossroads', in *States of Terror*, London: Catholic Institute of International Relations, 1989.

1325. Pillay, S., 'The Partisan's Violence, Law and Apartheid: The Assassination of Matthew Goniwe and the Cradock Four', Ph D thesis, University of Columbia, 2011.

> This dissertation is a study of an instance of political violence that took place during 1985 in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, but which had a wider resonance across the country. It involved the killing of four prominent anti-apartheid activists, known as the Cradock Four, by a state security death squad. It is an instance of political violence that allows us to ask ontological questions about the relationship between law, rights and violence; colonial violence and the Cold War, as well as questions about the epistemologies that surround violence in relation to questions of justice. Revisiting this violence, as mediated through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, this study asks: how does this violence relate to the law itself, since apartheid was after all explicit in its claim to being the product of a legal regime? It argues that we need to think about how this violence against the Cradock Four, committed by a 'death squad'—and therefore orphaned through denial by both law and an official political narrative—related to the constitution of a South African political community, a political community we also have to remind ourselves, which had a colonial genealogy. To answer these questions the study traces the figures of Matthew Goniwe and his political comrades in two ways. The first half of the dissertation is a study of how they are fashioned in legal discourse – over time mainly as victims of human rights abuses through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The second half of the dissertation is a study of their constitution in political discourse, where they become transformed from activists to absolute enemies of the state. In my discussion of this latter transformation, I trace and wish to recover what has become a subaltern narrative: thinking about these activists as instantiations of the forms of 'the natives revolt', and therefore apartheid's concrete enemy: they are reluctant urban native subjects; neither properly rural and neither properly urban. It is this subject which I argue, finally disrupts the colonial ambitions of apartheid.

1326. Ragavaloo, A., *Richmond: Living in the Shadow of Death*, Johannesburg, STE, 2008.

1327. Reed, D., *Beloved Country: South Africa's silent wars*, BBC Books, London, 1994.

1328. Seekings, J., 'Vigilantes and the State: Probing the Links', *Work In Progress*, Vol. 40, 1986.

1329. Segal. L., 'The human face of violence: hostel dwellers speak', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, 1 (1991), 190–231.

> In the latter half of 1990 there was a rapid spiralling of violence in townships across the Witwatersrand. Hostel dwellers were a key group of protagonists in the bloody initernecine clashes which still con1tiniue. Very few explanations, however, have penetrated beyond superficial explanations of this group's involvement in the violence. This paper, which contains

excerpts from interviews with hostel dwellers, seeks to unveil some of the reasons behind their participation, and so presents the 'human face of violence'. It attempts to contextualise direct questions about the violence within, first, the broader historical conditions that have characterised the hostel community and, second, the broader political processes that have had an impact on the lives of hostel dwellers. While the small sample of interviews prevents any generalisations about the causes of the violence from being made, the interviews provide useful insights, as well as starting points, for a more extensive investigation of the subject.

1330. Selfe, J., 'The state security apparatus. Implications for covert operations', in Schutte, C. et al. (eds), *The Hidden Hand: Covert Operations in South Africa*, Pretoria: HSRC, 1998.

1331. Shubane, K., 'The Violence in Some PWV Townships', unpublished manuscript from the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, 1991.

1332. Simpson, J., 'The Boipatong massacre and South Africa's democratic transition', African Studies Centre, African Studies Collection 35, Leiden, 2011.

1333. Simpson. G. and Rauch, J. 'Political Violence: 1991', http://www.csvr.org.za/index.php?option_content.

1334. Simpson, Mokwena and Segal, 'Political Violence in 1990: The Year in Review', in M. Robertson, (ed.), *South African Human Rights and Labour Law Year-book 1991*, Cape Town, 1991.

1335. Sitas, A., 'Inanda, August 1985: "Where wealth and power and blood reign worshipped Gods"', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 11:4 (1986), 85-121.

1336. Sithole, M.N.S., L.G.S. Baqwa and R.S.K. Tucker (1992) *Report to the Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation from the Committee established to inquire into the involvement of 32 Battalion at Phola Park,* 3 June 1992.

1337. Sluka, J., *Death Squad: the anthropology of state terror*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

1338. Smit, D., 'Community, Class and Social Change', published paper presented at a Workshop on Urban African Life, University of Natal, Durban, July 1983.

1339. Sommer, H., 'From Apartheid to Democracy: Patterns of Violent and Nonviolent Direct Action in South Africa, 1984-1994', *Africa Today*, Vol. 43, No. 1, Southern Africa in the Post-apartheid Era (Jan. - Mar., 1996), 53-76.

This article is an attempt to contribute to an understanding of how nonviolent action has worked in the transformation process, and thereby shed some new light on the contribution of nonviolent action to the negotiated transition. Nonviolent political struggle is not usually associated with South Africa.' However, recent research by Bond and Bond6 and Bond and Bennett7 has shown that nonviolent action is used world-wide. For example, "trouble spots" like

the Middle East have witnessed the Palestinian intifada in which nonviolent direct action was widely used. In the South African case, the African National Congress (ANC) has employed nonviolent action such as strikes and blockades through-out the transition process. The approach taken in this essay shares some characteristics of the institutional-choice approach. First, the focus is on the major intrastate groups in the transition process: the ANC, the South African government led by the National Party (NP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The goal is not to explain their active choice of when and when not to negotiate, but to explore the use of nonviolent action by all parties in the democratic struggle. The central questions are: How frequently has nonviolent action been used? Are there differences in the use of nonviolent action by different actors, or across different phases? How have cooperation and conflict between the parties fluctuated over the period? Second, the central thesis of the institutional-choice approach is path dependency, or in the words of one of its proponents, "options and outcomes reveal that the path of transition ... has critical bearing on democratic outcomes and on the prospects for the consolidation of democracy." The theory of non-violent action at least generically shares a path-dependency view. As Sharp claims, "the most significant long run results of the struggle are likely to be its impact on the resolution of the issues at stake ... the attitudes of the groups towards each other, and on the distribution of power between and within the contending groups." Nonviolent action is part of the struggle but not part of the focus of the institutional-choice approach.

1340. Stemment, J-A., 'Apartheid under siege, 1984-1988: actions and reactions', DPhil thesis, University of the Free State, 2002. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

The study analyses the political violence that beset South Africa during the 1980s and examines critically the impact that violence had on enhancing or impeding South Africa's transition from white minority rule to black majority rule. This study focuses on the continual interplay between actions and reactions that arose between the main protagonists during the political upheavals of 1984-1988 and explains how these actions and reactions interacted to forge a political catharsis, thus paving the way for a negotiated settlement.

1341. Straker, *Faces in the Revolution: The Psychological Effects of Violence on Township Youth in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1992.

1342. Sutcliffe, M., 'Unrest in Natal/KwaZulu During 1986', unpublished paper, Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Natal, Durban, 1987.

1343. Suttcliffe, M., *Summary report of political 'unrest' in Natal-KwaZulu, January 1987-March 1987*, Durban, Unrest Monitoring Project, University of Natal, 1987.

1344. Suttcliffe, M. and Wellings, P., 'Inkatha versus the Rest: Black Opposition to Inkatha in Durban's African Townships', *Africa'n Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 348, July 1988.

This article analyses Inkatha in the context of specific concrete issues such as stayaways, forced removals, boycotts, and rent strikes. The analysis of such events at a local level is instructive because it offers opportunities to observe Inkatha in action. In these situations, it is a good deal easier to strip away the rhetoric and see Inkatha for what it really is. The present article offers a contribution in this direction. The issue under scrutiny is the planned incorporation of several Durban townships into KwaZulu. Incorporation involves the manipulation of 'homeland' boundaries to enclose African townships, thereby transferring administrative control from white local authorities to the 'homeland' in question. Several of Durban's townships have been under

threat of incorporation for many years. Inkatha leaders are actively seeking incorporation because it will bring townships historically hostile to Inkatha, and presently under administrative control of the South African government, directly under their control, providing unique opportunities to suppress opposition and expand Inkatha's power base into important urban constituencies. The townships, on the other hand, are opposed to incorporation. The grounds for opposition are various. One major fear is that incorporation will abrogate the rights of township residents to live and seek work in 'white' urban areas. The communities are also deeply concerned that Inkatha will victimize non-Inkatha supporters living in the townships once they fall into KwaZulu's clutches. Opposition to incorporation has been organized by popularly based community organizations which have successfully represented the townships on issues such as rent hikes and forced removals. Allied to other progressive organizations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), the community organizations have been a powerful force in the townships. Hence, when the incorporation issue resurfaced in 1984 the stage was set for a showdown between Inkatha and the townships.[33]

1345. Swilling, M., 'Urban control and changing forms of political conflict in Uitenhage, 1977-1986', Ph D Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994.

The central question posed in this thesis is as follows: why did the apartheid urban system change over time and in space during the 1980s? Based on a case study of Langa, Uitenhage, the changes in this local urban system are explained in terms of the complex and irreducible relations of power that exist within the urban system between three primary sub-systems that interacted at the local level, namely the state agencies (especially local governments and the security forces), community- and workplace-based social movements, and formal business sector, particularly the local branches of large-scale national and multi-national corporations. The primary findings of the thesis are as follows: (i) Uitenhage's urban system changed over time and in space as a result of the complex interactions and transactions between the elements of this local urban system and as a result of the dynamic interplay between this local urban system and the wider non-local urban, socio-economic and political systems within which Uitenhage's local urban system was embedded. (ii) Local urban politics can be explained as the organised expression of those interactions and transactions that resulted from conflicting conceptions of urban meaning and the corresponding urban functions and urban forms that flowed from different urban meanings. (iii) The dynamics of local urban politics cannot be explained as the epiphenomena of underlying structural contradictions. There were key moments when certain interactions occurred that decisively changed the qualitative nature of the relationships between the elements of the local urban system as a whole. Herein lies the importance of such occurrences as police massacres of peaceful demonstrators, violent crowd attacks on representatives of the state, local-level negotiations and mass detentions. (iv) This local case study contributes to an explanation of urban system change and the dynamics of urban politics. However, the case study has not been designed to generate another general theory of urban system change or urban politics. It only demonstrated the usefulness of systems theory as a guide for case study research.

1346. Szeftel, M., 'Ethnicity and Democratization in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 21, No. 60, ROAPE Review of Books (Jun., 1994), 185-199.

The global proliferation of communal conflicts has its parallel in $outh Africa where the end of apartheid produced new demands for the recognition of group rights and ethnic interests. These run directly counter to the insistence of the ANC and its allies on a secular democracy based on

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[33] 325-6.

equality of citizenship. Ethnic conflict, and particularly the violence in KwaZulu/Natal, has led to a renewal of interest in the study of ethnicity, particularly in problems related to its definition and to its nature in the South African context. Such issues raise questions about the role played by ethnicity in contemporary politics and about its place in the process of democratization. Although the renewed interest in ethnicity is timely, questions exist about the extent to which ethnic claims in South Africa have widespread support, or represent evidence of the resurgence of ethnicity rather than the assertiveness of heavily-armed political machines.

1347. Tetelman, S.M., 'In search of discipline: Generational control, political protest and everyday violence in Cradock, South Africa, 1984-1985', in Mario I. Aguilar (ed), *The Politics of Age and Gerontocracy in Africa*, Africa Worlds Press, Inc., Eretria, 1998.

1348. Thornton, R.J., 'The Shooting at Uitenhage, South Africa, 1985: The Context and Interpretation of Violence', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 17, No. 2, May, 1990, 217-236.

This article examines the fatal shooting by the South African Police of 20 people among a small crowd in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. It explores some cultural characteristics of violence as a social process and social form. In this in-cident, the intentions of the actors were not simply confrontational, yet the event had the shape of other "classic" confrontations in South African history. Since di-rect political chains of command were not functioning at the time, explanation is sought in terms of the actors' cultural representations of "community," "self," and "the state," rather than in terms of instrumental action within a formal political system. Here, social power is presented as the ability to impose an interpretation among competing interpretations after the occurrence of violence, rather than as the ability to cause violence as the instrument of policy or as the intended conse-quence of intentional social action.

1349. 'Township Disturbances: Lamontville 1983', *Indicator South Africa*: Urban Monitor, 1, 1983, 7-8.

1350. Truluck, A., *No Blood on Our Hands: Political Violence in the Natal Midlands 1987–mid-1992 and the Role of the State, White Political Parties and Business*, Pietermaritzburg: Black Sash, 1992.

1351. Turton, R.W., Straker, G. and Moosa, F., 'Experiences of Violence in the Lives of Township Youths in 'Unrest' and 'Normal' Conditions', *South African Journal of Psychology*, June 1991, vol. 21, no. 2, 77-84.

Political violence has attracted the attention of psychological researchers in South Africa. In comparison, the more habitual forms of violence occurring in townships have been neglected. In this study the authors investigate the experiences of violence of two cohorts of township youths; one which had recently experienced the violence of 'unrest' and one which had not. A comparison of the two cohorts revealed some differences, which are related to 'unrest'. There are, however, many similarities which indicate consistencies in experiences of violence regardless of 'unrest'. It is concluded that the more habitual forms of violence deserve more research attention.

1352. UDF-COSATU Memorandum on Violence in the Pietermaritzburg Townships, November 1987.

1353. Vally, N.T., "The 'Model Township' of Sharpeville: The Absence of Political Action and Organisation, 1960-1984", MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2010.

> Sharpeville has become a seminal part of South African history and has captured the minds and memories of many, both nationally and globally. While much attention has been placed on the documentation of the events of the 21st of March 1960- the date of the Sharpeville massacre- surprisingly little has been recorded about the history of the township beyond this. This report aims to begin to fill the lacuna in this part of South African history by examining the reasons behind the dearth of political action and organisation in Sharpeville from its formation through to the early 1980s. The report examines Sharpeville as a 'model township', dissects what this concept means and begins to suggest how this conceptualisation affected political organising in the area. The report argues that Sharpeville as a 'model township' experienced political quiescence throughout the 1960s and 1970s which was only punctured by spontaneous political action. The report then goes on to explain and scrutinise the possible reasons for this quiescence.

1354. Woods, G., 'A theoretical Analysis of the Violence around Pietermaritzburg', Paper presented at the Centre for Adult Education Seminar on Violence, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1988.

Chapter

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

1355. Abraham, G., *The Catholic Church and Apartheid: The Response of the Catholic Church in South Africa to the First Decade of Nationalist Party Rule 1948-1957*, Johannesburg, 1989.

1356. Archive of the Religious Sisters of Mercy (RSMA) in Rosebank, Johannesburg, South Africa.

   a. Telephone interviews conducted by Sr. Jean N. Evans, R.S.M., Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11.
   b. Sr. Clare Hegarty, R.S.M., interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recording, February 13, 2006, Boksburg, South Africa. CD deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   c. 18Sr. Immaculata Devine, R.S.M., interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recording, October 5, 2005, Pretoria, South Africa. CD deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   d. "Toilets are seen as the last bastion of apartheid," one priest commented to Sr. Immaculata. Sr. Clare Hegarty, R.S.M., interview by Catherine Higgs, February 13, 2006.
   e. Br.Jude Pieterse, F.S.M., interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recordingjune 5, 2007, Johannesburg, South Africa. CD deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   f. Br. Jude Pieterse, F.S.M., conversation with Sr. Jean N. Evans, R.S.M., February 28, 2007, Johannesburg, South Africa. Notes of conversation deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   g. Sr. Immaculata Devine, R.S.M., telephone interview by Sr. Jean N. Evans, R.S.M., June 9, 2007, Mmakau, South Africa. Interview notes deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   h. Sr. Myra Milburn, R.S.M. and Sr. Xavier Guiry, R.S.M., telephone interview by Sr. Jean N. Evans, R.S.M., June 9, 2007, Mmakau, South Africa. Interview notes deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   i. Sr. Majella Quinn, R.S.M., telephone interview by Sr. Jean N. Evans, R.S.M., Mmakau, South Africa, June 27,2007. Interview notes deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   j. Sr. Majella Quinn, R.S.M., interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recording, October 19, 2005, Mercy Centre, Winterveld, South Africa. CD deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   k. Sister Immaculata Devine, "Report on the Winterveld: January 1984-December 1986," Constitutional Appendix, Statutes and Directories of the Sisters of Mercy, General Chapter 1986 (Johannesburg, 1987), p. 50. MSA 3/1-5, RSMA.
   l. "Notes Taken at an Ad-hoc Meeting on Winterveld Problem Held at the Home of Jimmy Palos on 14th March, 1979," in "WAC Minutes l4.3;79-27.8.'84," Winterveld Action Committee Records (hereafter WAC records), Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   m. "Winterveld Interim Fact Paper: Up to date 1980-11-1" in "WAC Teach + Learn 1982-1984," WAC Records, Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   n. Notes of a Meeting on the Winterveld Problem Held at 5 p.m. on the 18th April 1979 at Khanya House," pp. 1-2 in "WAC Minutes 14.3.'79-27.8.'84,"WAC Records, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   o. "Minutes of the Winterveld Action Committee of the Pretoria Regional Council of Churches Held in the Catholic Church Mabopane on Monday, 24th January, 1983" in "WAC Minutes 14.3.'79-27.8.'84,"WAC Records, MSA 2/11, RSMA.
   p. Ramaphakela Hans Hlalethwa, "I Listen, I Learn, I Grow: The Autobiography of Ramaphakela Hans Hlalethwa" (2003), p. 49. Copy deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.

q. "History of the Sisters of Mercy in Winterveld," (n.p., n.d.), p. 2 in "History of Winterveld," WAC Records, Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.

r. Jean N. Evans, R.S.M., interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recording, October 8, 2005, Mmakau Convent, Mmakau, South Africa. CD deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.

s. (Mrs.) M. N?rnberger to Mrs. Moagi, Secretary of Internal Affairs, Mafikeng, February 24, 1987 in "Pensions 1981-1986," WAC Records, Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.

t. Sr. Majella Quinn, R.S.M., conversation with Catherine Higgs, no recording, October 19, 2005, Mercy Center, Winterveld, South Africa. Copy of interview notes deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.

u. 77Sr. Magdalene Greene, R.S.M., telephone interview by Sr. Jean N. Evans, R.S.M., Mmakau, South Africa June 9, 2007. Copy of interview notes deposited in the Winterveld Collection, MSA 2/11, RSMA.

1357. Archive of the Holy Family Sisters, Coronationville, Johannesburg, South Africa

a. Sr. Shelagh Mary Waspe, H.F., interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recording, October 8, 2005, Johannesburg, South Africa. CD deposited in the Archive of the Holy Family Sisters, Coronationville, Johannesburg, South Africa and accessible under the interviewee's surname.

1358. Archive of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, South Africa, Melville, Johannesburg, South Africa.

a. Sr. Marie Therese McLoughlin, S.N.D., interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recording, June 23, 2007, Johannesburg, South Africa. CD deposited in the Archive of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, South Africa, Melville, Johannesburg, South Africa, and accessible under the interviewee's surname.

1359. Archive of the Companions of St. Angela, Power Park, Johannesburg, South Africa.

a. Sr. Patricia Ouma Ntoagae, C.S.A., interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recording, June 21, 2007, Johannesburg, South Africa. CD deposited in the Archive of the Companions of St. Angela, Power Park, Johannesburg, South Africa and accessible under the interviewee's surname.

1360. Archive of the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul the Apostle, Selly Park, Birmingham, United Kingdom.

a. Sr. Christine Hayes, S.C.S.P.A., interview by Catherine Higgs, no recording, Mogwase, Limpopo Province, South Africa, June 15, 2007. Copy of interview notes deposited in the Archive of the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul the Apostle, Selly Park, Birmingham, United Kingdom, Ace. 1861, Box 210.

1361. Balcomb, A., *Third Way Theology: Reconciliation, Revolution,and Reform in the South African Church during the 1980s* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications,1993.

1362. Beyerhaus, P., *The Kairos Document: Challenge or Danger to the Church?*, Cape Town:Gospel Defence League, 1987.

1363. Bonner, K. *Dominican Women: A Time to Speak*, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2000.

1364. Borer, T.A., *Challenging the State: Churches As Political Actors in South Africa, 1980– 1994*, Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press,1998.

1365. Brain, J., 'Moving from the Margins to the Mainstream', in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, ed. Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, Berkeley, 1997.

1366. Brain, J. and Denis, P. (eds), *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Southern Africa*,Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 1999.

1367. Brain, J., *The Catholic Church in the Transvaal*, Johannesburg, South Africa, 1991.

1368. Brown, R.M., (ed), *Kairos: Three Prophetic Challenges to the Church*, Grand Rapids, Mich, William Eerdmans Publishing, 1990.

1369. Chikane, F., 'Church and the state in apartheid South Africa', *Sechaba*, 22(6), June 1988, 2-6.

1370. De Gruchy, J., *The Church struggle in South Africa*, 2nd edition, Cape Town, David Philip, 1986.

1371. De Gruchy, J., 'Grappling with a Colonial Heritage: The English-speaking Churches under Imperialism and Apartheid', in Elphick, R. and Rodney Davenport, R. (eds), *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History,* B erkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

1372. Denis, P. (ed), *Facing the Crisis: Selected Texts of Archbishop D. E. Hurley*, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 1997.

1373. Elphick, R. and Rodney Davenport, R. (eds), *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History,* B erkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

1374. Esack, F., 'Three Islamic Strands in the South African Struggle for Justice', Third World Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 2, Islam & Politics (Apr., 1988), 473-498.

Muslims have played a very important role in the making of South African history, a role which has continued up to the present day. Their contribution to the development of South Africa has been far out of proportion to the size of their numbers' or rather out of proportion to the historical position assigned to them by a eurocentric historiography-'which has over-emphasised the role of Christianity and, conversely, duly neglected Islam' - in its presentation of South African history. The last five years (1982-87) have seen Muslims as Islamist also make a most significant contribution to the struggle for justice in South Africa for all South Africans- particularly in the struggle against apartheid. Among the Muslim community in the Cape,

Palestinian scarves and white fezzes have become symbols in the anti-apartheid struggle. Who are these Muslims; how do they relate to the universal umma (community) of believers; and how do they interact with the broader movement for the liberation of South Africa?

1375.   Graybill, L.S., *Religion and Resistance in South Africa*, Westport, Praeger, 1995.

1376.   Higgs, C. and Evans, J.N., 'Embracing Activism in Apartheid South Africa: The Sisters of Mercy in Bophuthatswana, 1974–94', *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 3, Jul 2008, 500-521.

