

# APARTHEID MUSEUM



**From Apartheid to Democracy -  
the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa**



# From Apartheid to Democracy - the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa



## **APARTHEIDMUSEUM**

Commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs of the  
Republic of South Africa, 2004

Produced by the Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, South Africa

Tel + 27 11 309 4700 Fax + 27 11 309 4726

[info@apartheidmuseum.org](mailto:info@apartheidmuseum.org)

[www.apartheidmuseum.org](http://www.apartheidmuseum.org)

### The first democratic elections in South Africa

On 27 April 1994, all South Africans were allowed to cast their vote in the first free and democratic elections in the country. It was a profound moment. For the majority of South Africans it had been a “long walk to freedom” in which black South Africans had struggled for many years, against enormous odds. After years of humiliating apartheid laws, and ongoing struggle against repression and violence, the South African people had triumphed.

### Celebrating ten years of democracy

On 27 April 2004, South Africa celebrated its first ten years of democracy. Although in its infancy, the new South Africa has much to celebrate. It has broken free from the shackles of institutionalised racial discrimination and inequality, and has moved towards a society which is just, democratic and free.

### Democracy, Freedom, Reconciliation, Responsibility, Diversity, Respect, Equality

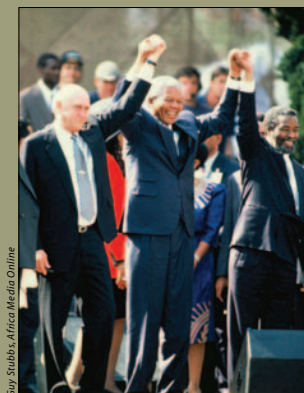
In 1996, the most progressive constitution in the world was signed into law. The Constitution of South Africa is justly celebrated because of the guarantees of rights of equality that it contains:

*“The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.”*

*Extract from the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the  
Republic of South Africa, 1996*

# Contents

2	Introduction of Apartheid - Freedoms denied
3	Protest and Defiance
4	Confrontation and Collision
5	A Decade of Extremes
6	Grand Apartheid
7	The Youth take Charge
8	Total Strategy - Reform and Repression
9	People's Power!
10	Exile and International Solidarity
11	Madiba Magic!
12	On the Brink
13	Freedom at last!
14	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
15	Beyond the Miracle - President