In South Africa in the latter half of the twentieth century, the Church shifted from a stance of seeming complicity with the government's racist policies to a more active role with the country's peoples. Religious congregations such as the Sisters of Mercy, Johannesburg, moved to increase their activities in areas such as justice and peace, hunger relief and especially education and skills training. This article examines the Sisters' varied work with displaced peoples in Bophuthatswana from 1974 to 1994.[34]

1377.   Historical and Literary Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

   a.   Bishop Buti Tlhagale, interview by Catherine Higgs, digital recording, October 13, 2005, Johannesburg, South Africa. CD deposited in Historical and Literary Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, A3259.
   b.   "Religious Persecution Charges Rock Mmbatho," Sunday Tribune, March 16, 1986, and "A Court Hears of the Day Eleven People Were Shot at Winterveld," Weekly Mail, June 6-12,1986, Leslie Witz Collection, 1985-1992, A2356,B2 "Press Cuttings?Mainly Winterveld shootings 1986," Historical and Literary Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

1378.   Hope, M. and Young, J., *The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation*, Maryknoll, NY, 1981.

1379.   Institute of Contextual Theology, *The Kairos Document: the challenge to the church*, Revised second edition, Skotaville Publishers, Braamfontein, 1986.

1380.   Kinghorn J. 'The churches against apartheid', in Ian Liebenberg, et al. (eds.)*The Long March: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, Haum, Pretoria, 1994.

1381.   Lamola, J., 'Does the church lead the struggle? A caution', *Sechaba*, 22(6), June, 1988, 7-11.

1382.   Mayson, C., 'The comradeship of Marx and Jesus', *The African Communist*, (110), Third Quarter, 1987, 52-61.

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[34] Higgs, C. and Evans, J.N., 'Embracing Activism in Apartheid South Africa: The Sisters of Mercy in Bophuthatswana, 1974–94', *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 3, Jul 2008, 500.

1383. Pandy, R., 'A critical look at the role of the Muslim Judicial Council in the struggle for liberation in South Africa from 1960 to 1994', BA Hons dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1994. Available at ww.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

> The aim of this essay is to examine the role of the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. It will firstly place the study in a theoretical frame which will be followed by a historical tour into the background and formation of the Muslim Judicial Council, its aims, objectives, policy and programme. A section on the MJC's involvement and its responses to Apartheid policies will then follow. The MJC's alignment into the political spectrum will be investigated. The remaining chapters will look at the main objective of this study - to examine the MJC's role in the various stages of the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa emphasising highly politicised events such as the 1976 Uprising, 1985-1986 Mass Mobilisation, 1989-1990 Defiance Campaign, inter alia.

1384. Prior, A. (ed), *Catholics in Apartheid Society*, Cape Town and London, 1982.

1385. *Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced Removals*, Pretoria, South Africa, 1984.

1386. Ryall, D., 'Between God and Caesar: The Catholic Church in South Africa, 1948-1990', Ph.D. diss., University of Wales, Swansea, 1998.

Chapter

REPRESSION

1387.   African National Congress, *Torture is Part of the System: State Violence in South Africa and Namibia*, London: ANC, 1984.

1388.   Barber, W., 'National Security Policy', in Louw, H. H (1977) *National Security: A Modern Approach- papers presented at the symposium on National Security*, Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1977.

1389.   Bell, A.N. and Mackie, R.D.A. (eds), *Detention and Security Legislation in South Africa: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of Natal, September 1982*, Durban: Centre for Adult Education, University of Natal, 1982.

1390.   Berat, L., 'Doctors, Detainees, and Torture: Medical Ethics v. the Law in South Africa', *Stanford Journal of International Law*, 499, 1989.

1391.   Bindman, G., (ed), *South Africa and the Rule of Law*, London: Pinter, 1988.

1392.   Black Sash, *Inside South Africa's Death Factory*, Black Sash, February 1989.

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> This thesis examines works written about imprisonment by four South African political writers who were incarcerated for political reasons. This thesis examines the National Party's policy pertaining to the holding of political prisoners and discusses the work of Michael Foucault on the subject of imprisonment as well as the connection he makes between knowledge and power and considers the factors that motivate a prisoner to write; studies of la Guma's The Stone Country, Dennis Brutus's Letters to Martha, Hugh Lewin's Bandiet and Breyten Breytenbach's The True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist, respectively; reflections on the way in which imprisonment affected them from a psychological point of view, and on the manner in which they were, paradoxically, empowered by their prison experience; consideration is given to capital punishment and Lewin and Breytenbach's response to living in a hanging jail.

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> Until recently it was rare to bring South Africa and Latin America into a shared focus for any purpose at all. Both regions habitually looked towards the United States of America and Western Europe and showed no interest in each other. With a few exceptions there was scant intellectual concern aroused by their common southern location. In the last few years, however, a number of academics have begun to show interest in comparisons and contrasts derivable from South Africa and Latin America.' Our intention is to join this promising trend by examining the vexing question of human rights in South Africa and Argentina since the Soweto massacre and Peronist collapse in 1976. In that historic year of burgeoning abuse, Richard Claude complained that "comparative human rights research has not been systematic." Concentration on definite themes in two appallingly delinquent countries may contribute to the general improvement he urged.[35]

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Chapter

RURAL RESISTANCE

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> This article argues that Sebatakgomo, a migrant worker based political organization formed from within the ANC in 1954, played a crucial role in the events that culminated in the Sekhukhuneland Revolt of 1958. It places the emergence of the movement in the context of changing patter-ns of migrant employment and association from the 1930s. And it traces Sebatakgomo's involvement in mounting popular- resistance in the eastern Transvaal to state attempts to restructure rural society in the 1950s.

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1565. Delius, P., 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987', *Transformation*, 13, 1990.

1566. Delius, P., *A Lion amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal*, Heinemann, Johannesburg, 1996.

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1571. Higgs, C. and Evans, J.N., 'Embracing Activism in Apartheid South Africa: The Sisters of Mercy in Bophuthatswana, 1974–94', *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 3, Jul 2008, 500-521.

In South Africa in the latter half of the twentieth century, the Church shifted from a stance of seeming complicity with the government's racist policies to a more active role with the country's peoples. Religious congregations such as the Sisters of Mercy, Johannesburg, moved to increase their activities in areas such as justice and peace, hunger relief and especially education and skills training. This article examines the Sisters' varied work with displaced peoples in Bophuthatswana from 1974 to 1994.[36]

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1574. Jones, P.S., "From 'nationhood' to regionalism to the North West Province: 'Bophuthatswananess' and the birth of the 'new South Africa", *African Affairs* (1999), 98, 509-534.

Although majority rule has been achieved in South Africa, the final years of one 'independent' bantustan, namely Bophuthatswana, and their aftermath, illustrate the problems of creating a unified identity. Ironically, in the death throes of apartheid, a Pandora's box of ethnic and regionalist claims was opened. Although these claims were tied to the maintenance of privileges gained by a tiny minority created through apartheid policy, Bophuthatswana had also been sustained by an ideology which, although at times highly contradictory, was also indicative of the space given to twenty years of bantustan nation-building. This article provides a reinterpretation of these complex territories by showing how, in the 1990s, in the wake of fundamental political changes in South Africa, the Bophuthatswana regime reshaped its nation-building discourse into a distinctive regionalist coalition based upon socio-economic and ethnic criteria. Moreover, unlike previous approaches to the region, it shows how contested territorial claims were integral to this regionalist movement. Whilst the Bophuthatswana regime finally imploded and its regionalist coalition was absorbed into South Africa's North West Province, the legacy of the bantustans for South Africa is replete with ambiguity. In the post-apartheid era of transition to the North West Province, some of these fault lines, termed 'Bophuthatswananess', are discussed. The continuing influence of their core of 'Batswana arbiters' raises pertinent questions concerning the obstacles to inclusive nationbuilding.

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1578. Kruger, G. and Rainey, P. (eds), *KwaNdebele – the future?: Proceedings of a forum organised by Lawyers for Human Rights and held at the University of Pretoria on 16 May, 1988*, Lawyers for Huma Rights, Pretoria, 1988.

1579. Lawrence, M. and Manson, A., "'The Dog of the Boers': The rise and fall of Mangope in Bophuthatswana", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 2, No. 3, 1994.

> This article traces the rise and fall of Mangope, a man who dictated the fortunes of over two million people. It defines the changing ideological bases of Bophuthatswana since the 1970s, and analyses the various tactics and policies Mangope pursued to legitimate and sustain his homeland fantasy. During the 1980s, these tactics involved several attempted reformulations of the apartheid, ethnic discourse which had underpinned the creation of an 'independent' Bophuthatswana. The main argument is that an elite, powerholding group in Bophuthatswana restructured earlier apartheid ethnic discourse in the light of political and economic changes in South Africa. In doing so, they hoped to capture regional resources, knowing that the transformations that began in the 1980s, and came to a head in the 1990s, would precipitate a crisis of accumulation and a relocation of labour and capital. Although there was, from the mid-1980s, a steady erosion of Mangope's credibility and support, it is suggested here that in the period leading up to the first democratic elections in South Africa, he attempted to follow a path that offered some prospect of representation in the new political order. He did this by seeking alliances with other ethnically-minded elites in the region. Earlier discourse about independence and Tswana nationhood was sculptured and blended into a regional/territorial concept. There was a striking deracialisation or cleansing of the old 'apartheid' discourse of 'corporate federalism', although- ironically - Mangope's new allies of the white right still clung to their outmoded racist ideology. Woven into Mangope's last discursive revisions was an inherent fear of being 'pressed into a corner' by a more powerful and numerous 'Xhosa dominated' ANC. It is demonstrated how, and at what point, he overplayed his hand and placed himself outside the bounds of legitimate political discourse and action.[37]

1580. Lawrence, M. and Patterson, A., 'South Africa's rural chickens come home to Roost1, *Madhasedi,* 10, 1991.

1581. Legassick, M. and Wolpe, H., 'The Bantustans and capital accumulation in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 1976, 7:87-107.

1582. Lekgoathi, S.P., 'Chiefs, Migrants and North Ndebele Ethnicity in the Context of Surrounding Homeland Politics, 1965-1978*, *African Studies*, 62:1, 2003, 53-77.

> The central focus of this paper is North Ndebele ethnicity in the context of surrounding ethnic politics. It examines the deepening of ethnic consciousness among the Transvaal Ndebele in general, but probes more deeply the activities of the chiefs and migrants from the Northern Ndebele section during the 1960s and 1970s. More specifically, it explores the nature of the paradox between the culture brokers' ideological commitment to "tribalism" and the political expediency of the government which, despite its alleged devotion to the "separate tribes" model and its use of government ethnologists to endorse its decisions, found it politic to provide a homeland for the Southern Ndebele but not for the Northern Ndebele. The paper contends

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[37] Lawrence, M. and Manson, A., "'The Dog of the Boers': The rise and fall of Mangope in Bophuthatswana", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 2, No. 3, 1994, 447-8.

firstly that the Northern Ndebele elites' and migrants' persistence on incorporation into the new homeland was as much informed by their fear of the seeming curtailment of their power and influence in non-Ndebele homelands as by their desire to have direct access and control over the scarce economic and political resources. Secondly, it augments the argument made elsewhere that the apartheid government's main concern in establishing KwaNdebele was the management of the effects of rising economic and political dynamics rather than ethnic consolidation. The latter is clearly illustrated in the government's reluctance to amalgamate the two sections of the Ndebele in the new homeland, in spite of pressure from the Northern Ndebele culture brokers.[38]

1583. Lekgoathi, S.P., 'Political transformations in the bantustans of Lebowa and KwaNdebele', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013.

1584. Lissoni, A. 'Chieftaincy and resistance politics in Lehurutshe during the apartheid era', *New Contree*, No 67 (Special Edition), 2013.

This article focuses on the politics of chieftaincy in Lehurutshe, a rural region in South Africa's North West Province, in the second half of the twentieth century. This was a period of profound social and political restructuring in the South African countryside. The imposition of Bantu Authorities, the extension of passes to African women and the deposition of Kgosi Abram Ramotshere Moiloa by the white authorities in 1957 sparked a popular struggle of resistance (better known as the Zeerust uprising or the Hurutshe revolt) that engulfed Lehurutshe in the late 1950s. The article analyses the establishment of a new political order in the aftermath of this period of resistance. It goes on to examine the attempted revival of the institution of chieftaincy by Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana bantustan in the period from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s. The paper ends with the onset of another period of intense struggle over the incorporation of the "black spot" villages of Lekubu (or Braklaagte) and Mokgola (or Leeuwfontein) into Bophuthatswana in 1989. Like the Zeerust uprising of 1957-1959, the anti-incorporation struggle of 1989-1994 points to the complex and continued intersection of local political struggles for authority with liberation politics – crucially articulated through the institution of the chieftaincy - during periods of contestation over local resources.

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1595. Murray, C., 'Displaced Urbanisation: South Africa's rural slums', *African Affairs*, 8, 6, 1987, 31 1-330.

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1602. Peirez, J., 'The implosion of Transkei and Ciskei', *African Affairs*, 1992.

1603. Peires, J. 'Transkei on the verge of emancipation', *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences,* 8, 2, 1997, 189-203.

1604. Pieterse, J., 'Traditionalists, traitors and sell-outs: The roles and motives of 'amaqaba', '*abangcatshi*' and '*abathengisi*' in the Pondoland Revolt of 1960-1961', MA dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2007.

1605. Phatlane, S.N., 'The Farce of Homeland Independence: Kwa-Ndebele, the Untold Story', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, October 2002, vol. 37, no. 3-5, 401-421.

> This article analyzes the events leading to the aborted attempt to enforce "independence" on Kwa-Ndebele, a small area not far from Pretoria. These events are related to the youth-led revolt shaking South Africa after 1976, also emphasizing aspects relating to similar issues involved in independence in other homelands. By doing this, this study not only contributes to establishing the high priority that should be given to development of former homeland areas, but also provides guidelines regarding how such development should take place.[39]

1606. Phatlane, S.N., 'The KwaNdebele independence issue: A critical appraisal of the crises around independence in KwaNdebele, 1982-1989', MA dissertation, University of South Africa, 1998.

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1609. Platsky, L. and Walker, C., *Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985.

1610. Quinlan, T., 'The tribal paradigm and ethnic nationalism: A case study of political structures in QwaQwa;, *Transformation*, 2, 1986, 31-49.

546. Ritchken, E., 'Leadership and conflict in Bushbuckridge: struggles to define moral economics with the context of rapidly transforming political economies (1978-1990), PhD. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1995.

> This thesis analyses the effects of state interventions on chiefly, ethnic, gender and generational relations in Bushbuckridge. By analysing violent conflicts, the thesis investigates how social forces attempt to impose moral economies on a "community" within the context of a rapidly transforming political economy. Leaders are analyzed in relation to their ability to represent a moral economy, and in doing so, intervene effectively on behalf of their constituency.

1612. Ritchken, E., 'The KwaNdebele Struggle against Independence', in Moss, G. and Obery, I (eds.) *South African Review 5.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1989.

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[39] Phatlane, S.N., 'The Farce of Homeland Independence: Kwa-Ndebele, the Untold Story', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, October 2002, vol. 37, no. 3-5, 401-421, 401.

1613. Rogers, B., *Divide and rule: South Africa's Bantustan,* London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1976 (revised 1980).

1614. Roux, R., 'Workers Rock the Transkei', *South African Labour Bulletin*, XIV, 1990.

1615. Sato, C., 'Casting a voice for rural strugges during apartheid: The Case of AFRA', Institute of Developing Economies Discussion Paper No. 351, Chiba, Japan, March 2012.

> This article explores the attempts to co-ordinate rural resistance and struggles in South Africa during apartheid through a case study of the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA), a land NGO established in Natal in 1979. It was a small group but had a significant local and national impact. The paper addresses three key questions concerning the character and works of AFRA: (1) What was the character and and strategy of AFRA in the political context of the late 1970s and 1980s? (2) Was there any historical continuity and discontinuity with early attempts by Natal liberals and African landowners to organise anti-removal campaigns in the 1950s? How and to what extent could AFRA negotiate the ubcreasing influence of the Inkatha and KwaZulu government over Natal rural communities? The paper servesas a critical of AFRA's strategies and and activities, and its relatioinship with rural communities up to 1990 when land movements became nationwide.

1616. Sharp, 1., 'Relocation and the problem of survival in QwaQwa', *Social Dynamics*, 8(2), 1982, 11-29.

1617. Sharp, 1. and Martiny, 1., 'An overview of QwaQwa', Carnegie Conference Paper 64, Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1984.

1618. Southall, R., *South Africa's Transkei: The Political Economy of an 'Independent' Bantustan*, HeinemannE ducational Books, London, 1977.

1619. Southall, R., 'Rethinking Transkei Politics', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 11, 2 (1992), 1–30.

1620. Southall, R., Segar, J. and Donaldson, A. (eds), *Undoing Independence; Regionalism and reincorporanon of Transkei into South Africa*, Grahamstown, South Africa, 1992.

1621. Southall, R., 'The beneficiaries of Transkei Independence', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, xv, 1977.

1622. Streek, B. and Wicksteed, R., *Render unto Kaiser*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1981.

1623. Stultz, N., *Transkei's Half Loaf*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1979.

1624. Surplus People Project, *Surplus people project*, vols. 1-5, Cape Town, 1983.

1625.   Szeftel, M., 'The Transkei: Conflict Externalisation and Black Exclusivism', University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa, 3, 1973.

1626.   Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), *KwaNdebele: The struggle against independence*, Johannesburg, TRAC, 1987.

1627.   Transvaal Rural Action Committee, *The Myth of Voluntary Removals*, Johannesburg, TRAC, 1988.

1628.   Twala, C., 'Resistance and conformity in the Qwaqwa homeland, 1975-1990', in *SADET The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol 4, 1980-1990*. Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

1629.   Unterhalter, E., *Forced removals: The segretation division and control of the people of South Africa,* International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1987.

Wildschut, A.C., 'Investigating women's participation in protest politics between 1991 and 2001', MA dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2003. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

> This study investigates women's participation in unconventional politics between 1991 and 2001. The period is specifically important, as it makes possible the examination of trends in women's political participation before and after the democratic transition in 1994. This makes it possible for us to speculate about the influence of transition on women's political participation.

1631.   Yawitch, J., 'The Anti-Independence Struggle in KwaNdebele', unpublished paper given at Review of African Political Economy Conference, University of Liverpool, September 1986.

1632.   Zondi, S., 'Peasant struggles of the 1950's: gaMatlala and Zeerust', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol. 1 (1960-1970)*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004.

Chapter

SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

1633. Frankel, P., *An ordinary atrocity: Sharpeville and its massacre*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2001.

1634. Lawrence, M., 'An Analysis of a Variety of Perspective. A Case Study on Sharpeville', Masters Research Report (Heritage Studies), University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2004.

1635. Lodge, T., *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Aftermath*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.

1636. Pheko, M., *The True History of Sharpeville Must Be Told*, Tokoloho Development Association, Johannesburg, 2001.

Chapter

SPORTS AND POLITICS

1637. Booth, D., *The Race Game: Sports and politics in South Africa*, Frank Cass Publishers, London, 1998.

Chapter

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1638. 'A Landmark in South Africa's History: The Sixth National Conference of the South African Communist Party', *International Bulletin*, 4, December 1962, in A. Drew (ed.), *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A Documentary History*, Vol. 2, 1943–1964 (Cape Town, Buchu Books, 1997.

1639. Bundy, C. (coordinator), *The History of the South African Communist Party*, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, 1991.

1640. 'Central Committee, Inner-Party Bulletin Number 1, Julie 1970'. Available at www.aluka.org/action/doBrowse?t=646865&sa=xst&br=tax-collections|part-of|collection-minor&p=5.

1641. Davidson, A., Filatova, I., Gorodnov, V., and Johns, S. (eds), *The Communist International and South Africa: Documentary History, 1919-1939*, 2 vols, Frank Cass, London, 2003.

1642. Drew, E., 'Urban Activists and Rural Movements: Communists in South Africa and Algeria, 1920s–1930s', *African Studies*, Volume 66, Issue 2-3, 2007, Special Issue: Transnational and Comparative Perspectives on Southern African Labour History, 295-319.

> This article investigates the efforts of communists in the settler societies of South Africa and Algeria to engage with rural populations in the late 1920s and early 1930s. It seeks to understand how popular movements concerned with access to land respond to ideas or ideologies introduced by urban-based activists. It also contributes to broader debates about the relationship between the Communist International (Comintern) and its national sections, asking whether this relationship can be adequately captured by the dichotomy of domination or autonomy that has characterised much thinking. It forms part of an ongoing discussion about the Comintern's controversial New Line of class against class and suggests that generalisations about the New Line – and by implication any Comintern policy – must take into account the variations introduced by its different timing and impact in distinctive local contexts.

1643. Duignan, P. and Gann, L.H., *Communism in Sub-Saharan Africa: A re-appraisal*, Washington, DC, Hoover Institute, 1994.

1644. Ellis, S. and Sechaba, T., *Comrades against Apartheid: The ANC and the Communist Party in exile*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1992.

1645. Filatova, I. and Davidson, A., *The Hidden Thread: Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era*, Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2013.

1646. Habib, A.M., 'The politics of the South African Communist Party 1962 - 1990', MA dissertation, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1991.

This study is a critical exploration of the ideas of the South African Communist Party (SACP). The thesis focuses on four major political questions that have confronted the party in the period 1962 to 1990. Firstly it investigates the organisational form of the SACP and the politics that govern its organisational structure. Secondly the thesis focuses on the SACP's theory of the South African revolution. Thirdly it discusses the SACP's strategies and strategic perspectives in the South African revolution. Finally it explains the SACP's current attempts to restructure its theory and practice.

1647. Houston, G., 'The Post- Rivonia ANC/SACP underground', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004.

1648. Israel, M. and Adams, S. "'That Spells Trouble': Jews and the Communist Party of South Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Mar., 2000, 145-162.

After the National Party came to power in 1948, the South African government was at great pains to portray the white opposition as Communist-controlled, atheist and un-South African. The existence of a number of high-profile Jews within the opposition meant that the government could fall back on a range of anti-semitic stereotypes in attempting to explain the phenomenon of white dissent. During this period - with some notable exceptions - official representatives of the Jewish community generally maintained a policy of silence. Many leading radical Jews were not only persecuted by the state but were also ostracized within the Jewish community and subsequently written out of South African Jewish history. In the 1990s, the Jewish community has begun to come to terms with the way that Jewish South Africans responded to apartheid. This article examines questions concerning the reasons for and level of Jewish involvement in the Communist Party in order to facilitate an ongoing debate regarding the nature of the Jewish response to racism in South Africa.

1649. Karis, T., 'South African Liberation: The Communist Factor', *Foreign Affairs,* 65, 2, Winter 1986-87.

1650. Lerumo, A. (Michael Harmel), *Fifty Fighting Years: The Communist Party of South Africa*, Inkululeko, London, 1971.

1651. Laurence, P., 'South African Communist Party Strategy Since February 1990', in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds), *South African Review,* vol. 6, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1992.

1652. Lodge, T., 'Post-modern Bolsheviks - SA Communists in Transition', *South Africa International,* Vol.22 (4), 1992.

1653. Ludi, G., *Operation Q-018 The True Story of the Secret Agent who Infiltrated the underground South African Communist Party*, Cape Town, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1969.

1654. Mabhida, M., 'Study and learn from history', *The African communist*, (92), First Quarter, 1983, 75-84.

1655.   Mabhida, M., 'SACP Statement', *The African Communist*, (103), Fourth Quarter, 1985, 11-12.

1656.   Macintosh, P., 'National and class struggle', *The African Communist*, (109), Second Quarter, 1987, 31-47.

1657.   Pike, H.P., *A history of communism in South Africa*, Germiston, Christian Mission International of South Africa, 1985.

1658.   South African Communist Party (SACP), *Apartheid South Africa: Colonialism of a Special Type,* SACP, 1962.

1659.   South African Communist Party (SACP), *The Road to South African Freedom*, *Programme of the South African Communist Party*, adopted at the fifth national conference held inside the country in October 1962. (Distributed in miniaturized form within the country). Reprinted in *South African Communists Speak. Documents from the South African Communist Party 1915-1980*, Inkululeko Publications, London.

1660.   South African Communist Party (SACP), *The way forward from Soweto, political report adopted by the plenary session of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party April 1977*, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1977. (Ruth First Papers: GB/101/117, 1/17/2/13).

1661.   SACP, *South African Communists Speak. Documents from the History of the South African Communist Party 1915-1980*, Inkululeko Publications, London, 1981.

1662.   SACP, *The Path to Power. Programme of the South African Communist Party*, Inkululeko Publications, London, 1989.

1663.   Scholtz, L. and Scholtz, I., 'Die oorsprong en ontwikkeling van die SA Kommunistiese Party se tweefase-revolusie', twee dele in *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, 30, 3 and 30, 4, September and Desember 2004.

1664.   'Special resolution: Party work in the fraternal organisations', November 1981. Available at www.aluka.org/action/showPDF?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.LET19811100.026.021.000&type=img.

1665.   Suttner, R., 'The Reconstitution of the South African Communist Party as an underground Organisation', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, (22), 2003, 43-68.

1666.   UWC, MCH70, SACPC External Representation, Press Release, London, 19 March 1966.

1667.   Wolpe, H., 'The Theory of Internal Colonialism- The South African Case', in Oxall, I., Barnett, T. and Booth, D. (eds), *Beyond the Sociology of Development*, London, 1975.

Chapter

SOWETO UPRISING

1668. Azanian People's Organisation, 'June 16, 1976 Background and Aftermath', available at http://azapo.org.za.

1669. Baines, G., "The Master Narrative of South Africa's Liberation Struggle: Remembering and forgetting June 16, 1976," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* Vol. 40, No. 4, 2007.

1670. Bonner, P. and Segal, L., *Soweto. A History*, Maskew Miller, Longman, Cape Town, 1998.

1671. Bonner, P., 'The Soweto Uprising of June 1976', in *Turning Points in History: Book 5, People, Places and Apartheid. Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*, South African History Project, STE Publishers, Parktown, 2004.

1672. Brink, E. at al., *It all started with a dog: Recollected 15 years later – Soweto 16 June 1976*, Kwela Books, Cape Town, 2001.

1673. Brooks, A. and Brickhill, J., *Whirlwind Before the Storm*, London, 1980.

1674. Cillie, P. M. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and elsewhere from 16th to the 28th of February 1977,* Government Printer, Pretoria, 1980. Available at University of the Witwatersrand Historical and Literary Papers, Johannesburg.

1675. Frankel, P., 'The Dynamics of a Political Renaissance: the Soweto Students Representative Council', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 7, 3. 1980.

1676. Gerhart, G and Karis, T., 'The 1976 Soweto Uprising', in Karis, T.G. and Gerhart, G.M. (eds.) *From Protest to Challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882- 1990*, Volume 5, 1964 – 1979, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1997.

1677. Glaser, C., 'Youth Culture and Politics in Soweto; 1958-1976', PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1994.

1678. Hermer, C., *The Diary of Maria Tholo*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1980.

1679. Hirson, B., *Year of Fire, Year of Ash: the Soweto Revolt, Roots of a revolution?*, London, Zed Press, 1979.

1680. Hlongwane, A.K., 'The mapping of the June 16 1976 Soweto student uprisings routes: past recollections and present reconstruction(s)', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2007, Special Issue: Performing (in) everyday life, 7-36.

> The June 16 1976 Soweto Uprisings are continuously being memorialized as public history in various ways. One of these ways has been the mapping of the routes used by students on that historic and fateful day and their formal recognition as 'historical trails'. The article seeks to identify as closely as possible the several routes traveled by different groups of students, and to recognise that the memories of the marchers from the 'class of 76' have given rise to many, sometimes conflicting, narratives. This mapping process is seen as part of the process of remembering and memorializing the diverse facets of the South African liberation project. Drawing on rich resources of oral history as well as from the paper trail of student writings and police records, this article revisits and documents the recollections of students, teachers, parents and police, in order to consider the debates and contestations on the causes of the uprisings, who did and who did not particpate, and the political or ideological body of ideas that influenced students of the time.[40]

1681. Hopkins, P. and Grange, H. 2001. *The rocky rioter teargas show: the inside story of the 1976 Soweto uprising*, Cape Town: Zebra.

1682. Hyslop, 'State Education Policy and the Social Reproduction of the Urban African Working Class: the case of the Southern Transvaal 1955-1976', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 14, 3, April 1988.

> Between its establishment in 1955, and the beginnings of its collapse in the student rebellion of 1976, the Bantu Education system significantly restructured the patterns of social reproduction of South Africa's urban African working class. This paper seeks to examine this restructuring process. It argues, firstly, that Bantu Education has to be understood as a system which helped reproduce differentiated forms of labour power. The system underpinned the gap that opened up between urbanised and migrant labour forces, and in its later years increasingly generated varying types of labour power within the urban work force. Secondly, Bantu Education is not viewed as a static entity, but as a policy which underwent significant changes as the outcome of social conflicts over education. In the period under study, these conflicts predominantly occurred within and between various capitalist interests and various arms of the state. But the dominated classes' expression of their interests in various forms also affected education policy.

1683. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, Baruch Hirson: Soweto collection (ICS BHS), file B.

1684. ICS BHS, file B, 'Azikwhwelwa', SSRC pamphlet, September 1976.

1685. ICS BHS file C, "The Story of the Soweto SRC, Part One, clipping from *The World, ca* mid-1977.

1686. ICS BHS, file C, "The Story of the Soweto SRC, Part Two, clipping from *The World, ca* mid-1977.

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[40] 7.

1687.   Kane-Berman, J., *Soweto: black revolt: white reaction*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1981.

1688.   Mashabela, H., *A People on the Boil: Reflections on June* 16 1976 *and Beyond,* Jacana, Johannesburg, 2006.

1689.   Mathabatha, S., 'The 1976 Student Revolts and the Schools in Lebowa, 1970–1976', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 51, Issue 1, 2004, 108-129.

1690.   Mkhabela, S., *Open Earth Open and Black Roses: Remembering 16 June 1976*, Skotaville Press, Johannesburg, 2001.

1691.   Moloi, T., 'Bodibeng High School: Black Consciousness Philosophy and Students Demonstration, 1940s–1976', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 63, Issue 1, 2011, 102-126.

> This paper examines the factor(s) that caused students to demonstrate in 1976 through a case study of Bodibeng High School in Maokeng, Kroonstad, in the northern Free State. It shows the role of the teachers influenced by the Black Consciousness philosophy. The latter caused the behavioural change of some of the students at Bodibeng High School, from submissive to assertive, and political. Bodibeng High School, dating back to the 1940s, was one of the major centres of education for African students in the then Orange Free State (now Free State Province). It was one of the two day schools to offer matric as early as 1940, and the only one to have its matriculants writing the Joint Matriculation Board Examination in the mid 1960s, instead of the Bantu Education's senior certificate examinations. The school attracted an influx of students from all over the country, and some of the best teachers. There were three phases in the history of the school; each phase can be characterised in terms of the degree of its engagement in the political affairs of the day. The first, from the 1940s to 1950s, was one where teachers engaged both education and politics actively. The second, from the 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s was a period of apparent quiescence. The third, from the early 1970s, was characterised, once again, by active engagement of students and teachers with politics. In the latter period, the Black Consciousness philosophy was the major influence. This paper will show that the influence of the Black Consciousness philosophy and the role of the younger and politically conscious teachers played an important part in influencing some of the students at Bodibeng to demonstrate in 1976.

1692.   Moss, G., 'Crisis and Conflict in Soweto, 1976- 1977', MA Dissertation: University of the Witwatersrand, 1982.

1693.   Mzamane, M., *Children of Soweto*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1982.

1694.   Ndlovu, S. *The Soweto uprisings: counter-memories of June 1976*, Ravan, Randburg, 1998.

1695.   Ndlovu, S. 'The Soweto Uprising: Part 1, Soweto, in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol;ume 2, 1970-1980*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2006.

This chapter focuses mainly on the socio-economic structural changes affecting Soweto; the role of Afrikaner nationalist ideology; educational and epistemological issues; the relevance and centrality of Afrikaans to the uprising; and the role of the South African Student Movement (SASM). The discussion relies on archival material and oral history testimonies including those of teachers, whose distinct voices have been overlooked in most historical narratives about the uprisings. The chapter ends with a look at the spread of the uprising beyond Soweto, with special reference to the Witwatersrand townships of Alexandra, Thembisa, Katlehong, Vosloorus and Thokoza.

1696. Nieves, A.D. and Hlongwane, A.K., 'Public history and "memorial architecture" in the "new" South Africa: The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, Soweto, Johannesburg', *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3, July 2007, 351-368.

1697. Pohlandt-McCormick, H., *Introduction: the child is also wondering what happened to the father In*: "I saw a nightmare": doing violence to memory: the Soweto uprising, June 16, 1976", n.d.a, [online]. Available from: http://www.gutenberg-e.org/pohlandt-mccormick/print/PM.c1p1.pdf.

1698. Pohlandt-McCormick, H., '"I saw a nightmare …": 'Doing Violence to memory – The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976', *History and Theory*, Vol. 39, No. 4, December 2000, 23-44.

The protests on June 16, 1976 of black schoolchildren in Soweto against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools precipitated one of the most pro-found challenges to the South African apartheid state. These events were experienced in a context of violent social and political conflict. They were almost immediately drawn into a discourse that discredited and silenced them, manipulating meaning for ideological and political reasons with little regard for how language and its absence-silences-further violated those who had experienced the events. Violence, in its physical and discursive shape, forged individual memories that remain torn with pain, anger, distrust, and open questions; collective memories that left few spaces for ambiguity; and official or public histories tarnished by their political agendas or the very structures-and sources-that produced them. Based on oral histories and historical documents, this article discusses the collusion of violence and silence and its consequences. It argues that-while the collusion between violence and silence might appear to disrupt or, worse, destroy the ability of individuals to think historically-the individual historical actor can and does have the will to contest and engage with collective memory and official history.

1699. Tambo, O., Black consciousness and the Soweto uprising. Extract from the political report of the National Executive Committee to the second National Consultative Conference, June16–231985, Lusaka. Reproduced in Tambo, A. (ed), *Preparing for power: Oliver Tambo speaks*, Heinemann, London 1987.

Chapter

State Strategy

1700. Adam, H., 'Engineering Compliance: The Management of Dissent in South Africa', in Hund, J. (ed) *Law and Justice in South Africa*, Johannesburg & Cape Town: Institute for Public Interest Law and Research, 1988.

1701. CEA/CEDIMO, 'South Africa: Is Botha's Total Strategy a Programme for Reform?', *Review of African Political Economy*, 19, 1980.

1702. CEA, 'The Constellation of Southern African States: A New Strategic Offensive by South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 18, 1980.

1703. Cobbett, W., Glaser, D, Hindson, D. and Swilling, M., 'South Africa's regional political economy: a critical analysis of reform strategy in the 1980s', South African Research Services (eds), *South African Review 3*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1986.

1704. Cooper, C. 'The militarisation of the Bantu-stans: Control and contradictions', in *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*, ed. J. Cock and L. Nathan, pp. 174-87. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1989.

1705. Culhane, D.S.K. 'No Easy Talk: South Africa and the Suppression of Political Speech', *Fordham International Law Journal*, Volume 17, Issue 4, 1993.

> This article will examine the direct and indirect regulation of political speech in a chronological manner, concluding with the statutory and regulatory environment under State President Frederik W. de Klerk, the Interim Constitution and the events leading up to the watershed April elections. The direct regulation of political speech in post-1948 South Africa has been effected primarily through the Suppression of Communism Act and its successor, the Internal Security Act of 1982, the Publications and Entertainments Act and its successor, the Publications Act, a series of miscellaneous legislation imposing various substantive restrictions on private and public speech, and finally, executive emergency regulations promulgated pursuant to the Public Safety Act. These statutes imposed strict limitations on the dissemination of information and opinion.

1706. Daniel, J., "Racism, the Cold War and South Africa's Regional Security Strategy 1948–1990," in Sue Onslow (ed), *Cold War in Southern Africa: white power, black liberation*, London: Routledge, 2009, 35–54.

1707. Davies, 1., 'Capital, State and Educational Reform in South Africa', in Kallaway, P. (ed), *Apartheid And Education*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1988.

1708. Davies, R. and O'Meara, D., 'The state of analysis of the South African region: issues raised by South African strategy', *Review of African Political Economy*, (29), 1984.

1709. Greenberg, S (1987) - 'Ideological struggles within the South African state', in Marks, S. and Trapido, S. (eds), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, Longmans, London, 1983.

1710. Harrigan, A., *Defense Against Total Attack*, Pretoria: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1965.

1711. Hindson, D., 'Review: Reforming state urban policy in South Africa?, *Journal of Southern Afri-can Studies*, 14(1), 1986:160-66.

1712. International Defence and Aid Fund(IDAF), *The Apartheid War Machine*, IDAF, London, 1980.

1713. Lambert, R., and Lambert, L., 'State reform and working class resistance, 1982', South African Research Services, (eds), *South African Review 1*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1983.

1714. Molefe, P., 'Responses to State Strategy', in National Union of South African Students, *Beyond Reform: The Challenge of Change*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1983.

1715. Moss, G., 'Total strategy', *Work in Progress*, 11, 1980.

1716. O'Meara, D., 'Muldergate and the politics of Afrikaner nationalism', *Work in Progress*, 22, 1982.

1717. O'meara, D. and Davies, R., 'The State of Analysis of the Southern African Region: Issues Raised by South African Strategy', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 29 (Jul., 1984), 64-76.

> The southern African region today is a battleground. In two broad interrelated struggles the mass of the population of the region are ranged against the South African ruling class and its apartheid regime. The first of these is the advancing national liberation struggles inside South Africa and Namibia, led by the ANC and SWAPO. These struggles are assisted in the region by attempts to cu-ordinate the policies of the six African states grouped together as the frontline states. This paper focuses on the state of analysis of one of the central sets of questions posed by these struggles - i.e. the nature of the enemy; the elements of his strategy and tactics; their limits and possibilities. These questions are frequently absent in analysis of the Southern African region.[41]

1718. Saul, J. and Gelb, S., *The Crisis in South Africa*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1981.

1719. Swilling, M., 'Living in the Interregnum: Crisis, Reform and the Socialist Alternative in South Africa', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2, After Apartheid (Apr., 1987), 408-436.

> This article analyses the major social processes that have shaped South African society over the previous decade. The basic aim was to explain these processes as the outcome of intense social

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[41] O'meara, D. and Davies, R., 'The State of Analysis of the Southern African Region: Issues Raised by South African Strategy', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 29 (Jul., 1984), 64-5.

conflicts over the goals of structural change and the means to achieve them. The paper will have four parts. Firstly, I will start with the unusual practice of stating what these goals should in principle be, rather than what they may be in reality. Secondly, I will provide an analysis of structural and political changes that have taken place since 1976. Thirdly, I will link an evaluation of the dynamics of the current interregnum to a prognosis for the future. Finally, proposals for how a socialist system could be constructed are briefly discussed. This paper, firstly, seeks to review some of the literature on the 'Total Strategy' and its implications both within South Africa and the region. Secondly, it attempts a brief and schematic analysis of the development, meaning, limits and possibilities, and implications for struggles in the region of the Total Strategy.[42]

1720. Swilling, M. and Phillips, M., "State Power in the 1980s: From 'total strategy' to 'counter-revolutionary warfare'", in J. Cock and L. Nathan, (eds), *War and Society*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1989.

1721. Swilling, M. and Phillips, M., 'Powers of the Thunderbird: Decision-Making Structures and Policy Strategy in the South African State', in *South Africa at the End of the Eighties*, Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, 1989.

1722. Webster 'New frontiers of control', South African Research Services, *South African Review 2*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1983.

1723. Williams, R., 'Function of Psychological Warfare in the Department of Military Intelligence', Extracts, n.d., A. 2.4.17.5.24 D Cory Library, Rhodes University.

1724. Williamson, C., 'Aspects of the State Counter-Revolutionary Warfare Principles and Strategy: Republic of South Africa in the 1980's', *Submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 19 October, 1997, 1-9.

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[42] Swilling, M., 'Living in the Interregnum: Crisis, Reform and the Socialist Alternative in South Africa', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2, After Apartheid (Apr., 1987), 408.

Chapter

STUDENTS/YOUTH

1725. AYCO (Alexandra Youth Congress). N.d.: Constitution of Ayco. MS.

1726. Badat, S., *Black student politics, higher education and apartheid: From SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*, Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council, 1999.

1727. Bapela, Obed, 'A Short History of Ayco', MS, nd.

1728. Brown, J., 'SASO's Reluctant Embrace of Public Forms of Protest, 1968–1972, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 62, No. 4, 2010.

> This article suggests that the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) began its life committed to a policy of non-confrontational protest and that – until 1972 – its leaders sought to prioritise strategies of negotiation over strategies of public protest. This general policy was confirmed in SASO's response to white student protests in 1968 and 1970, as well as in a series of discussion documents and General Council resolutions proposed in 1970 and 1971. This policy was, however, challenged by the events that took place at the University of the North following the expulsion of Onkgopotse Tiro in 1972. A wave of seemingly spontaneous student protest forced SASO's leaders to reconsider their apparent suspicion of public, confrontational forms of protest and reluctantly to accept the necessity of committing the organisation to such protests. I argue that this reluctant embrace was the product of contingent circumstances and pressures from below, rather than the result of an ideological or theoretical shift on the part of SASO leadership. This in turn suggests an alternate approach to the history of SASO, an approach that focuses less on a process of ideological development and more on the contingent details of its institutional history.

1729. Bundy, C., 'Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of youth and student resistance in Cape Town, 1985', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, April 1987.

1730. Bundy, C., "Action, comrades, action!': The politics of youth resistance in the Western Cape, 1985', in C. Bundy (ed), *Economic history of the South African Western Cape*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1989.

1731. Carter, C., "'We are the progressives': Alexandra Youth Congress activists and the freedom charter, 1983–85", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 17, Issue 2, 1991, 197-220.

> This paper looks at the rise of a youth congress in Alexandra township, South Africa, in the mid-1980s. The formation of Alexandra Youth Congress involved creating a formal organisational structure which embodied a legalistic and constitutional ethos, central to which was the adoption of the Freedom Charter as a key organisational tenet. Much of the appeal of the Freedom Charter lay in the range of 'answers' to organisational concerns that it offered youth activists: the Charter provided a symbolic, and for some a real, link to African National Congress:

in the context of Alexandra's metropolitan setting, embracing the Freedom Charter and the United Democratic Front meant in the most practical sense easy access to other political activists, who in turn provided organisational resources and a sense of solidarity: and the document became in the hands of some youth activists a creed for the purposes of recruitment and political conscientisation.

1732. Chapman, R.D., 'A Culture of Resistance: Student Activism at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa, 1979-1994', Ph.D. thesis, Howard University, 2008.

1733. Diseko, N.J. 'The Origins and Development of the South African Student's Movement (SASM): 1968-1976', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Special Issue: Social History of Resistance in South Africa (Mar., 1992), 40-62.

This paper provides a detailed historical account of the South African Students' Movement from its birth to the period just before the 1976 pupil uprising. Stress is laid on the conditions within secondary an1d high schools as a major factor accounting for its birth. Primary among these were authoritarianism,. and the absence of channels through which students could either communicate with their authorities or seek redress for their grievances. In its infancy the organisation-adhered to no particular ideology, but when Black Consciousness emerged in the early 1970s it was embraced as its philosophy. However, by the en1d of 1974, it is argued, dissatisfaction with the limitations of Black Consciousness led to the establishment of links with the ANC. Due to state repression this ideological shift went unnoticed by the public, although the 1976 u4prisinig consolidated the change. Thus when the Congress of South African Students came into existence in 1979, clear-lv espousing the philosophy of the ANC, the move away from Black Consciousness politics, particularly among secondary high school pupils, seemed abrupt. In conclusion the impact of closer ties with the ANC is examined.

1734. Dissel, A., 'Youth, Street Gangs and Violence in South Africa', http://www.csvr.org.za.

1735. Gilmour, D., 'Smoke in Your Eyes: A Comment on Students Take Control: The 1980 Boycott of Coloured Education in the Cape Peninsula'', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1989), 367-374.

The events of the schools' boycott presented by Molteno are reviewed. It is argued that for a combination of reasons illustrative of the difficulties deriving from the relationship between the social sciences and politics, his interpretation of the events must be seriously questioned. The implication arising is that Molteno's linking of practice and theory is in this case not justified.

1736. Glaser, C., 'We must infiltrate the Tsotsis: Schools Politics and Youth Gangs in Soweto, 1968-1976', *Journal of South African Studies,* Vol.24, No.2, June 1988.

By the late 1960s, two major associative structures dominated youth culture in Soweto: the school and the gang. Despite secondary school expansion during the early 1970s, no more than a third of the teenage and adolescent population of Soweto attended school by the middle of the decade. Gangs, which offered a powerful alternative to schooling, attracted a large proportion of unemployed and non-school-going male adolescents. While the gangs were absorbed by localised competition, a political culture gradually took root in Soweto's high schools. Conflict mounted between high schools and gangs in the lead-up to the 1976 uprising. It was an uprising of school students rather than 'the youth', a contemporary catch-all category which often

obscures deep cultural divisions. School and university-based activists, recognising the political potential of gangs, made some attempt to draw the gang constituency into disciplined political activity but they were largely unsuccessful. Gangs participated spontaneously in the uprising but the Soweto Students Representative Council, in order to maintain credibility with a broader Soweto support base, distanced itself from all gang activity and even mounted anti-gang operations during late 1976 and 1977.

1737. Hyslop, J., 'School student movements and state education policy: 1972-87', in W. Cobbett and R. Cohen (eds.), *Popular Struggles in South Africa*, New Jersey, Africa World Press, 1988.

1738. Hyslop, J., 'Schools, Unemployment and Youth: Origins and Significance of Student and Youth Movements, 1976-1987', in Bill Nasson and John Samuel (eds.), *Education: From Poverty to Liberty*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1990.

1739. Johannes, L. 'Do experience of political violence emanating from youth movements influence political culture?: A Case Study of the 'Black Cates' movement in Wesselton, 1989-1994', Honours Research Essay, University of the Witwatersrand, 2009.

1740. Johnson, S., 'The Soldiers of Luthuli: Youth in the politics of resistance in South Africa', in S. Johnson (ed.), *South Africa: No turning back*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1989.

1741. Lidell, C., Kemp, J. and Moema, M., 'The Young Lions: South African children and youth in political struggle', in Leavitt, L.A. and Fox, N.A. (eds), *The psychological effects of war and violence on children*, Psychology Press, New York, 1993.

> This chapter starts with the assertion that in South Africa, children and youths have been at the forefront of the armed struggle, more so than anywhere else in the world. The chapter examines the historical roots of this phenomenon, the scale of children's involvement, and the possible consequences for the children and the country.

1742. Marks, M. & McKenzie, P., 'Political Pawns or Social Agents? A look at militarised youth in South Africa.,' Paper presented at the *Confronting Crime* conference, Cape Town, September 1995.

> This paper addresses eight themes. Firstly, it outlines the theoretical framework used to understand militarised youth and their defence structures. This is followed by an overview of the history of youth struggles, identity and organisation in the 1980s. The third section deals with defence structures in the eighties. The next section examines the political shifts in the nineties and this is followed by a discussion of defence structures post April 1994. The sixth section seeks to uncover the aspirations and goals of militarised youth. Section seven examines the future of youth defence structures, whilst the final section looks at two programs aimed at integrating former members of defence structures into society.

1743. Marks, M. '"We are Fighting for the Liberation of our People": Justifications of violence by activist youth in Diepkloof, Soweto', *Temps Modernes*, No. 585, 1995.

Youth in Diepkloof who aligned themselves with the Charterist Movement in South Africa, were engaged in a number of acts of "political violence" during the period from 1984-1993. They participated in acts of collective violence against what they perceived to be "agents of the state" such as the police; local government councillors; and even teachers and principals of schools in some instances. They also engaged in collective violence against groups and individuals who were perceived as a threat to the community in which they lived. These included, for example, Inkatha, and individuals who were identified as "spies" by these youth. In some instances, violence was also used against members within their own organisations who were perceived as "undisciplined", or acting outside of a code of conduct developed by the organisations of which these youth were members. This paper examines the discourses[4] surrounding "political violence"; it probes how youth represent political violence, with special reference to its perceived "morality", and at how the construction of this discourse cannot be separated from their self-conception of what it meant to be a "comrade". The actual wording, expressions and assumptions that the comrade youth of Diepkloof make use of in speaking about political violence will be central in this paper. This language is embedded in a broader discourse which legitimates violent acts; it has several aspects to it and varying degrees of adherence by the different strata of youth.

1744. Marks, M., 'Organisations, Identity and Violence Amongst Activist Diepkloof Youth: 1984-1993', MA Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1993.

1745. Marks, M., *Young Warriors: Youth Politics, Identity and Violence in South Africa*, Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2001.

1746. Massey, D., 'Who would not have been aware? The History of Fort Hare and its Student Activists, 1933-1973', M.A. Thesis, University of Fort Hare, 2001.

1747. Massey, D., *Under Protest: The Rise of Student Resistance at the University of Fort Hare*, Unisa Press, Pretoria, 2010.

1748. Matona, T., 'Student organisation and political resistance in South Africa: an analysis of the Congress of South African Students, 1979-1985', BA Hons dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1992.

1749. Molapo, R., 'Aspects of the South African Youth Experiences in Exile, 1960-1994', Ph D Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2005.

1750. Moloi, T.C., 'Youth Politics: The Political Role of AZANYU in the Struggle for Liberation: The Case of AZANYU Tembisa branch, 1980s to 1996', M.A Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2005.

1751. Moloi, T., 'Student Politics in the 1990s', in SADET *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990–1996*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2013.

1752. Molteno, F., 'The uprising of 16th June: A review of the literature on events in South Africa 1976', Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies, Volume 5, Issue 1, 1979, 54-89.

1753. Naidoo, K., 'The politics of youth resistance in the 1980s: The dilemmas of a differentiated Durban', *Journal of Southern Studies.* Volume 18, Number 1, March 1991.

1754. Nishino, R., 'An Oral History Project: Recording Recollections of the School Boycotts c. 1984 to 1987 in Grahamstown, South Africa', *The Australasian Review of African Studies*, Volume 24 Issue 1 (Jun 2002).

> This article arises out of an oral history project conducted in Grahamstown South Africa in 1999. Following the Soweto uprising of June 1976 Township children boycotted their schools across South Africa including in Grahamstown between 1984 to 1987. Seeking to discover the 'human side' of those Grahamstown boycotts and at the same time to examine the value of oral evidence for the history of that period I conducted interviews with a number of former students, teachers who had been teaching in the township schools and parents who had had children at school in the mid-1980s. While the number of interviews was small I found that the recollections of all those who participated in the project provided some valuable insights into their common frustrations during the boycott years. This article, largely using their own words, draws together those insights as a contribution to the growing body of oral evidence relating to that period.

1755. Ritchken, E., 'Comrades, Witches and the State: The Case of the Brooklyn Youth Organisation', African Studies seminar paper no. 220, University of the Witwatersrand, September 1987.

1756. Seekings, J. , 'The Sociology of Youth and Violence: Duduza in the mid-1980's', unpublished paper, 1990.

1757. Seekings, J., *Heroes or Villains?: Youth Politics in the 1980s,* Ravan, Johannesburg, 1993.

1758. Straker, G., *Faces in the revolution: The psychological effects of violence on township youth in South Africa,* David Phillip, Cape Town, 1992

1759. Tetelman, S.M., 'In search of discipline: Generational control, political protest and everyday violence in Cradock, South Africa, 1984-1985', in Mario I. Aguilar (ed), *The Politics of Age and Gerontocracy in Africa*, Africa Worlds Press, Inc., Eretria, 1998.

1760. 'TIC revived: The case for, the case against', *Work in Progress*, No. 26, 1983.

1761. Twala, C., 'The emergence of the student and youth resistance organizations in the Free State townships during the 1980s: A viable attempt to reorganize protest politics?', *Journal for Contemporary History*, Vol 32, Issue 2, 2007, 39-55.

> The banning of the South African black opposition, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), in 1960 discouraged most forms of African organization during the 1960s. After they had been banned, both these organizations established a mission-in-exile, leaving an organizational vacuum in the country. This vacuum was partly filled by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) during the 1970s. The late 1970s introduced a revival of black opposition as popular class struggles evolved from the coordinated national mass struggles to one of combined student, youth, trade union and community struggles against apartheid.

Without doubt the 1976 Soweto uprising triggered a surge of student protests in centres around the country including the Free State, bringing young people into the frontline of anti-apartheid protest. After this a number of influential student and youth organizations were formed. The United Democratic Front (UDF) which was formed in August 1983 became a haven for such organizations as most of them became its affiliates. The UDF was specifically formed to oppose the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills. Before the establishment of the UDF, the youth in South Africa had already challenged the apartheid government although not in an organized way.

1762. Van Kessell, I., 'From confusion to Lusaka: The Youth revolt in Sekhukuneland', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 19, Issue 4, 1993, 593-614.

After a series of rebellions in the 1950s, the South African Bantustans remained largely quiescent. Only after the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983 did rural areas once more become the scene of widespread protest and resistance, as revolt spread from the townships to remote villages in the Bantustans. However, rural organisation was a much neglected issue in the programme of the UDF's national leadership. The process of rural mobilisation in the Transvaal Bantustans owed more to local youth initiatives than to any planning or co-ordination on the part of the UDF leadership. This article examines the role of the UDF in Lebowa, focusing in particular on youth movements in Sekhukhuneland.

1763. Vassen, M., 'Beyond the barricades: the 1985 schools boycott and the vicissitudes of the Athlone Students Action Committee (ASAC)', BA Hons dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1995. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

   a. This dissertation seeks to explore the schools boycott experience in the Athlone area. It is not merely an attempt to document the specificity of events which unfolded in the Athlone schools but, more significantly, it is an attempt to elucidate and understand an experience which operated at a myriad of levels, and as such, eschews a simplistic analysis or categorisation. One of the cardinal concerns of the dissertation is an attempt to comprehend the actions of the Athlone Students Action Committee (ASAC), the powerful area-based student structure which emerged to direct and co-ordinate the boycott in the Athlone area.

1764. Western Cape Youth League, *"Get Organised" a practical student manual,* Athlone, WCYL, 1985.

Chapter

TRADE UNIONS

1765. Adler, G. M., "The Factory Belongs to All Who Work in It': race, class, and collective action in South African Industry, 1967-1986', PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1994.

1766. Alder, G., 'Shop Floors and Rugby Fields: The Social Basis of Auto Worker Solidarity in South Africa', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, No. 51, Workers in Racially-Stratified Societies, (Spring, 1997), 96-128.

> The article examines four interrelated factors. First, African and coloured workers experienced extremely harsh conditions at work. While these motivated workers to protest against management, they did not in themselves define the character of that protest; elsewhere African and colored workers' grievances against factory life were expressed in racially divided unionism. A second factor indicates what is distinctive about worker organization in Uitenhage: the ways in which factory grievances coincided with a number of important social relationships, shaped in large part by the legacy of the uneven application of apartheid-based residential segregation in the town. These relationships in turn created a third factor, the existence of spaces for continuous social interaction across racially defined communities in which new identities could be constructed. The rugby field provided one important space for such activity among auto workers, a space in which common experiences as workers, as blacks, and as men contributed to a new solidarity outside the workplace that provided resources for solidarity inside the factory as well. Through these relationships, and in such spaces, ordinary workers as well as labor activists came to identify each other as familiars rather than strangers, enabling them to devise a politics of solidarity that transcended the statutorily defined racial categorizations. Finally, social movement activists were able to fashion these conditions at work and outside of work to help workers define their problems in a nonracial way, and to provide nonracial class-collective solutions for these problems. The article thus stresses the intersection of economic and social factors – workers' combined experiences of shop floors and rugby fields – as well as the interaction between structural conditions and agency in the shaping of solidarity.[43]

1767. Adler, G. and Webster, E., *Trade Unions and Democratisation in South Africa, 1985-1997*, Basingstoke, Macmillan and New York, St Martin's Press, 2000.

1768. Adler, G. and Webster, E., 'Challenging transition theory: The labour movement, radical reform and transition to democracy in South Africa', *Politics and Society*, 23, (1), 1995, 75-106.

1769. Agulhas, A., 'Building a fighting force', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 19 (3), 1995, 47-52.

1770. Barchiesi, F. and Kenny, B., 'Precarious Collaborations. Working-Class Subjectivities, Community Activism, and the Problem with "Social Movement Unionism" in Late-Apartheid East Rand (South Africa)', 8th North Eastern Workshop on Southern Africa (NEWSA),

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[43] Alder, G., 'Shop Floors and Rugby Fields: The Social Basis of Auto Worker Solidarity in South Africa', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, No. 51, Workers in Racially-Stratified Societies, (Spring, 1997), 99.

Burlington (VT), Bishop Booth Conference Center, 2008. Available at: http://works.bepress.com/franco_barchiesi/28.

This paper looks at the East Rand, one of the strongholds of South African labor radicalism, to problematize the paradigm of social movement unionism by examining how it was produced at the intersection of academic discourse, labor's public ideologies, and formal organizations. On the basis of preliminary research findings, the aim is to raise questions and propose hypotheses for future research. In particular, the authors cannot easily discern a correspondence between local unions' participation in community struggles and a coherent model of social movement unionism. Rather, indications exist that undergirding the template of social movement unionism were unstable, contingent, localized labor-community collaborations, which reflected deep, unsettled incongruities in workers' subjectivities. Workers' discourse in the East Rand's black townships reflected the experience of growing precariousness and social vulnerability in wage employment, which provided crucial motivating factors for workers' involvement with community struggles.

1771. Barchiesi, F., 'Economic adjustment, political institutionalization and social marginalisation: COSATU and the first democratic government (1994–1999), *Transformation*, No. 38, 1999, 20–48.

1772. Barchiesi, F., (in press): 'Pressing Challenges in the South African Labour Movement: An Interview with John Appolis and Dinga Sikwebu' in T. Bramble and F. Barchiesi (eds) *Rethinking the Labour Movement in the 'New' South Africa*, Ashgate, Aldershot.

1773. Baskin, J., 'Growth of a New Workers' Organ: the Germiston Shop-stewards' Council', *South African Labour Bulletin,* 7 (8), July 1982, 42-53.

1774. Baskin, J., 'The 1981 East Rand strike wave', in J. Maree (ed), *The Independent Trade Unions, 1974-1984*, Ravan Press, Johanensburg, 1987.

1775. Baskin, J., *Striking back: A history of COSATU*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1991.

1776. Beittel, M., 'Labor Unrest in South Africa, 1870-1990', *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center), Vol. 18, No. 1, Labor Unrest in the World-Economy,1870–1990 (Winter, 1995), 87-104.

1777. Benjamin, P., Cheadle, H. and Kosa, N., 'A Guide to the Labour Relations Amendment Act (1981)', South Africa Labour Bulletin, Vol.7, Nos.1 & 2, 1981.

1778. Berg, E. and Butler, J. 'Trade Unions', in Coleman, J. and Rosberg, C. (eds), *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1966.

1779. Berger, I., *Threads of Solidarity: women in South African industries 1900- 1980*, James Curry, London, 1992.

1780. Bezuidenhout, A., 'COSATU special congress: a wake-up call for worker control', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 23 (5), 1999, 63-67.

1781. Bonner, P., 'Focus on FOSATU', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 5 (1), May 1979, 5- 24.

1782. Bonner, P., 'Independent Trade Unions Since Wiehahn', *South African Labour Bulletin,* 8 (4), February 1983, 16-36.

1783. Bonner, P., 'Black trade unions and the current recession', ROAPE Conference, Keele, 1984.

1784. Bramble, T., 'From Insurrection to Institutionalisation? South African Trade Unionism since the 1970s', Available at www.mng.waikato.ac.nz.

> The dominant trajectory of union development in North America, Western Europe and Australasia in the early part of the 20th century involved two processes of internal consolidation and external legitimation, leading ultimately to the emergence of institutionalised unionism. It has been argued by some writers that an alternative trajectory of social movement unionism is possible given certain conditions. It is suggested that social movement unionism avoids many of the problems experienced with the institutionalized model of unionism and may present Western unions with a path for their own revival. The purpose of this paper is to consider the experience of social movement unionism in the context of union organising amongst black workers in the South African metal industry from the 1970s to the present.

1785. Buhlungu, M. S., 'Democracy and Modernisation in the Making of the South African Trade Union Movement: the dilemma of leadership, 1973-2000', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2001.

1786. Buhlungu, S., 'Rebels without a cause of their own? The Contradictory Location of White Officials in Black Unions in South Africa, 1973–94', *Current Sociology*, May 2006, vol. 54, no. 3, 427-451.

> This article explores the role played by white full-time union officials in the black unions that emerged in the wake of the 1973 Durban strikes. It asks how white officials could gain acceptance and play a central role in a movement of black workers in a context where black–white relations were characterized by a vast social distance, hostility and deep mutual mistrust between the two population groups. White officials, mainly from middle-class backgrounds, were never fully integrated into the class (and movement) with which they had decided to pledge solidarity. Erik Olin Wright's notion of 'contradictory location' is used to explain this incomplete integration. The social distance between white and black people in society continued to exist between white officials, on the one hand, and black workers and full-time officials, on the other. Power relations between white officials and black unionists remained unequal and white officials performed expert functions while black unionists performed more menial functions. The escalation of mass resistance against apartheid and the emergence within the black unions of a critical mass of younger black leaders and organic intellectuals, many previously leaders in the student and youth movements, changed the role and position of white officials and many retreated into policy work outside the union movement.

1787. Buhlungu, S., 'The building of the democratic tradition in South Africa's trade unions after 1973', *Democratization*, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2004, 133-158.

> This article traces the emergence of the democratic union tradition in the trade union movement that emerged in the wake of the 1973 strikes in South Africa. Contrary to the conventional wisdom that attributes the emergence of this tradition solely to a generation of young white union activists and labour-supporting intellectuals, the article argues that this tradition owes its origins to a multiplicity of sources. The article emphasises the social character of trade unions and how they bear the imprint of the historical and cultural heritage and social experiences of their members and leading activists. Thus the article challenges the notion that a social group enters into new associational forms as a *tabula rasa*. Instead, it claims that the building of the democratic union tradition in South Africa is not just an outcome of intellectual influences but significantly was shaped by the workers' 'lived experiences'.

1788. Buhlungu, S. 'Whose Cause and Whose History? A Response to Maree', *Current Sociology*, 54 (3): May 2006.

1789. Buhlungu, S. 'White Activists in Black Unions, 1973-1994.' *Khanya: a journal for activists.* May Day, 2005 Edition.

1790. Buhlungu, S. 'A Question of Power: Co-determination and Trade Union Capacity,' in Adler, G. (ed), *Engaging the State and Business: the labour movement and codetermination in contemporary South Africa*, Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2001.

1791. Byrne, S.D., '"Building Tomorrow Today": a re-examination of the character of the controversial "workerist" tendency associated with the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) in South Africa, 1979 – 1985, MA dissertation, Industrial Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012.

> This dissertatioin is concerned with elaborating the politics of an influential and multiracial"workerist" political tradition associated with the leadership of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu). Fosatu was the country's most important trade union federation from its founding in 1979, until its 1985 when it merged into the new Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). If "workerism" was exemplified by Fosatu, its roots lay to some extent in the earlier union initiatives of the 1970s, notably the notably the Trade Union Advisory Coordinating Council (Tuacc).

1792. Callinicos, L., 'Labour History and Worker Education in South Africa', *Labour History*, No. 65, November 1993.

1793. Callinicos, L., 'Popular History in the Eighties', *Radical History Review*, LXV1I, 7, Win., 1990, 285-97.

1794. Carrim, Y., "Trade Unionism in Natal: Shopfloor Relations between Indian and African Workers', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 11 (1986):44-64.

1795. Cohen, R, 'Resistance and Hidden Forms of Consciousness Amongst African Workers', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 19, Consciousness & Class, (Sep. - Dec., 1980), 8-22.

A major weakness in the interpretations proffered by many 'radical' commentators on African labour protest and worker consciousness has resulted from their efforts to define the characteristics of the African proletariat by the use of traditional 'formula dichotomies' - the theoretical bases of which have not been elaborated upon adequately for application within an African context. The methodological limitations imposed by these formulas (examples of which are 'false versus true consciousness', 'economistic versus revolutionary consciousness', 'a class in itself or a class for itself' etc.), have led to an over-emphasis on data which has been easily accessible to measurement, and which has also been familiar and comprehensible within the framework of accepted marxist theory. Consequently there has been too much reliance on data relating to strikes, unionisation and overt political militance, and for the most part a failure to discover and evaluate the silent, unorganised, covert responses of African workers. An imbalance caused by analysing overt worker militancy without paying adequate attention to the covert type could result in an overall false conception of labour consciousness. It is therefore necessary to widen the range of resources to include more data illustrative of how local cultural influences and social pressures can shape the workers' perceptions of their own exploitation. These individualistic forms of protest within specific work situations might not be immediately familiar to the observer; neither might they lend themselves easily to categorisation. Nevertheless they will contribute decisively to the overall process of determining worker consciousness at both an economistic and political level.

1796. Cooper, D., 'War of position and movement: reflections on Central Europe 1917-21 and the South African Trade UniOli Movement 1973-94', *South African Journal of Sociology*, Volume 27, Issue 2, 1996, 55-71.

The article examines Gramsci's concepts of 'war of position' (trench warfare) and 'war of movement' (frontal assault), and allied concepts of 'civil society', 'united front' and 'counterhegemonic apparatuses'. It argues that these concepts underpin new forms of socialist politics: embodying more stagist wars of position. These concepts emerged from reflection on the defeats of workers' movements in the relatively industrialised societies of Central Europe such as Germany and Italy, in the aftermath of World War I. Gramsci, among others, identified problems emerging from an overemphasis on insurrectionist wars of movement, as in Germany in 1918–20, which resulted in serious defeats and counter-revolution. This case study is developed as an analytical contrast to the South African trade union movement of 1973–94, where, as in early 20th century Central Europe, rapid industrialisation had given rise to a semiskilled workforce as the basis of a new workers' movement in large-scale factories. But this new union movement in South Africa stressed trench warfare, including the construction of counterhegemonic apparatuses such as shopsteward committees, and the entering and transforming' of existing structures such as industrial councils. These wars of position, it is argued, alongside other forms of mass protest and 'assault', were important factors shaping the transition to democracy in South Africa.

1797. Crush, J., 'Migrancy and Militance: The Case of the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa', *African Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 350 (Jan., 1989), 5-23.

This article examines various dimensions of the contemporary relationship between migrancy and unions on the mines. It analyses the uneven pattern of growth of the NUM and argues that the union has been able to overcome the traditional geographical and social obstacles to

unionization for three basic reasons.8 First, beginning in the 1970s corporate attitudes towards black mine unionism began to shift. In its quest for a bureaucratic model of industrial relations, the mining industry began to accept the need for black mine unions and a minimal form of collective bargaining. Second, the tactical skills of union organizers and their responsiveness to grassroots concerns have given the NUM a legitimacy and strength which appeals to an ever-widening constituency of disenfranchised workers. And third, the mines' migrant labour system has itself altered its traditional form quite significantly in the last twenty years. Although the NUM has been extraordinarily successful in overcoming the impediments of the migrant labour system, this article also argues that it is the perpetuation of that system which is still the union's greatest source of weakness and which poses its greatest challenge in the future

1798. Curry, A., 'Trade unions in the Western Cape: A preliminary survey', BSoc Sci Hons dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1982.

1799. CWIU, *Struggle for Workers' Rights: A History of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union*, CWIU, Durban, 1994.

1800. Desaubin, F., 'Politics and strategy of the labour movement in South Africa: a crisis of "strategic" and "social" unionism', PhD thesis, Political Science, Australian National University, Canberra, 2002.

1801. Duncan, S., 'The Central Institution of South African Labour Exploitation', (Text of lecture delivered during NUSAS Labour Week, 23rd- 27th May 1977), *South African Labour Bulletin*, 3 (9), November 1977, 5-17.

1802. Durban Editors, 'Case Study: the functions, nature and effectiveness of the Statutory Liaison Committee - Pintex', *South African Labour Bulletin,* 2 (9&10), May-June 1976, 40-58.

1803. Du Toit, D., *Capital and Labour in South Africa: Class struggles in the 1970s*, London, Kegan Paul, 1981.

1804. Eidelberg, P., 'The Unions and the African National Congress', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1, 1993, 270-291.

1805. Ensor, L., 'The Problems of Established Trade Unions', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1 (3), June, 1974, 17-21.

1806. Ensor, L., 'Reynolds; Scene of a Struggle', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1 (3), June 1974, 36-39.

1807. Ensor, L., 'A Look at the Open Trade Unions', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1 (3), June 1974, 46-52.

1808. Ensor, L., 'Recent Strikes in Durban', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1 (4), July 1974, 49-56.

1809.   Erntzen, J., 'Should teachers organisations be trade unions?', in Millar, C., Raynham, S. and Schaffer, A. (eds.) *Breaking 'the ' Formal Frame*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1991.

1810.   Erwin, A., 'The question of unity in the struggle', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 1, September 1985.

1811.   Fine, B. de Clerq, F. and Innes, D., 'Trade Unions and the State in South Africa: The Question of Legality', *Capital and Class*, 15, 1981.

1812.   Fine, B; `De Clercq, F and Innes, D. 'Trade Unions and the State: the question of legality', Maree, J. (ed), *The Independent Trade Unions, 1974 - 1984: ten years of the South African Labour Bulletin*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987. (Originally published in *SALB*, 7 (1&2), September 1981. 39-68).

1813.   Fine, B., 'Trade Unions and the State once more: a reply to our critics', *SALB*, 8 (1), September 1982, 47-55.

1814.   Fine, A. and Webster, E., 'Transcending Traditions: Trade Unions and Political Unity', in South African Research Service (eds), *South African Review 5*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1988.

1815.   Fine, R., with Davis, D., *Beyond Apartheid: Labour and Liberation in South Africa*, Pluto Press, London, 1990.

1816.   Foster, J. 'The Workers' Struggle- Where does FOSATU Stand?' Maree, J. (ed), *The Independent Trade Unions, 1974- 1984: ten years of the South African Labour Bulletin*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987. (Originally published in *SALB*, 7(8), July 1982,. 67-86.)

1817.   Friedman, S., *Building towards tomorrow: African workers in trade unions*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987.

1818.   Freund, B., *The African Worker*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

1819.   Gaetsewe, J., 'The role of the workers in the South African liberation struggle', *Sechaba*, 12, First Quarter, 1978, 17-24.

1820.   Ginsburg, M., 'Trade Union Education: its past and future role in the development of the South African labour movement', MA thesis: University of the Witwatersrand, 1997.

1821.   Haysom, F., 'In search of concession: reply to Fine et al', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 7 (3), November 1981, 26-41.

1822. Hemson, D., 'Class Consciousness and migrant Workers: Dockworkers in Durban', PhD thesis: University of Warwick, 1979.

> Despite the enormous apparatus of control at the disposal of employers and the state in South Africa, working class activity has not been eliminated nor organization erased. African migrant workers, such as those employed in the Durban docks, have held a leading position within the African working class for decades, absorbing the lessons of past struggles and putting forward demands which have led strike movements. These struggles demonstrate the uncompromising hostility of African workers to their class and national oppression. With the growth of capital in South Africa an increase in class exploitation has been accompanied by intensified national oppression; the rule over African workers being enforced through vagrant, master and servant, and pass laws which reproduce a cheap migrant labour force. Dock workers, for more than a century migrant workers, have shown a capacity for resistance in the city equal or higher than the level of class action by 'settled' urban workers. Their resilience is explained by their concentration and commanding position in the labour process of the docks. During strikes the workers have laid claim to work and residence in towns in opposition to the employer and state strategy of expelling strikers from the urban centres. Decasualization has been introduced as a 'repressive reform' to reassert the control of the employers over an increasingly active workforce. Ironically, it has been accompanied by increasing priority to the development of contract labour in the docks and has also not eliminated the high turnover of workers nor the insecurity of employment. The consciousness of the dock workers has been shaped by the harsh discipline of capitalist production, national oppression, and the daily experience of international communications. These factors, combined with a long tradition of resistance, have encouraged the formation of a class conscious section of the African proletariat.

1823. Hemson, D., Legassick, M. and Ulrich, N., 'White activists and the revival of the workers' movement', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

1824. Hinks, T.J, Macun, I. and Wood, G., 'Comprehending Union Growth in South Africa, 1970-1990', Historical Studies in Industrial Relations, Volume 0, Number 23 - 24 / Spring/Autumn 2007, 125-154.

> In comprehending union growth and decline, a key question is whether unions are subjects or objects of history. In other words, are the relative fortunes of unions the subject of external forces or are they, at least in part, the result of strategic choices that unions themselves make? The rise of the South African independent unions was, in part, an uphill battle to cope and prosper in a hostile climate when the battle lines were more clearly drawn. There is an extensive body of literature on this subject. Given the limitations in the availability of membership statistics, most existing studies have tended to draw on case studies, or provide an organizational history that describes advances or setbacks in terms of events and choices, or support of a particular model of unionism or ideological position. Through a consolidation of existing documentary evidence and the authors' own primary research on the South African labour movement,6 this paper attempts to fill this gap, incorporating membership statistics that are not generally available, in order to provide a broad historical overview of the factors contributing to the rise of the South African 'independent' unions.[44]

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[44] Hinks, T.J, Macun, I. and Wood, G., 'Comprehending Union Growth in South Africa, 1970-1990', Historical Studies in Industrial Relations, Volume 0, Number 23 - 24 / Spring/Autumn 2007, 125.

1825. Hindson, D., 'Union Unity', *South African Review 11*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984.

1826. Hirsch, A., 'An Introduction to Textile Worker Organization in Natal', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 4 (8), January/ February 1979, 3-42.

1827. Hirsch, A and Nicol, M., 'Trade Unions and the State – a response', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 7 (3), November 1981, 42-50.

1828. Hirschsohn, P., 'From grassroots democracy to national mobilization: COSATU as a model of social movement unionism', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 19, 1998, pp.633-66.

1829. Hirson, B. *Yours for the Union: class and community struggles in South Africa*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1990.

1830. Horner, D., 'African Labour Representation and the Draft Bill to Amend the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act (No. 48 of 1953)', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 2 (9&10), May/ June 1976, 11-39.

1831. Horrell, M., *South African Workers: Their Organizations and Patterns of Employment*, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1969.

1832. Howe, G., 'Strike Trend Indicators, 1982-1984', *Indicator South Africa*, II, 2, July, 1984, 3-9.

1833. Hyslop, J., 'Teachers and Trade Unions in South Africa'. *South African Labour Bulletin,* Vo1. 2, No. 6, 1989.

1834. Innes, D., 'Trade Unions and the State: rebutting our critics', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 8 (1):, September 1982, 34-46.

1835. 'Joint ANC, COSATU, SACTU statement', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol 1, 1 No 5, May, 1986.

1836. Keenan, J., 'Migrants Awake-the 1980 Johannesburg Municipal Workers Strike', in J. Marée (éd), *The Independent Trade Unions, 1974-1984: Ten Years of the South African Labour Bulletin*, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1987, 70-85.

1837. Keet, D.,'Shop stewards and worker control', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 16 (5), 1992, 29-38.

1838. Kirkwood, M., 'Conversations with Mrs Tshabalala: Chairperson of the TUACC', *South African Labour Bulletin,* 2 (4), October 1975,51-58.

1839. Kraak, G., *Breaking the Chains: Labour in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s*, London, Pluto Press, 1993.

1840. The Labour Monitoring Group, 'The November stay-away, 1984'. *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol 10, No 6, May, 1985.

1841. Labour Monitoring Group, *Report on the effect of the State of Emergency on Industrial Relations*, 29 December 1986.

1842. Lambert, R.V., 'Political Unionism in South Africa: The South African Congress of Trade Unions, 1955-1965', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1998.

1843. Lambert, R., 'Trade Unions Nationalism and the Socialist Project in South Africa', *South African Review*, No. 4, 1987.

1844. Lambert, R. and Webster, E., 'The re - emergence of political unionism in contemporary South Africa?', in W. Cobbett and R. Cohen (eds.) *Popular Struggles in South Africa*, Africa World Press, Trenton NJ, 1988.

1845. Lekgoathi, S. P., 'Reconstructing a History of Educational Transformation in Rural Transvaal Chiefdom: The Radicalisation of Teachers in Zebediela, from early 1950s to the early 1990s', MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1995.

1846. Lekgoathi, S. P., 'Teacher Militancy in the Rural Northern Transvaal Community of Zebediela, 1986–1994', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 58, Issue 1, 2007, 226-252.

> The purpose of this article is to explore the reaction of teachers in the Northern Transvaal to the conflicting pressures of students and the state from 1986 to 1994. It explores the reasons behind the rise in militancy among teachers in the Zebediela community of the province during the period.

1847. Lever, J., 'Capital and Labour in South Africa: the Passage of the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 3 (10), December 1977, 5-31.

1848. Lever, J.T., 'South African trade unionism in an era of racial exclusion', DLit et Phil thesis, University of South Africa, 1992.

> This thesis is an examination of the main tendencies in the trade union movement in South Africa during the currency of the Industrial Conciliation Act from 1924 to 1979, and of state labour policy of direct relevance to worker organisation. It considers in particular the reasons for the predominance of protectionist strategies, frequently amounting to racial monopolies and exclusion, among the unions catering for white artisan and production workers. Attention is given to the deployment of legislative and other policy instruments by the South African state intent on providing support for the large sections of the trade union movement. In analysing these developments, reference is made to the history of the trade union federations reflections

reflecting the divergent interests of different sections of the South African labour movement during this period.

1849. Lewis, D., 'Black Workers and Trade Unions.' Karis, T.G. and Gerhart, G.M. (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882- 1990*, Volume 5, 1964 – 1979, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1997.

1850. Lewis, D., 'Capital, trade unions and liberation', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 11 (4), 1986.

1851. Lewis, J., 'South African Labor History: A Historiographical Assessment', Radical History Review (1990) 1990(46-47): 213-235.

1852. Lewis, J., 'Death of Tucsa', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol 12, No 1, Nov-Dec, 1986.

1853. Lewis, J., 'South African Labor History: A Historiographical Assessment', *Radical History Review*, LXVI, 7, Win., 1990, 213-35.

1854. Lewis, J. and Randall, E., 'Trade Union Survey', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol 11, No 2, Oct-Dec 1985.

1855. Lewis, J. and Randall, E., 'The State of the Unions', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 35, (May, 1986), 68-77.

1856. Liebenberg, I. and Lortan F. 'The role of the labour movement in the struggle for liberation', in Ian Liebenberg et al. (eds), *The Long March: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa,* Haum, Pretoria, 1994.

1857. Lowry, D., *20 Years in the labour movement: The Urban Training Project and Changes in South Africa, 1971-1991*, Wadmore Publishing, Johannesburg, 1999.

1858. Luckhardt, K. and Wall, B., *Organise or Starve! The History of the South African Congress of Trade Unions*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1980.

1859. Luckhardt, K and Wall, B., *Working For Freedom: black trade union development in South Africa throughout the 1970s*, World Council of Churches, Switzerland, 1981.

1860. Macshane, D; Plaut, M; and Ward, D., *Power: black workers, their unions and the struggle for freedom in South Africa.* Boston, South End Press, 1984.

1861. Mojola, T., 'Challenges facing the black workers', *Sechaba*, 16(11), November 1982, 3-8.

1862. Marchand, C.A., 'Consideration of the Legal Basis and Some Practical Operations of the Labour Bureau', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 3(9), November 1977, 8-40.

1863. Markham, C. and Matiko, J., 'State of the Unions', *South African Labour Bulletin*, XIII, 1, 1987, 102-20.

1864. Maree, J. 'Democracy and Oligarchy in Trade Unions: the Independent Trade Union in the Transvaal and the Western Province General Workers' Union in the 1970s', *Social Dynamics*, 8 (1), 1982.

1865. Maree, J., 'An Analysis of the Independent Trade Unions in South Africa in the 1970s', PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986.

1866. Maree, J., 'The Institute for Industrial Education and Worker Education', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 9 (8), July 1984, 77-91.

1867. Maree, J. (ed), *The Independent Trade Unions, 1974-1984*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984.

1868. Maree, J., 'Rebels with Causes: White Officials in Black Trade Unions in South Africa, 1973–94: A Response to Sakhela Buhlungu', *Current Sociology*, vol. 54, no. 3, May 2006, 453-467.

> This article argues that white officials in black trade unions in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s were rebels with numerous causes. These causes were to help build a democratic and powerful black trade union movement, to work towards social and economic justice, and to secure their own long-term future in South Africa. The argument is based on presenting a historical overview of the two major black trade union federations that emerged in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s. One was non-racial and accepted white intellectuals as officials. It eventually grew into COSATU, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which played a major role in the mass democratic movement during the transition to democracy in 1994. The other black trade union federation was Africanist with some black consciousness orientations and appointed only blacks as officials. It eventually grew into NACTU, the National Council of Trade Unions. It never matched COSATU in size, strength or strategic leadership. The non-racial federation grew much stronger than the Africanist federation by focusing on building active democratic shop steward structures in the workplace. This was part of a deliberate strategy by white intellectuals in the unions to put control of the unions into the hands of black workers, who gradually rose through the ranks into positions of leadership. They and other black intellectuals replaced the white intellectuals in the unions who could then proceed to serve their country in other ways. One of them, Alec Erwin, is presently a minister in President Mbeki's cabinet. Far from having been rebels without a cause, white intellectuals in black unions had the privilege of working towards political reconciliation as well as the search for social and economic justice in South Africa.

1869. Maree, J., 'Similarities and Differences between Rebels With and Without a Cause', *Current Sociology*, 54 (3): May 2006.

1870. Mare, G. [Richard Turner], 'The East London Strikes', *SALB*, 1 (5), August 1974, 26-32.

1871. Marie, B., 'COSATU Faces Crisis', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 16(5), 1992, 20–7.

1872. Marx, A.W., 'South African Black Trade Unions as an Emerging Working-Class Movement', *The Journal of Modem African Studies,* Vol. 27, No. 3, 1989.

1873. Mawbey, J., 'Struggles in the Chemical Industry', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 4 (8): January- February 1979, 75-86.

1874. Morris, M., 'Uwusa, Inkatha and Cosatu', *Work in Progress*, 43, August, 1986.

1875. Naidoo, J., 'The Significance of COSATU', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1, 1, April/May 1986.

1876. Ndlovu, M.S. and Sithole, J., 'Trade union unity summits and the formation of COSATU, 1980-1990', in SADET (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Unisa Press, Pretoria, 2010.

1877. Nyameko, R.E., 'Lessons of the two-day stay-away', *The African Communist*, (101), Second Quarter, 1985.

1878. Nyameko, R.E., 'How the emergency has hit the worker', *The African Communist*, (108), First Quarter, 1987, 46-54.

1879. Nyameko, R.S., 'Trade union movement at the cross roads', *The African Communist*, (82), Third Quarter, 1980, 28-43.

1880. Nyameko, R.S., 'The role of trade unions in the liberation struggle', *The African Communist*, (100), First Quarter, 1985, 44-55.

1881. Pillay, D., 'Trade unions and alliance politics in Cape Town, 1979-1985', PhD thesis, University of Essex, 1989.

1882. Pillay, D., 'COSATU, Alliances and Working-class Politics', in Buhlungu, S. (ed), *Trade Unions and Democracy: COSATU workers' political attitudes in South Africa*, HSRC Press, Cape Town 2006.

1883. Pityana, B., Mila, S. and Orkin, M. (eds*), Beyond the Factory Floor: A Survey of COSATU shop-stewards*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1992.

1884. Plaut, M., 'The political significance of COSATU', *Transformation,*

1885. Rees, R., 'More Workers' Control Needed', *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol. 16(7), 1992, 56–57.

1886. Roux, M., 'Perspectives and Values of Industrial Workers: The Emergence of Socio-Economic Consciousness Amongst Colored Workers in the Motor Manufacturing Industry in the Eastern Cape;, Ph.D. thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1977.

1887. SALB, 'Comment: Clarification: trade unions and KwaZulu Politics', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1 (3), June 1974, 3-5.

1888. SALB, 'Comment: Death on the Gold Mines', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1 (3), June 1974, 5-8.

1889. SALB, 'Comment: Red Herring Rides Again', *South African Labour Bulletin,* 1 (10), April 1975, 4-6.

1890. SALB, 'Comment: the state and the freedom of association', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 2 (9& 10), May-June 1976, 8-10.

1891. SALB, 'Comment: 'A Managerial Choice', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 3 (8), October 1977, 1-5.

1892. SALB, 'Comment: 'Free Wage Labour' and the Labour Bureau System', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 3 (9), November 1977, 1-4.

1893. SALB, 'Comment: The Code of Conduct and Trade Unions', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 4 (7), November 1978, 1-3.

1894. SALB, 'Comment: Focusing on the Industrial Council System', *South African Labour Bulletin,* 3 (10), December 1977, 1-3.

1895. Sandbrook, R., 'The Political Potential of African Urban Workers', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 12 (1), 1978.

1896. Seidman, G., *Manufacturing Militance: Workers Movements in Brazil and South Africa*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994.

1897. Sitas, A. (1983), 'African Worker Responses on the East Rand to Changes in the Metal Industry, 1960–1980', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1983.

1898. South African Labour Development Research Unit, Directory of South African Trade Unions, SALDRU, University of Cape Town, 1984.

1899. Sambureni, N.T., 'Working in the apartheid city: worker struggles in Durban, 1959-1979', MA thesis, Department of History, University of Natal, Durban, 1994. Available at ww.disa.ukza.ac.za.

According to the author, his study explores the relationship between the African workers' struggle with the state within the industrial and commercial sector, and with the trade unions, in Durban, South Africa, between 1959-1979, during the apartheid era.

1900. Schroeder, R., 'Trade unions, politics and the working class struggle: the Food and Canning Workers Union, 1975 to 1986', BA Hons thesis, University of Cape Town, February 1988. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

The aim of this dissertation is to study the history of the Food and Canning Workers Union and the African Food and Canning Workers Union both of which will hereafter be referred to simply as the Food and Canning Workers Union, since the two always operated as one. The division being necessitated by legislation which did not allow the formal participation of African Workers and their union in Industrial Relations from the period 1975-1986.

1901. Seidman, 'The Emergence of Political Unionism in Brazil and South Africa', *South African Sociologial Review*, vol.3, 1991.

1902. Seidman, G., *Manufacturing Militance: Workers Movements in Brazil and South Africa*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994.

1903. Shubane, K., 'Embalaziveni', *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol.13, 1988.

1904. Sitas, A., 'African Worker Responses on the East Rand to Changes in the Metal Industry, 1960- 1980', PhD thesis: University of the Witwatersrand, 1983.

1905. Sitas, A., 'From Grassroots Control to Grassroots Democracy: Transformations of the Moral foundations and Struggles Amongst Migrant Workers on the East Rand', *Labour. Capital, and Society,* vol.18, 1985.

1906. Sitas, A., 'From grassroots control to democracy: A case study of the impact of trade unionism on migrant workers' cultural formations on the east Rand', *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 1985, 32-43.

The first part of this paper outlines the inter-relationship between defensive combinations amongst migrant metalworkers and their unique cultural formations; it proceeds to show how in the pre-1972 period, these workers managed to exercise a remarkable degree of control over the conditions of life in the hostels. It also describes the central notions of justice operating within these cultural formations. The second part of the paper briefly outlines the reasons for urban migrant labour disorganisation in what migrants termed the 'lean years', that is, thepost-1972 period. It shows how the trade union thrust on the East Rand, initially by the Metal and Allied Workers Union, facilitated the reorganisation of the hostel workers, transforming in the process the nature of migrant worker associations. Finally the third part describes the new 'moral order' which has arisen on the East Rand.

1907. Sithole, J. and Ndlovu, S.M., 'The revival of the labour movement', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), T*he Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

This chapter explores the revival of the labour movement in South Africa in the wake of the 1973 strikes. The focus is on five groups that were involved in the establishment of the predominantly African trade unions that emerged in the 1970s. These are: activists from church bodies, some of whom had previously worked with established trade unions such as the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) and who broke with tradition and began to organise black workers in the early 1970s; a large number of white activists who not only participated in black trade unions that were formed in the wake of the 1973 strikes, but also served in different positions in these unions; the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), mainly former South African Student Organisation (SASO) activists, whose contribution to the revival of trade unions in the 1970s is often downplayed in existing scholarship dominated by former activists in NUSAS, from whom BCM split in the late 1960s; and a group of young union recruits (not SACTU veterans), such as Luke 'Storey' Mazwembe and Wilson Sidina in Cape Town; Baba K. Makama, Lydia Kompe, Piet Pheku, Elison Mothlabe, Sipho Kubheka, Samson Ndou, Sydney Mufamadi in the Transvaal; Moses Ndlovu, John Khumalo (alias John Makhathini), Azaria Ndebele, Jabulani Gwala, Samuel Kikine, Themba Nxumalo, Magwaza Maphalala, Matthew Oliphant in Natal, Thobile Mhlahlo, Humphrey Maxegwana, Bangumzi Sifingo, Rufus Rwexu, Sisa Njikelana and Thozamile Gqwetha in the Eastern Cape.

1908. Ulrich, N, 'Origins of FOSATU', paper presented at WISER, University of the Witwatersrand, March 2003.

1909. Ulrich, N., 'Only the Workers Can Free the Workers: the origin of the workers' control tradition and the Trade Union Advisory Coordinating Committee (TUACC), 1970-1979', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2007.

Although most closely associated with FOSATU (1979-1985), this study found that workers control had deeper historical roots. Workers control was a product of the ideological and organisational renewal that characterised the 1970s and was initially created by the Trade Union Advisory Coordinating Committee (TUACC) in Natal and, later, the Witwatersrand. TUACC, which included significant numbers of women employed as semi-skilled production workers and unskilled migrant men, reflected complex shifts in the labour market and the economy. It was in this context that ordinary union members together with a diverse layer of activists developed TUACC's unique approach to organisation. The power of white university trained activists in determining union policies has been overestimated and worker leaders, particularly more educated women workers, played an important role in building TUACC unions. Based on a Gramscian analysis, TUACC maintained that democratic unions based on strong shop floor organisation could exploit loop holes in the law and participate in industrial structures without undermining union autonomy and democracy. TUACC, however, was less clear of how to relate to political movements and parties. TUACC distanced itself officially from the banned ANC to avoid repression, but some workers and unionists looked to homeland and traditional leaders for alliances. This tension between the creation of a democratic trade union culture and the workers' support of more autocratic political and traditional leaders and populist movements was never resolved.

1910. Van der Walt, L., 'The 'Workerist-Populist' Debate Revisited: unions, ideology and social change in South Africa 1973-1987', Paper presented to the South African Sociological Association, Durban, July 1996.

1911. Von Holdt, K., *Transition from Below: forging trade unionism and workplace change in South Africa*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2003.

1912. Webster, E., 'A Profile of Unregistered Union Members in Durban', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 4 (8), January - February 1979, 43-74.

1913. Webster, E., *Cast in a Racial Mould: Labour Process and Trade Unionism in the Foundries*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985.

1914. Webster, E., 'The Two Faces of the Black Trade Union Movement in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 39, Workers, Unions and Popular Protest (Sep., 1987), 33-41.

> In an up-to-date account of the black labour movement in South Africa, Webster argues that the unions have made significant industrial advances in the period since their legal registration. He argues, however, that from the point of view of the state the process of recognition accorded to the collective bargaining system will provide an inadequate means of incorporating black workers without the granting of political rights. As this is still so far from the reform agenda (particularly, we may add, in the wake of the recent all-white general election), the unions are bound to seek to short-circuit the 'reform' process by adding to its industrial face, the face of democratic and representative politics. The author assesses how far the creation of the Congress of South African Trade unions can meet this double role.

1915. Webster, E., 'New Force on the Shop Floor', *South African Review II*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984.

1916. Webster, E., 'The Rise of Social Movement Unionism, 1986-7', *Indicator SA*, 5, Autumn/Winter 1988.

1917. WECTU, 'Organising Teachers', *New Era,* Vol.!., No.1, March. 1987.

1918. Westmore, J. and Townsend, P., 'The African Women Worker in the Textile Industry in Durban', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 2 (4), October 1975, 18-32.

1919. Wolpe, H., 'Political Strategies and the Law in South Africa: Analytical considerations', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.12, No.1, 1985.

> The focus in this paper is primarily on the debate over the question of whether or not the black trade unions should register under the provisions of the industrial relations legislation which was amended following the Wiehahn Commission report (1979) to allow for the recognition and registration of black trade unions. The purpose of the paper is not to argue in support of or against the policy adopted by various unions. In any event this is no longer at issue. Rather, the aim is to try to use the debate on this question to point to some of the reasons why neither the arguments for boycott nor for registration could be accepted with confidence. It will be suggested that theoretical weaknesses and corresponding limitations in concrete analyses resulted in an inadequate grounding of both the proposed strategies. These issues go well beyond the confines of the trade union movement and industrial legislation and raise questions of general relevance to oppositional political strategies in the face of changing legal structures in the contemporary phase of South African politics.

1920. Wood and C. Psoulis, 'Mobilization, Internal Cohesion, and Organized Labor: The Case of the Congress of South African Trade Unions', *Work and Occupations* 28:3 (2001), pp. 293–314.

Chapter

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

1921. Adler, G., 'Uniting a community', *Work in Progress*, No. 50/51, October/November 1987.

1922. 'Apartheid and the History of the struggle for freedom in South Africa', Mayibuye Centre, University of the Western Cape.

1923. Bennett, M. and Quin, D., *Political conflict in South Africa: Data trends, 1984-1988*, Indicator Project South Africa, December 1988.

1924. Bhebhe, N., 'Mobilisation, conflict and repression: The United Democratic Front and popular struggles in the Pietermaritzburg region, 1983-1991', MA dissertation, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1996.

1925. Bloch, G., 'Front or Political Party? – A Reply', *Work in Progress*, No. 41, April 1986.

1926. Clarkson, K.V., 'The United Democratic Front as exponent of mass-based resistance and protest, 1983-1990', D.Litt. et Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, 1997.

> Non-violent mass-based protest and resistance by liberation groups have a long history in the South African context. Prior to the 1980s, they had achieved only minor and isolated successes. The formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983 and its successful mass protest action against the state to 1990, changed the equation, however. The UDF's origin could indirectly be traced back to attempts from the 1950s to launch mass-based protest and resistance against the apartheid state. Calls for the formation of a united front against the South African State were made by various persons and organisations since the 1950s, but it was only by the 1980s that circumstances allowed the formation of a united front. Demographic realities, urbanisation, the legalisation of black trade unions, an educated leadership, the growth of a grassroots-based civil society among blacks, all contributed to make the formation of the UDF a reality. Protest against the government's tricameral system, initially provided the direct stimulus for the formation of the UDF during 1983 to 1984. By the end of 1984, the UDF had built up a wide support base to directly threaten the government's position. The result was several states of emergency through which the state endeavoured to crush the UDF-led opposition. The UDF's unique structure, which consisted of affiliates from all sectors of civil society, including black trade unions as an alliance partner, managed to survive the state's repressive measures, continued to pressurise the state so that by 1989, under a new head-of-state, the National Party "capitulated" and opened the door to real elections for a democratic South Africa. The UDF's strategies were aimed to mobilise the masses and through its mass-based action, bring maximum pressure to bear on the government. This strategic approach was executed by employing various tactics, which related to the classic methods of mass-based non-violent action. In the end, the state's security apparatus proved unable to cope with the UDF's relentless actions, offset by its inability to act effectively against the UDF as an entity, mainly because of its amorphous structure. Although other factors, such as economic recession, foreign sanctions, the ANC campaign to isolate South Africa, among other played a role, the UDF provided the crucial domestic impetus to illustrate to the South African government, that black resistance couldn't be suppressed and that the situation would continue to worsen. Seen against this background, it is

unlikely that CODESA would have occurred as soon as it did without the activities of the UDF throughout the 1980s

1927. Foster, D., et al, *Detention & Torture in South Africa: Psychological, legal and historical studies*, James Currey, London, 1987.

1928. Francis, M., 'The past is theirs, the future is ours: A study of the UDF in the Western Cape', Honours dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 1984.

1929. Gottschalk, K., 'United Democratic Front, 1983-1991: rise, impact and consequences', in Ian Liebenberg *et al.* (eds), *The Long March: The Story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, Pretoria, HAUM, 1994

1930. Houston, G., *The National Liberation Struggle in South Africa: A Case Study of the United Democratic Front, 1983-1987,* Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999.

1931. Jockelson, K., 'UDF and AZAPO: Evaluation and Expectations', *Work in Progress*, Number 35, February 1985.

1932. Kelly, J.E., "'It is *because* of our Islam that we are there': The Call of Islam in the United Democratic Front Era", African Historical Review, Volume 41, Issue 1, 2009, 118-139.

> This article examines the South African Islamic anti-apartheid organisation, the Call of Islam, in order to understand how progressive South African *'ulama* navigated the contested territory of Islam through an interpretation of the Qur'an that demanded a Muslim alliance with the oppressed in the anti-apartheid struggle and a South African Islam. The emergence of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983 in reaction to the apartheid government's Tricameral Parliament created a space in which South African Muslims could enter the national anti-apartheid struggle according to their religious rather than ethnic identity. To illustrate the historical development of the Call of Islam and its affiliation with the UDF, the article will first outline the formation of the UDF in the Western Cape, the geographical area with the largest concentration of Muslims in South Africa. The focus will then turn to the impact of the UDF on the Cape's Muslim community, particularly the divide that developed amongst its *'ulama* over the stance of Muslim participation in the anti-apartheid struggle. The following section will analyse the emergence of the Call and how the questions of its founders concerning the religious Other led to an examination of Islam in its South African context. The final section will then look at the sources that the Call used to show it was indeed because of their South African Islam that they affiliated with the UDF and the oppressed.

1933. Kotze, H. and Lourens, E., "Towards a Non-Racial Alternative: Extra-Parliamentary Resistance to the 'Reformist' Apartheid State", in Van Vuuren, D.J., Wiehahri, N., Rhoodie, N. and Wiechers, M. (eds.), *South Africa: The Challenge of Reform,* Owen Burgess, Pinetown, 1988.

1934. 'Lekota on the UDF', *Work in Progress*, No. 30, February 1984.

1935. Moosage, R., 'A prose of ambivalence: liberation struggle discourse on necklacing', *Kronos* (Bellville), vol.36, no.1, Cape Town, Nov. 2010.

This article is concerned with the ambivalence that permeates liberation struggle discourse on the practice of necklacing. Through examining what was said about the killing of suspected collaborators and/or necklacing during the mid- to late 1980s by leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), I argue that those public positions produced a prose of ambivalence. I ask how this prose of ambivalence was produced and why that ambivalence is seemingly rendered intangible. It is suggested that the ANC and UDF were caught in a double bind. They could not explicitly condemn the practice and risk losing their mass support base, nor explicitly condone the practice and risk losing the support of important internal and international constituencies thereby giving the apartheid state the upper hand in a discursive war on the moral and political legitimacy over using violence. Yet, it is argued, this ambivalence was not merely a tactical one in that underlying the liberation discourse on the practice of necklacing was/is an inherent formulation of the binary of resistance and oppression/repression. The practice understood within this framework could only be rendered as state violence or resistance. In rendering it as the latter, though uncomfortably so, the ANC and UDF proposed that it be understood within a causal framework, as the result of oppression/repression. Ambivalence about the practice of necklacing thus, I argue, was produced in the interstice of the resistance - oppression/repression binary. Leading from this, it is argued more broadly that the problematic of violence and attending ambivalence within the ANC has a history that predates the discourse around necklacing. It is suggested that necklacing refuses to be forgotten precisely because of its ambivalence. Indeed, it may be that the inescapable ambivalence of necklacing is the condition for the possibility that it will always also be remembered.

1936. Morobe, M., 'Towards a People's Democracy: The UDF View', *Review of African Political Economy,* 40, 1, 1987, 81-95.

1937. Njikelana, S., 'Unions and the UDF', *Work in Progress*, July 1984.

1938. Olivier, J.L., *Collective violence in South Africa: A study of ethnic collective action in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal Triangle, 1970-1994,*

1939. Olzak, S., Beazley, M. and Olivier, J.L, 'The impact of state reforms on protest against apartheid in South Africa', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, Volume 8, Number 1, October 2002, 27-50.

During 1970–1985, South Africa vacillated between reform and reaffirmation of the repressive regime known as apartheid. Did these reforms slow the pace of protest, or did they facilitate protest, by intensifying discontent? Using event-history data on anti-apartheid protest we suggest that passage of reforms will increase the pace of protest while state repression will dampen it. We further hypothesize that the nature and scope of each reform would differentially affect protest by each of three official racial populations: Black Africans, Coloureds, and Asian Indians. As expected, reforms that integrated housing and jobs and reforms that legitimated the rights of black labor unions propelled protest by Black Africans against apartheid, but so did reforms that excluded Black Africans from citizenship. In contrast, relatively few reforms affected the rate of protest by Asian Indians and Coloured population groups. Finally, we found that repression decreased rates of protest significantly for all three groups.

1940. Seekings, J. 'Trailing behind the masses: The United Democratic Front and township politics in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal region, 1983-1984', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, March 1991.

1941. Seekings, J., *The UDF: A story of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983–1991* (D. Philip, Cape Town, 1991.

> In this book, Seekings presents an overall organisational history of the UDF, as seen 'from above'. He describes in detail the planning phase of the UDF and the various initiatives which resulted in a revival of Charterist activity around 1980. He unearths new information about the involvement of the ANC, particularly of ANC cadres and sympathizers operating underground inside South Africa. Many leading UDF personalities were in some way linked to the ANC, which is not to say that the UDF was directed by the ANC. The exiled ANC leadership tended to focus on military strategies, neglecting the political opportunities which opened up during the 1980s. Seekings provides some interesting details about the first formal contact between the UDF leadership and the ANC in exile, which took place only in January 1986 in Stockholm. The pattern of his book follows the organisational chart of the UDF: a National Executive Committee (NEC) with a National General Council (supposedly meeting on an annual basis, but in fact convening only twice) acting as overall structure. This structure was duplicated on the level of the UDF regions with Regional Executive Committees (REC's) and Regional General Councils (RGC's). The third level consisted of locally-based affiliates (such as civic associations) and local branches of sectoral organisations (such as the Congress of South African Students or the South African Youth Congress). Area committees or zonal committees were meant to liaise between the local and the regional level. Seekings focuses on the national and regional level. The local level, which he has explored in numerous other publications, remains largely outside the scope of this book. One result of this choice is a strong emphasis on urban opposition politics and a comparative neglect of resistance in the bantustans. On the basis of a wide range of interviews and a thorough study of the vast archival collections, Seekings records in meticulous detail the business of the NEC, the UDF office in Johannesburg, and of the various REC's and RGC's. He analyses the distinct character of regions with vastly different political and demographic dynamics, such as Natal, the Western Cape and the urban conglomerate of Southern Transvaal (present-day Gauteng). Frictions and policy differences, arising from different backgrounds, ideological positions or personal jealousies make up much of the ongoing business. He rightly spends much time discussing the pro's and cons of strategies such as boycotts and stay-aways, which were central to the popular protests of the 1980s. The relationship between the UDF and the trade union movement, which gradually improved over the decade, is also well covered.[45]

1942. Seekings, J., 'The United Democratic Front in Cape Town, 1983-1986', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

1943. Sitas, A., "The Making of the 'Comrades' Movement in Natal, 1985-91", Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 3, Sep., 1992, 629-641.

1944. State versus Mewa Ramgobin and fifteen others, Pietermaritzburg, 1984.

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[45] Van Kessel, I., Review Article: 'An Organisational History of the United Democratic Front', HNet Reviews, December 2000, available at www.hent.org.

1945. Suttner, R., 'The UDF Period and its Meaning for Contemporary South Africa: Review Article' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (30), 2004, 691-702.

1946. Suttner, R., 'Legacies and Meanings of the United Democratic Front (UDF) Period for Contemporary South Africa', in Hendricks, C. and Lushaba, L. (eds), *From National Liberation to Democratic Renaissance in Southern Africa*, Codesria, Dakar, 2005.

1947. Suttner, R., 'The UDF Period and its Meaning for Contemporary South Africa: Review Article', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(3) (September 2004), 691-702.

1948. Swilling, 'The United Democratic Front and Townshipm Revolt1', in Origins of Political Mobilisation in the PWV Townships, 1980-84', in W. Cobbett and R. Cohen, (eds), Popular Struggles in South Africa (Trenton, Africa World Press, 1988.

1949. Switzer, L. and Adhikari, M. (eds), *South Africa's resistance Press: Alternative voices in the last generation under apartheid*, Centre for International Studies, Ohio University, 200.

1950. 'The UDF's Defiance Campaign, VNC Collective (Video), Johannesburg.

1951. Twala, C. and Seekings, J., 'Activist networks and Political Protest in the Free State, 1983-1990', in South African Education Democracy Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, VOL. 4,* 1980-1990, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

1952. 'United Democratic Front Colelction', Department of Historical Papers. University of the Witwatersrand.

1953. Van Kessel, I., *"Beyond Our Wildest Dreams": The United Democratic Front and the Transformation of South Africa*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 2000.

Chapter

UNITED FRONT

1954. Dadoo, Y., 'Why the United Front Failed', *New Age*, 29 March 1962.

1955. Y. Dadoo, "Why the United Front Failed: Disruptive Role of the PAC", *South African Communists Speak*; Document 112.

Chapter

UNITY MOVEMENT

1956. Alexander, N., '*Sow The Wind'*, Johannesburg, Skotaville Publishers, 1985.

1957. Alexander, N., 'Non-Collaboration in the Western Cape, 1943-63'. In James, W. and Simons, M. (eds.), *The Angry Divide.* Cape Town, David Philip, 1989.

1958. Alexander, N., *Education And The StnJggle for National Liberation In South Africa*, Johannesburg, Skotaville, 1990.

1959. Chisholm, L. 'Education, Politics and Organisation: The Educational traditions and legacies of the Non-European Unity Movement, 1943-1986', *Transformation*, 15, 1991, 1-24.

> In this paper, the different splits and contending lines within the Western Cape Trostkyist tradition will be backgrounded in the interests of examining the contribution of the movement as understood in its broadest sense. Although they are significant, the interest and concern of this paper is the educational focus of the movement as a whole (see Rassool, 1990; *Searchlight South Africa).* Many commentators and critics have lambasted the movement for its petty-bourgeois social base and the dominance of teachers within its organisational structures (Simons, 1976; Lewis, 1987; Alexander, 1986; Gentle, 1978). To this is ascribed its failure to organise a mass base, to move beyond the realm of education and ideas. What is seen in one context by some writers as a weakness or a failing can, in another, be perceived as its strength. An ambiguous and contradictory strength, but a strength nonetheless: the creation of a disciplined, critical and oppositional culture in schools and cultural life which placed a heavy emphasis on the subversive and liberating capacities of education.[46]

1960. Davies-Webb, W., 'Lenin's infantile disorder: The rise of Trotskyism in South Africa', *Southern African Freedom Review*, 2(39), 1989, 71-100.

1961. Erasmus, Z. (ed), *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, Kwela, Cape Town, 2001.

1962. *ESSACK*, K., *Reform or revolution in South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam: Thankers Limited, 1982.

1963. February, V. (ed), *From the Arsenal: Articles from the Teachers' League of South Africa, 1913-1980*, African Studies Centre, Leiden, 1983.

1964. Frederikse, F. (ed), *The Unbroken Thread, Non-Racialism In South Africa*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1990.

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[46] Chisholm, L. 'Education, Politics and Organisation: The Educational traditions and legacies of the Non-European Unity Movement, 1943-1986', *Transformation*, 15, 1991, 2.

1965. Gentle, R., 'The NEUM in perspective', BA Honours dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1978.

1966. Hendricks, P.R., 'Engaging Apartheid: The Teachers' League of South Africa in the Western Cape, 1985-1989', MEd dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2002.

> The study concerns the politics and practices of one of the oldest teachers organisation's in the Western Cape, the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA/League), during the mid-to-late 1980s when it was operating secretively underground. Specific attention is paid to League members attitudes and responses to the 1985-1986 school boycott and to the educational initiative 'People's Education For People's Power'. Key sources for the study are interviews conducted with League members who were active during the 1985-89 period, and an examination of *The Educational Journal* among other relevant archival and documentary material. The history of the League from the early 1940s, as an affiliate of the Non European Unity Movement (NEUM), to the mid-1980s when it aligned itself with the New Unity Movement (NUM) is traced broadly. This contextualises the organisation and attempts to illuminate the politics that informed League members thinking and practices during the 1985 to 1989 period. There is a common perception of the League as a narrow band of "coloured" teachers with a peculiar brand of politics. This identity was established over a period of time, as a result of the fact that the TLSA's membership was drawn exclusively from the racially classified "coloured" schools. The League, nonetheless, bequeathed a distinct non-racial and radical intellectual and pedagogical tradition which has left an indelible mark on the political and educational landscape of the Western Cape, and particularly on the students who attended League oriented schools. This dissertation challenges simplistic interpretations of the TLSA and its members. While perceptions are powerful social constructs, so too are misperceptions. This in a sense adds grist to the study, as appearances are at times intermingled with the opposite of what is being perceived.[47]

1967. Hess, A., 'The Association Young Africa and its context', in *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2007.

> This essay examines the circumstances surrounding the founding of the Association Young Africa (AYA) at Trafalgar High School in Cape Town in late 1963. What prompted young students to establish this organization, the first militant student group from the Cape to plan actions of a violent nature against state repression? It touches on the history of Trafalgar and the influence of both the Non-European Unity Movement and the Teachers League of South Africa in shaping the political atmosphere before the arrival at the school of the leading memebrs of AYA, Achmad Cassiem, Sedick Isaacs and James Marsh. The history of the AYA was short-lived, for its leading memebrs were convicted and sentenced to jail in December 1964.[48]

1968. Hirson, B., 'A Short History of the Non-European Unity Movement: An Insider's View', *Searchlight South Africa*, No.12, June 1995. Avaliable at www.whatnext journal.org.uk.

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[47] Hendricks, P.R., 'Engaging Apartheid: The Teachers' League of South Africa in the Western Cape, 1985-1989', MEd dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2002, i.

[48] Hess, A., 'The Association Young Africa and its context', in *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2007. 166.

1969. Hirson, B., 'The Trotskyist Groups in South Africa, 1932-1948', in I. Liebenberg, F. Lortan, B. Nel and G. van der Westhuizen, (eds), *The Long March: The Story of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa*, HAUM, Pretoria, 1994, 52-65.

1970. Hirson, B., 'The Trotskyists and the Trade Unions*',* in I. Liebenberg, F. Lortan, B. Nel and G. van der Westhuizen, (eds), *The Long March: The Story of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa*, HAUM, Pretoria, 1994, 65-72.

1971. Jaffe, H., 'Signposts of the History of the Unity Movement', Two Lectures presented at the University of Cape Town History Department, September – October 1992, African Studies Library, University of Cape Town, 1991.

1972. Karis, T. and Carter, G., *From Protest to Challenge, A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*, Hoover Institute, Vol.2.

1973. Kayser, R., 'The Struggle for Land and Liberty in South Africa: The Revolutionary Path of the NEUM/UMSA 1933-1970', BA (Honours) Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1997.

1974. Kayser, R., 'Land and Liberty: The Non-European Unity Movement and the land question, 1933-1976', MA dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2002.

1975. Kayser, R. and Adhikari, M., 'Peasant and Proletarian: A history of the African Peoples' Democratic Union of Southern Africa', *Kleio*, Volume 36, Issue 1, 2004, 5-27.

1976. Kayser, R. and Adhikari, M., "'Land and Liberty!': The African Peoples' Democratic Union of Southern Africa during the 1960s", in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), T*he Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004.

1977. Lewis, G., *Between the wire and the wall: A history of the South African Coloured Politics*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1987.

1978. Mokone, S., *Majority Rule: Some Notes: Teachers' League of South Africa*, Cape Town: Genadendalse Drukkery, 1991.

1979. Nasson, B., 'Opposition Politics and Ideology in the Western Cape'. In Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds.), *South African Review* 5, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1989.

1980. Nasson, B., 'The Unity Movement: Its Legacy in Historical Consciousness', *Radical History Review*, 46/47, 1990, 189-211.

1981. Nasson, B., 'The Unity Movement tradition', in J. Brown et al. (eds), *History from South Africa: Alternative Visions and Practices*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1990.

1982. Nasson, B., 'Political Ideologies in the Western Cape', In Lodge, T. and Nasson, B. (eds), *All Here and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980's*, South Africa Update Series, Cape Town, David Philip, 1991.

1983. *New Unity Movement Bulletin* (1987-1996), Cape Town, New Unity Movement.

1984. Non European Unity Movement (NEUM) or Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA), 26 March 1980, Mimeo.

1985. Ntantala, P., *A Life's Mosaic*, David Philip, Cape Town, 1992.

1986. Rassool, 1., 'Notes on the History of the Non-European Unity Movement in South Africa, and the role of Hosea Jaffe', 1991. Available at http://www.compulink.co.uk/-jplant/revhist/supplem/rassool.htm.

1987. Rassool, C., 'From Collective Leadership to Presidentialism: I.B. Tabata, Authorship and the Biographic Threshold', *Afrika Zamani*, 13/14, (2005-6), 23-67.

1988. Sandwith, C., 'Civility in Question: Cultural Debates in the Non-European Unity Movement', available at www.hydra.ucdavis.edu.

> This chapter focuses on the debates around political conduct and civilised aspiration which emerged from within the circles of the WPSA and the NEF from the late 1930s onwards and explores their later manifestations in the TLSA and the NEUM (and their publications, *The Educational Journal* and *The Torch*). The chapter begins by establishing some of the parameters of the moderate position as it was articulated in *The Educational Journal* (until its take-over by radicals in 1943) and in the newspapers *The Sun* and *The Cape Standard*. It then goes on to explore the arguments of the radicals, paying special attention to the multiple points at which the fields of culture and politics interconnect. In this particular example of South African anti-colonial struggle and 'liberation theory', the manifold entanglements of culture and politics occur not only in contested styles of political engagement and the objectives of civility but also in theories about the social function of colonial education and in claims for cultural access and inclusion. Of special interest also is the way in which political struggles come to be elaborated on the ground of literature and the reading of texts.[49]

1989. Simons, M., 'Organised Coloured Political Movements', in Van der Merwe, H.J. and Groenewald, C.J. (eds), *Occupational and Social Change among Coloured People in South Africa*, Proceedings of a Workshop of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, Juta, Cape Town, 1976.

1990. Tabata, I.B., *The Awakening Of A People*, Nottingham, Spokesman Books, 1974.

1991. Temba, M., 'Boycott As Weapon of Struggle', in Hommel, M. (ed), *Contributions of Non-European Peoples to World. Civilization*, Braamfontein, Skotaville, 1989.

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1992. The State vs Sedick, Isaacs, Ahmat, Cassiem, Abduraham, Abrahams, James Marsh, Case Number 350. Box No. CSC 1/1/1/620, Cape Town, 1964.

1993. Unity Movement, *Anniversary Bulletine – 50th Year of Stuggle*, Wynberg, Unity Movement, 1994.

1994. Van der Ross , R., *The Rise and Decline of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1986.

1995. Wieder, A., 'Informed by Apartheid: Mini Oral Histories of Two Cape Town Teachers', in Kallaway, P. (ed), *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994*, Pearson Education South Africa, Cape Town,2002, 197-210

1996. Wieder, A., *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the fight for democracy in South Africa*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2008.

Chapter

URBAN STRUGGLES

1997. Barolsky, V., *Transitioning out of violence: Snapshots from Kathorus*, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Violence and Transitioin Project, 2005.

1998. Black Lawyers' Association, *Dark City: Report on Unrest in Alexandra*, Pamphlet, Johannesburg: Black Lawyers'A ssociation (BLA), 1986.

1999. Bonner, P. and Nieftagodien, N*., Kathorus – A History*, Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town, 2001.

2000. Bonner, P., *Soweto - A History,* Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1998.

2001. Bonner, P.L. and Nieftagodien, N. *Alexandra: A History*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008.

2002. Boraine, A. "'ecurity Management Upgrading in the Black Townships', *Transformation*, Vol.8, 1989, 47-63.

2003. Boraine, A., 'Mamelodi: From Parks to People's Power', B.A. (honours) dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1987.

2004. Bozzoli, B., 'From Governability to Ungovernability: Race, class and authority in South Africa's black cities', Seminar Paper, Institute For Advanced Social Research, University Of The Witwatersrand, 18 March 1996.

> This paper is an examination of the township as a social, cultural, political, economic and spatial environment, with special reference to its capacity to produce the resistant classes who emerged in the 1980s and whose world views continue to shape politics in South Africa today. It locates itself neither within the tradition of social history that has documented township life so richly, although it depends upon the literature emerging from that tradition for much of its material; nor within the tradition of urban and regional studies that has explored the geographical and spatial dimensions of the creation of townships, although this, too, provides a vital basis for the essay. The paper is located within the theories of social movements and collective action that have become increasingly sophisticated in other settings, but have not been used to a great extent in the South African situation.

2005. Bozzoli, B., 'The Taming of the Illicit: Bounded Rebellion in South Africa, 1986', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Apr., 2004), 326-353.

2006. Cabesa, Q., "From Ungovernability", *African Communist*, 104, 1986.

2007. Cameron, R. ,'Managing the coloured and Indian areas', in M. Swilling, R. Humphries and K. Shubane (eds.), *Apartheid City in Transition*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1991.

2008. Carter, C.E., 'Comrades and Community: Politics and the Construction of Hegemony in Alexandra Township, South Africa, 1984-1987', Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1991.

2009. Chaskalson,M. Jochelson, K. and Seekings, J., 'Rent Boycotts' and Urban Political Economy', in *South African Review 4*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987.

2010. Cloete, F., 'Local Government Restructuring', *Politikon*, Vol. 21, No. 1, June 1994, 42-65.

2011. Cole, J., *Crossroads: The politics of reform and repression, 1976-1986*', Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987.

2012. Davies, R., et al, *The Struggle for South Africa. A reference guide to movements, organisations and institutions*, 2 vols, Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1988.

2013. Dubula, S. [Slovo, J.], "10 years of MK", *African Communist*, 47, 1971.

2014. Fullard, M., 'The State and Political Struggle: Strategies of Repression and Resistance in the Greater Cape Town Area from 1985 to 1989', MA Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2000.

2015. Gqiba, F.F, 'Urban crisis and the apartheid state response: South African housing policy in the 1980s', MSc dissertation in Urban Planning (Housing in Development), submitted to the University College, London (Development Unit), 1992. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

> The aim of this dissertation is an attempt to expose what lies hidden behind the government's "orderly urbanization" policies with regard to housing. It attempts to account for why "orderly urbanization" policy for Africans are essentially devices of political control. This is done by presenting a critical analysis of political issues associated with the policy such as the May-June 1986 destruction of the Crossroads squatter settlement - once the symbol of the African spirit of resistance and no surrender to apartheid strategies - by the state sponsored "witdoeke", the upgrading of the so-called "oil-spots" in African townships as a way of promoting the top-down Black Local Authorities (BLAs), the extensive amendments to Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1986 and 1989) in order to control both legal and "illegal" informal settlements, and the scrapping of the pass laws which regulated the urbanization process of the Africans. All these repressive and reformist manoeuvres, it is argued, were part and parcel of the counter-revolutionary strategy of the government, designed to ride out the deepening organic crisis and to retain control.

2016. Grest, J. and Hughes, H., 'The Local State', *South Africa Review One*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983, 122-141.

2017. Gwala, Z., "Rebellion in the Last Outpost: The Natal Riots", *Indicator Project South Africa,* 3, 2, 1985.

2018. Hall, M., "Resistance and Rebellion in Greater Cape Town, 1985", paper presented to the Conference on The Western Cape: Roots and Realities, Cape Town, 1986.

2019. Helliker, K. and White, R., "'Asithengi': Recent Consumer Boycotts", in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds.), *South African Review* 4, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987.

2020. Hendler, P., *Urban Policy and Housing: Case Studies of Negotiation in PWV Townships,* South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1988.

2021. Jochelson, K., 'Urban Crisis: State Reform and Popular Reaction: A Case Study of Alexandra', unpublished BA Honours Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988.

2022. Jochelson, K., 'People's Power and State Reform in Alexandra', *Work in Progress*, 56, 7, 1988, 8-17.

2023. Jochelson, K., 'Reform, Repression and Resistance in South Africa: A Case Study of Alexandra Township 1979-89', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16, 1, 1990, 1-32.

2024. Hellman, Ellen, *Soweto: Johannesburg's African City*, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978.

2025. Heymans, C. and White, R., "Playing Politics without the Power: The State of Black Local Government in the South Africa of the 1980s", *Politikon,* 18, 1, 1991.

2026. Hough, M., "Revolt in the Townships", in Venter, A. (ed.), *Challenge: Southern Africa Within the African Revolutionary Context,* Gibralter, Ashanti, 1989.

2027. Howe, G., "Cycles of Civil Unrest, 1976/1984", *Indicator,* 3, 1, 1985.

2028. Jochelson, K., 'Reform, Repression and Resistance in South Africa: A Case Study of Alexandra Township, 1979-1989', Journal of Southern African Studies, 16, 1, March 1990.

> This article is a case study of reform policy and popular opposition in Alexandra, a black township in the heart of Johannesburg and Sandton's wealthiest white suburbs. First, it examines the popular response to reformist policy in the early 1980s and the transformation to 'people's power'. 'People's power' was informed by an insurrectionary strategy which gave rise to hasty organisation and was based on a limited conception of state power. The demise of 'people's power', it is suggested, was not solely due to a clamp-down on popular organisation by the state. Second, the nature of current reform policy and the way in which it differs from the earlier reform package is discussed. Urbanisation policy, Regional Service Councils and Joint Management Centres are complementary aspects of the new urban reform strategy. It is argued that the current era of repression in the late Eighties was a period of managing reform policy within a new ideological and institutional framework rather than a desperate resort to maintain the status quo.

2029.   Johnson, S., *Urban Government and Management in South Africa: The Case of Alexandra Township*, a Preliminary Report for the Monitoring Unit for the Transvaal, September 1986.

2030.   'Katlehong Removals', *South African Labour Bulletin,* 8, 6, 1983.

2031.   Khoza, M.M., 'Transport and Popular Struggles in South Africa', *Antipode*, Volume 27, Issue 2, April 1995, 167–188.

>   The separation of place of residence from place of work under capitalism has been aggravated in South Africa by various apartheid policies which forced African people to the fringes of urban areas. Provision of transport was crucial to the establishment of segregated townships, and four decades of protests against fare increases and conditions demonstrate the importance of this service to African working people. These protests achieved only limited success, but commuters were able to challenge the state and transport companies. Although a national transport policy forum set up in 1992 ushered in a new era of inclusion, it has already become another site of contestation.

2032.   Kinkead-Weekes, B., 'Africans in Cape Town: state policy and popular resistance, 1936-73', PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992. Available at www.disa.ukzn.ac.za.

>   The study focusses on Cape Town's black African population, tracing the development of regional 'native' later 'Bantu' policy, as well as the escalating organised resistance which arose in response. The study relies as far as possible on archival sources to disaggregate these themes. On this basis, it provides a detailed analysis of the evolution of policy with regard to influx control, squatter control and residential segregation in the local context.

2033.   Kruss, G., 'The 1986 State of Emergency in the Western Cape', Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds.), *South African Review 4,* Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987.

2034.   Kunene, P.S., 'From apartheid to democracy: a historical analysis of local struggles in Phomolong Township, Free State: 1985-2005, Thesis, University of the Witwatserand, .

2035.   Labour Monitoring Group, "Eastern Cape Stayaways", *South African Labour Bulletin,* 11, 1, 1985.

2036.   Labour Monitoring Group, "June 16 Stayaway", *South African Labour Bulletin,* 11, 7, 1986.

2037.   Labour Monitoring Group, "May Day Stayaway 1986", *South African Labour Bulletin,* 11, 6, 1986.

2038.   Labour Monitoring Group, "Sarmcol Strike and Stayaway", *South African Labour Bulletin,* 11, 2, 1985.

2039.   Labour Monitoring Group, "The March Stayaways in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage", *South African Labour Bulletin,* 11, 1, September 1985.

2040. Labour Monitoring Group, "The November Stayaway", *South African Labour Bulletin,* 10, 6, 1985.

2041. Lekgoathi, S.P., 'The United Democratic Front, political resistance and local struggles in the Vaal and West Rand townships in the 1980s', in SADET (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980–1990*, Unisa Press, Pretoria, 2010.

2042. Manson, A., 'From Cato Manor to KwaMashu: Class formation and political opposition in KwaMashu Township, 1958-1980', *Reality*, 1980.

2043. McCarthy, J. and Swilling, M., 'South Africa's emerging politics of bus transportation', *Political Geography Quarterly*, Volume 4, Issue 3, July 1985, 235–249.

This paper examines the history of South Africa's parastatal bus services, and the pattern of contradictions that has led to the recent Welgemoed Commission of Inquiry into bus commuter transport for blacks. The initiatives taken by the state via the Welgemoed Commission are analysed within the context of the heightened politicization of bus transport, and the increasing occurrence of bus boycotts. A case study of a recent bus boycott in the East London area provides an illustration of the complex interdependence of capitalist accumulation, state policy and popular response in the context of South African 'transport geography' today.

2044. Meer, F. (ed), *Resistance in the Townships,* Madiba Publications, Durban, 1989.

2045. Mkhabela, 'Community mobilisation', paper presented to the Leadership Forum, Spier Estate, Stellenbosch, 9 February 2011, at http://www.shisaka.co.za/documents/6.Community%20 Mobilisation_Ishmael%20Mkhabela.pdf.

2046. Moloi, T.C., 'Black Politics in Kroonstad: Political Mobilisation, Protests, Local Government, and Generational Struggles, 1976 – 1995', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2012.

This thesis examines political mobilization and protests in Kroonstad's black townships, in the northern Free State Province, South Africa, from 1976 to 1995. It attempts to explain the reason(s) why these townships lagged behind when it came to mobilizing and protesting. It also explores the various entry points employed by some of the residents of these townships to politics; and how they in turn assisted in mobilizing other residents. Furthermore, it shows that local community politics in these townships did not follow the common pattern as in other townships and because of this the residents reacted differently. It demonstrates that until the early 1980s political restraint in these areas existed because of the influential role of the "respectables" or elders in politics. From the mid-1980s the situation changed after students and young people assumed leadership role in local politics. This caused generational tensions, particularly between teachers and students. Furthermore, the thesis examines the divisions between the progressive' activists in the townships, leading to the formation of the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee and Activists' Forum, and political violence between the Three Million Gang and the "community", which disrupted the momentum of political mobilization and protests. Finally, the thesis explores the tensions between the provincial leadership of the ANC,

supported by the national leadership, and the local branch of the South African National Civic Organisation, which cost the ANC in the first democratic local government elections.

2047. Morris, M., 'The South African state and the Oukasie removals', *Transformation*, 8, 1989.

> This paper is a preliminary attempt to examine some of the workings of the state through the prism of the Oukasie removal. I hope to illustrate that the struggle around the endeavours to remove the Oukasie community reveals a good deal about the nature of the South African state. State policy as regards the Oukasie removal captures the essence of the state and reveals the constraints within and the contradictory manner in which it operates. It also represents a fascinating picture of the severe limitations of the state's endeavours to expand its hegemony.

2048. Mthetwa, T. 'Urban Community, Migrant Workers, and Popular Protests', Sociology III Research Project, Witwatersrand University, 1990.

2049. Nieftagodien, N., "The Making of Apartheid in Springs: Group Areas and Forced Removals", MA Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1995.

2050. Nieftagodien, N. M., 'The Implementation of Urban Apartheid on the East Rand, 1948-1973: The Role of Local Government and Local Resistance', PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2001.

2051. Nieftagodien, N., 'The township uprising, September-November 1984', in Nasson, B. and Siebörger, R. (eds), *Turning Points in History: People, places and apartheid*, STE Publishers, Johannesburg, 2004.

2052. Nieftagodien, N., 'Workers and youth in the struggle for democracy in Kathorus, 1984-1994', in *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2007.

> It is argued in this study that the principal actors in the transition period between 1990 and 1994 were the workers and youth who, during different phases of the struggle from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, were the main catalysts for behind the mass rebellioin that defeated aparthei and thus pave the way for negotiations, constituted the bedrock of local and national anti-apartheid organisations and provided an indispendable check on reaction that threateneed to derail the negotiations process in the early 1990s. By focusing attention on the struggles in a particular community, the paper aims to re-emphasise the agency of 'the masses' in the miracle of South Africa's transition.[50]

2053. Pillay, D., 'Fighting the violence: Mass action or mass struggle', *Work in Progress*, No. 83, July 1992.

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[50] Nieftagodien, N., 'Workers and youth in the struggle for democracy in Kathorus, 1984-1994', in *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2007, 195.

2054. Pressley, P.M., 'Protest and Resistance in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1976-1990', Ph.D., Howard University, 2006.

2055. Purcell, J.L., 'Keeping Stolen Land: KwaZulu-Natal's Land, Labour and Housing Struggles', unpublished PhD. Thesis, Cornell University, 2007.

2056. Republic of South Africa, 'Alexandra Treason Trial', South Africa Witwatersrand Local Division, republished at http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventory/AK2131.php.

2057. 'Roll, mass action', *Mayibuye*, September 1992.

2058. Ruiters, G., 'South African Liberation Politics: A Case Study of Collective Action and Leadership in Katorus, 1980-1989', M.A. Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1995.

2059. Ruiters, G. 'Urban struggles and defeats in 1980s South Africa', *Urban Forum*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2000, 289-310.

2060. Sambureni, N.T., 'From Mainstream Politics to Township Politics: Resistance and Collaboration in Durban, 1960 to 1975', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History,* (17), 1997, 37-59.

2061. Sapire, H., 'Politics and Protest in Shack Settlements of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging Region, South Africa, 1980-1990', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Special Issue: Political Violence in Southern Africa (Sep., 1992), 670-697.

> This article, by exploring the history of squatting in the 1980s, attempts to account for the combustibility of squatter areas by 1990. It illustrates the way in which the liberalisation of the urban regime, rather than the total disappearance of urban controls, gave rise to distinctive new constituencies which by the end of the 1980s were to be at the heart of both a new city politics and of the violence which wracked the region in the 1990s.

2062. Sapire, H., 'Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in Late Apartheid South Africa', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 65, Issue 2, 2013, 167-198.

> This article reviews the literature on resistance in South Africa's African townships that emerged in response to the township insurgencies of the 1980s and early 1990s. It focuses on two bodies of writing: the literature that chronicled the revolt as it unfolded on the one hand, and the historical literature that explored township politics and culture during the first half of the twentieth century on the other. It evaluates these writings' strengths and points to the inevitable gaps and blind spots. It also highlights the disjunctures that existed between the two. The current wave of historical writing on South Africa's liberation struggle as well as the reassertion of township-based resistance and of township history gives this survey a particular salience. This article argues for the need for both a 'joined-up' liberation history that gives due place to the township-based rebellions (as opposed to one that is subordinated to that of the exiled ANC in contemporary public history) and one that recognises the deeper roots of, and continuities with, earlier phases of township resistance and rebellion. It also considers this body of writing in the

light of subsequent critiques of the resistance paradigm and the social history approach that dominated the study of townships in the 1980s.

2063.   Sarakinsky, M., *From "Freehold Township" to "Model Township" - A Political History of Alexandra: 1905-1983*, Johannesburg, 1984.

2064.   Seekings, J., 'The Origins of Political Mobilisation in the PWV Townships, 1980-84', in W. Cobbett and R. Cohen, (eds), *Popular Struggles in South Africa*, Trenton, Africa World Press, 1988.

2065.   Seekings, J., 'Political Mobilisation in the Black Townships of the Transvaal', in P. Frankel, N. Pines and M. Swilling (eds), *State, Resistance, and Change in South Africa*, Southern Book Publishers, Johannesburg, Croom Helm, Kent, 1988.

2066. Seekings, J., Powerlessness and politics: 'Quiescence' and protest in Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal Townships, 1973-19', Available at www.sas.ac.uk.

2067.   Seekings, J., 'Polifical Mobilisation in Tumahole, 1984-1985', *Africa Perspective*, new series 1,7/8 (October) 1989.

2068.   Seekings, J. 'Quiescence and the Transition to Confrontation: South African Townships, 1978-84', Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, 1990.

2069.   Seekings, J., 'Hostel Hostilities: Township Wars on the Reef'; J. Seekings, 'Township Resistance in the 1980s' in M. Swilling, R. Humphries and K. Shubane (eds), *Apartheid City in Transition*, Cape Town, 1991.

2070.   Seekings, J., 'Hostel Hostilities: Township Wars on the Reef', *Indicator South Africa*, 8, 3, Winter 199 1.

2071.   Siyotula, N. G. 'The Tembisa Rent Boycott', Honours Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand. 1989.

2072.   Skinner, D., 'Violence in urban communities: Bonteheuwel and Crossroads', in *Apartheid's violent legacy: A report on trauma in the Western Cape*, Cape Town, 1997.

2073.   Sutcliffe, M. and Wellings, P., 'St Wendolin's and the Issue of Incorporation into KwaZulu', Built Environment Support Group Report, University of Natal, Durban, 1984.

2074.   Swilling, M., 'Urban control and changing forms of political conflict in Uitenhage, 1977-1986', Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1994.

   The central question posed in this thesis is as follows: why did the apartheid urban system change over time and in space during the 1980s? Based on a case study of Langa Uitenhage, the

changes in this local urban system are explained in terms of the complex and irreducible relations of power that exist within the urban system between three primary sub-systems that interacted at the local level, namely the state agencies (especially local governments and the security forces), community- and workplace-based social movements, and formal business sector, particularly the local branches of large-scale national and multi-national corporations.

2075. Swilling, 'The politics of working class struggles in Germiston, 1979-1983', paper presented to the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, February 1984.

2076. Switser, L., *Power and resistance in an African society – the Ciskei Xhosa and the making of South Africa*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1993.

2077. Tetelman, M., 'We Can: Black Politics in Cradock, South Africa, 1948-85,' Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern, 1997.

2078. Tetelman, M., 'The burial of Canon J.A. Calata and the revival of mass-based opposition in Cradock, South Africa, 1983', *African Studies*, 58(1), 1999, 5-32.

2079. Thokoza Archive:

   a. Community Service Files, 17-20-2, Town Council letter to Transvaal Provincial Administration, 12/07/90.
   b. Community Service Files, 17-20-2, TC letter to the regional director of the Transvaal Provincial Adminsitraiotn, 13/03/90.
   c. Council and Council Matters, 3-3-3-4, Hostel manager A. Magazi, letter to mayor, 10/02/87.
   d. Council and Council Matters, 3-3-3-4, Hostel manager A. Magazi, letter to Transvaal Provincial Administration, 17/07/87.
   e. Council and Council Matters, 3-3-3-4, Hostel manager A. Magazi, letter to Transvaal Provincial Administration, 25/09/87.
   f. Council and Council Matters, 3-3-3-4, Reports on hostels, 09/05/89.

2080. Vosloorus Archives,

   a. Minutes 30 1991, F1/15/1.
   b. Council Notice, 11 March 1992, 03.23.
   c. Press release, 22 December 1992, S4/23.

2081. Wotshela, L., 'Homeland consolidation, resettlement and local politics in the Border and the Ciskei region of the Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1960-1996', D. Phil thesis, Oxford University, 2001.

2082. Wotshela, L., '*Asiyi eCiskei*: Removals and resistance in the 'Border' region, 1972-1988", *South African Historical Journal*, 52, 2005, 140-169.

2083. Wotshela, L., 'Insurrection and locally neglected transition in Stutterheim, Eastern Cape, 1980-1994', in *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2007.

Chapter

WOMEN

2084. African National Congress, *Malibongwe- ANC Women: Poetry is also their weapon*, ANC, nd.

2085. African National Congress, 'Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the Emancipation of Women in South Africa', 2 May 1990.

2086. Annecke, W., 'Women and the War in Natal', *Agenda,* 7, 1990.

2087. Anon, 'Of Maids & Madams', *The African Communist*, No.87, 1981.

2088. Barret, J.J., Yawitch, J., Schindler, A., Dawber, B., Klugman, I. and O'Berry, I., *South African women on the move*, Zed Books, London, 1985.

2089. Beall, J. et. al., 'African women in the Durban struggle, 1985-1986: Towards a transformation', in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds.), *South African review 4*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987.

2090. Beall, J., Friedman, M., Hassim, S., Posel, R., Stiebel, L. and Todes, A. (1987) 'African Women in the Durban Struggle, 1985-86: Towards a Trans-formation of Roles' South African Review, No. 4., 1987.

2091. Beall, J., Hassim, S. and Todes, A., "'A Bit on the Side'?: Gender Struggles in the Politics of Transformation in South Africa", *Feminist Review*, No. 33 (Autumn, 1989), 30-56.

> The authors of this article argue that the way in which political organizations have conceptualized women's oppression and their role in struggle has limitations. This has implications for the way in which women participate in struggle, for the way in which women's interests and needs are addressed in the course of struggle, and for development policy in a 'post-apartheid' future. This paper is a constructive critique of the 'woman question' position, which has been adopted by the progressive movement in SA. This position is broadly based on the classical socialist position on women's oppression, namely that women's oppression will be eliminated in the course of the transition to socialism. In strategic terms, this involves women's concerns being subordinated to, rather than included as part of, struggles to achieve socialism in SA. Where the emphasis is on national liberation, women's struggles are likewise subsumed. The authors offer, as an alternative, a socialist-feminist position which sees women's struggles as a legitimate and integral part of broader struggles, which transform not only the form and content of those struggles, but also the type of development policy which flows from them.

2092. Bernstein, H., *For their triumphs and for their fears: Women in apartheid South Africa*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1985.

2093. Bozzoli, B. 'Interviewing Women of Phokeng' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, London and New York, Routledge, 1998.

2094. Bozzoi, B., 'Women against apartheid and against patriarchy', *Zuid Afrikaan*, No. 39, April 1992.

2095. Bozolli, B., with Mmantho Nkotsoe, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1991.

2096. Bower, C.F., '"Lost in Translation?": Women's Issues in the Struggle for National Liberation in South Africa (1910-1985)', MA dissertation, Michigan University, 2010.

> This study examines the struggles of South African women from the beginning of the Union of South Africa and the period of Segregation to the period of national defiance during Apartheid, throughout all of its ebbs and flows. By contextualizing women's struggle for political and gender liberation within the political struggle of black men in South Africa, this study broadens the picture of female involvement within the anti-Segregation and anti-Apartheid struggles. In formal organizations such as trade unions and the Federation of South African Women, by the force of grassroots movements and boycotts, and through the persistence of informal economic efforts, women contributed monumentally to the struggle for black liberation. Through the examination of primary sources and current historiographic debates, the study also demonstrates both the inherent presence of and explicit concern for women's issues along side the concern for black political liberation.

2097. Budlender, D., Meintjies, S. and Schreiner, J., 'Women and Resistance in South Africa: Review article', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Special Issue on Women in Southern Africa, October 1983.

2098. Caine, C. and Jaffee, G. , 'The Incorporation of African Women into the Industrial Workforce: Its Implications for the Women's Question in South Africa'. Paper presented to the Conference on the Southern African Economy after Apartheid, Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1986.

2099. Carby, H. V., 'White Women Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood,' in Centre For Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982.

2100. Charman, A., De Swardt, C. and Simons, M., "The Politics of Gender: A Discussion of the Malibongwe Papers within the ANC," Conference on Women and Gender in Southern Africa, December 1991, Paper No. 30. (The Malibongwe papers are available from the African Studies Division, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town).

2101. Cherry, J., "'We were not afraid': The role of women in the 1980s' township uprising in the Eastern Cape", in N. Gaza (ed.), *Women in South African History*, Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2007.

2102. Cock, J., *Maids & Madams*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1980.

2103. Cock, J., 'Domestic servants in the political economy of South Africa', *Africa Perspective*, 15, 1980.

2104. Cock, J., 'Disposable Nannies: Domestic Servants in the Political Economy of South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 21, 1981.

2105. Connell, D., 'Strategies for change: women and politics in Eritrea & South Africa'**,** *Review of African Political Economy*, 25, 76, 1998, 189-206.

> This article examines the position of women in the process of democratisation in Eritrea and South Africa. It examines the difficulties in translating declared government and policy document support for gender issues into implemented strategy. It does so by tracing the position of women in the different movements, the problems which women have confronted in political and economic reconstruction and the political struggles which women have engaged in to ensure that gender issues remain at the core of democratic politics.

2106. Davis, G., *I Speak as a Woman Person: Geoffrey Davis Interviews Emma Mashinini*, in "Kunapipi", 1994.

2107. Du Toit, B. *U kubamba Amadolo: Women's Struggles in the South African Textile Industry***,** London, 1978.

2108. Fester, G., 'Women's organisations in the Western Cape: Vehicles for gender struggle or instruments of subordination', *Agenda*, No. 34, Celebrating 10 Years, 1997, 45-61.

> This article focusses on the experiences of the women's organisations in the Western Cape, such as the United Women's Organisation (UWO) which amalgamated with the Women's Front (WF) to become the United Women's Congress (UWCO) in 1986, the Federation of South African Women - Western Cape (FSAW), the Women's Alliance (WA) and the Women's National Coalition-Western Cape (WNC). Women's organisations have contributed greatly to the politicisation and empowerment of the women who participated in them'. Women challenged not only their oppression within the South African status quo, but also the sexism of progressive organisations and of some men within them. The focus is on the following three intersecting areas: the articulation between women's liberation and national liberation; the race and class implications; the contribution of women to the end of apartheid. While not wishing to negate the contributions of other organisations, this article also reflects a personal exploration of how the author's own feminist consciousness has been shaped.

2109. Forrest, K. and Jochelson, K., 'The Port Alfred Women's Stayaway", Work in Progress, 43, 1986.

2110. Gaitskell, D., Kimble, J., Maconachie, M. and Unterhalter, E., 'Class, Race and Gender: Domestic Workers in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 27/28, Women, Oppression and Liberation, (1983), 86-108.

> Domestic service has long been a major sector of the South African labour market, for black women particularly, but the government has only lately begun to consider stipulating minimum

employment conditions in this sphere. Union formation among domestic workers on any significant scale is also only a recent phenomenon. This article takes a preliminary look at domestic service from various angles - conceptual, historical and contemporary. A new slant is provided on the existing theoretical discussion of domestic labour, for domestic workers are here clearly distinguished from housewives. The peculiar way in which race, class and gender have all shaped the character of domestic service in South Africa is stressed at the outset, and the way various races and both sexes moved into and sometimes out of domestic service is illustrated. The authors conclude that the current trend away from the long-established pattern of live-in servants may well aid political mobilisation of formerly isolated domestic workers.

2111. Gasa, N. (ed.), *Women in South Africa's history: They remove boulders and cross rivers*, Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council, 2007.

2112. Geiger, S., 'Women and African Nationalism', *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 2, Number 1, Spring 1990.

This essay focuses primarily on literature on African women that directly or indirectly relates to their participation in nationalist movements and struggles, including anticolonial precursors to broader nationalism that have resulted, to date, in political independence for all of sub-saharan Africa save South Africa. The exception to this is the inclusion of writings by and about South African women.

2113. Geisler, G.G., *Women and the remaking of politics in Southern Africa*, Uppsala, Nordika Afrikainstituut, 2004.

2114. Ginwala, F., 'International womens conference', *Sechaba*, 19(11), November, 1985, 20-23.

2115. Ginwala, F., 'ANC Women: Their Strength in the Struggle', *Work in Progress*, No. 45, 1986, 10-11.

2116. Ginwala, F., 'Women and the African National Congress: 1912-1943', *Agenda*: (8), 1990, 77-93.

2117. Hassim, S., Metelerkamp, J. and Todes, A., 'A Bit on the Side: Gender Struggles in the Politics of Transformation', *Transformation*, 5, 1987.

2118. Hassim, S., 'Identities, Interests and Constituencies: The Politics of the Women's Movement in South Africa, 1980-1999', Unpub. PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2002.

2119. Hassim, S., 'The limits of popular democracy: Women's organisations, feminism and the UDF', Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa, 51, 2003, 48-73.

This article draws on archival material and interviews with participants in the two women's organisations, the United Women's Organisation in the Western Cape (UWO) and the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW).These organisations were important to the political landscape of

the 1980s for several reasons. Firstly, they had close relationships to the anti-apartheid movement. Their leaderships were bound by numerous political and social ties to that of the major civic organisations and trade unions. Secondly, in part because of these links, UWO and NOW were regarded by the ANC in exile as central foci for instilling ANC loyalties and adopting ANC-sympathetic strategies. Thirdly, together with the ANC Women's League and the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW), NOW and UWO provided the leadership and the constituency for the Women's National Coalition, the umbrella body for the women's movement during the crucial years of the transition to democracy. The outcome of struggles waged by and within these organisations shaped the ideological content and strategic direction of the women's movement in the 1980s and 1990s.

2120. Hassim, S., '"A Conspiracy of Women": The Women's Movement in South Africa's Transition to Democracy', *Social Research*, Vol. 69, No. 3, The Status of Women in the Developing World (fall 2002), 693-732.

2121. Hassim, S., *Women's organisations and democracy in South Africa: Contesting authority*, Scottsville, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006.

2122. Hassim, S., 'Nationalism, Feminism and Autonomy: The ANC in Exile and the Question of Women', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 3 (September 2004), pp. 433–56.

2123. Hassim, S. and. Stiebel, L., *The Semiotics of Struggle: Gender Representations in the Natal Violence,* Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Report 30, 1993.

2124. Irish, J., 'Massacres, Muthi and Misery: Women and Political Violence', *Agenda,*16, 1993.

2125. Kimble, J., and Unterhalter, E., 'We Opened the Road for You, You Must Go Forward: ANC Women's Struggles 1912-1982', *Feminist Review*, October I2, I982.

2126. Lapchick, R.E. and Urdang, S., *Oppression and Resistance: The struggle of women in southern Africa*, Greenwood Press, Wesport, 1982.

2127. Lippman, B., *We Make Freedom: Women in South Africa*, London, 1984.

2128. Lyons, T. and Israel, M., 'Women, Resistance and the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa', *African Studies Association of Australasia and The Pacific. Review and Newsletter* (21:2), 1999, 5-12.

2129. McClintock, A., '"No Longer in a Future Heaven": Women and Nationalism in South Africa', *Transition*, No. 51 (1991), 104-123.

2130. Meer, S. (ed), *Women Speak: Reflections on our struggle, 1982-1997*, Kwela Books in association with OXFAM, Great Britain, Cape Town, 1998.

2131. Meintjies, S., 'The women's struggle for equality during South Africa's transition to democracy', *Transformation*, 30, 1996.

2132. Meintjies, S., 'Political violence and gender: a neglected relation in South Africa's struggle for democracy', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 25:2, 95-109.

> This article argues that political violence in South Africa is strongly gendered, both in its form as well as in the way's in which it is experienced by men and women. Drawing on interviews and secondary sources, the article traces the changing nature of political violence during the periods of armed struggle and the transition to democracy. The author shows the integral relationship between ideologies of gender and power, and stresses the continuities between the public and private realms of society. It is argued that political violence is not separate from domestic forms of violence, but is a further aspect of patriarchal power relations. The article further examines the attempts of women's organisations to mobilise politically against violence against women, and contends that a strong social movement of women will make a decisive difference in this struggle.

2133. Moore, S. and Morton, S., *Women's Liberation in South Africa*, in "Pro Veritate", September 1971.

2134. Mtintso, T., 'Women in MK', Interview with Devan Pillay, *Work in Progress.* (80), 1992, 18-19.

2135. Muchena, O.N., 'The Role of Women's Organizations within Southern Africa', in C.N. Qunta (ed), *Women in Southern Africa*, London, 1987.

2136. Ngcobo, C.B., 'The role of women in the liberation struggle in the greater Midlands area', in Christina Landman (ed), *Oral history: Representing the hidden, the untold and the veiled*, Proceedings of the Fifth and Sixth Annual National Oral History Conference of the Oral History Association of South Africa, East London, Eastern Cape (2008), Cape Town, Western Cape (2009), Research Institute for Theology and Religion, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2013.

2137. Patel, L., 'South African women's struggles in the 1980s', *Agenda: Journal about women and gender*, No. 2, 1988.

2138. Qunta, C., *Women in Southern Africa*, Johannesburg, 1987.

2139. Ramphele, m., *The Dynamics of Gender Within Black Consciousness Organisations: A Personal View*, in B. Pityana, M. Ramphele, M. Mpumlwana, L. Wilson (eds.), *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness,* Cape Town 1991, pp. 214-227.

2140. Russell, D., *Lives of Courage: Women for a new South Africa*, Basic Books, New York, 1990.

2141. Russell, D., 'Life in a police state: A black South African woman speaks out', Women's Studies International Forum, Volume 12, Issue 2, 1989, 157–166.

   Jean Pease, a black school teacher and anti-apartheid activist, was one of sixty women the author interviewed in 1987 for a study of the contribution of women to the South African liberation movement. Although she was engaged in political work that was both nonviolent and legal, she was one of the thousands of activists who was detained during the 1985 state of emergency. Her story, the focus of this article, provides a vivid picture of one woman's experience of eight weeks detention in a South African prison. She also describes how she became politicized, her experience of teaching in the racist educational system at a time of great student activism and turmoil, the difficulties of being a politically active mother, and her ideas about the significance of sexism in contemporary South Africa.

2142. Sadie, Y. and Van Aart, M., 'Women issues in South Africa, 1990-1994', Africa Insight, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1995.

2143. Schreiner, J., 'Forms of organisation adopted by the Federation of South African women in the Western Cape', BA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1982.

2144. Seekings, J., 'Gender Ideology and Township Politics in the 1980's', Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity, No. 10, Women's Emancipation and National Liberation (1991), 77-88.

   This paper attempts a preliminary examination of the involvement of township women in political organization and activity, drawing primarily on the fragmentary material contained in existing secondary sources. It is largely speculative, providing a focus force continued research, and does not even tentatively answer all the questions above. It examines the forms of political organisation and action in which women were and were not involved, suggesting that there are important shifts in the pattern of women's participation, and that these were related to general changes in township politics in combination with the constraints imposed by patriarchal gender ideologies and, to a lesser extent, the division of domestic labour. In summary, women mobilised extensively over a range of civic issues, but were largely 'demobilised' as township politics came to revolve around violent confrontation. Women were rarely prominent in the so-called 'youth'. The most visible role played by women was the more limited role of peacemaker.

2145. Sharlach, L.B., 'States of emergency, states of terror: sexual violence in the South African and Peruvian counterinsurgencies', Journal of Power, Volume 2, Issue 3, 2009, 441-460.

   Rape has functioned as terror and torture inflicted by men of the security forces of the apartheid and Peruvian states upon women of disempowered ethnic groups during counterinsurgency operations. Both South African and Peruvian state agents arrested and violated women whom they suspected to be insurgents, or who associated with guerrilla men, or who simply had the misfortune to live in communities thought to harbor insurgents. The state of emergency imposed in both countries gave extraordinary powers to security forces, effectively permitting those inclined to rape to do so with near-impunity. Additionally, some of the guerrillas themselves raped in order to discipline women within the resistance armies or those within the subordinated ethnic or class group believed to be complicit with the government forces.

2146. Slater, C., 'Using Life Histories to Explore Change: Women's Urban Struggles in Cape Town, South Africa', *Gender and Development*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Jul., 2000, 38-46.

> This article examines the lives of four women who live in Cape Town, South Africa. Age and stage in the life cycle determined their ability to make a living in Cape Town, to survive shocking outbreaks of violence in the Crossroads squatter camp in 1983, and to avoid arrest under the 'pass laws' of the apartheid era. It shows how useful investigating people's life histories can be in developing understanding of the way in which their freedom to act is both constrained, and supported, by their context.

2147. Tshoaedi, M., '(En)gendering the transition in South Africa: the role of COSATU women activists', T*ransformation*: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa, Number 78, 2012, 1-26.

> This article looks at the transition process in South Africa in the early 1990s with a specific focus on the role of COSATU women activists and their involvement in the Women's National Coalition (WNC). I submit that COSATU women's participation in this structure was critical and influential to the gendered outcomes of the South African transition. The article demonstrates that COSATU women's history of struggle for gender equality within the labour movement throughout the apartheid era was fundamental to how they participated in the WNC and the issues they represented within this structure. Contrary to views held by some feminist writers on the South African transition, this article shows that gender activism and feminist-oriented demands did not necessarily emerge as significant in the early 1990s. Throughout the 1980s, there were vibrant gender demands in the trade unions, though not necessarily framed in conventional feminist terms. Women workers' interests and demands during the transition period were informed by their lived experiences of gender discrimination in the workplace and within the labour movement. COSATU women's representation in the WNC, and their struggles within this structure for their voices to be heard as a working class formation, challenges the perception that the WNC and the gendered outcomes of the South African transition was a process mainly influenced by the 'elite'.

2148. Walker, C., 'Women in 20th Century South African Politics: The Federation of South African Women, Its Roots, Growth and Decline', MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1978.

2149. Walker, C., *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 2 ed, David Philip, Cape Town and Johannesburg, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1991.

2150. Waylen, G., 'Women's Mobilization and Gender Outcomes in Transitions to Democracy: The Case of South Africa', *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 40 no. 5, May 2007, 521-546.

> This article explores the conditions under which women's mobilizations during transitions to democracy can achieve some of their aims. It broadens the comparative analysis of gender and transitions undertaken to date by looking at a case in which gender outcomes, measured in terms of women's descriptive and substantive representation, have been relatively positive. Unusually women, organized as women, had some input into the negotiations during the South African transition. The article argues that a complex interaction of variables contributed to the achievement of certain positive gender outcomes. A broad women's coalition, the Women's National Coalition, did play an important role. However, two other sets of factors—a favorable political opportunity structure and the strategic actions and alliances of certain key women actors— made a crucial contribution to its effectiveness in influencing this transition, as women's mobilization on its own is no guarantee of success.

2151. Wells, J., 'The rise and fall of motherism as a force in black women's resistance movements', Paper presented at the Conference on Women and Gender in Southern Africa, Durban (unpublished), 1991.

2152. Wells, J.C., *We Now Demand! The History of Women's Resistance to Pass Laws in South Africa*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1993.

2153. Wells, J., 'Maternal Politics in Organizing Black South African Women: The Historical Lessons', in O. Nnaemeka (ed.), *Sisterhood, Feminisms, and Power: From Africa to the Disapora*, Africa World Press, Trenton, NJ, 1998.

2154. 'Women struggle in South Africa', *Social Review*, No. 15, September 1981.

2155. 'Women organisations in South Africa', *Social Review*, No. 16, November 1981.

2156. 'Women organisations', *South View*, 29 April – 5 May 1987.

2157. Zwane, M.J., 'The Federation of South African Women and aspects of urban women's resistance to the policies of racial segregation, 1950-1970', MA dissertation, Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit, 2000.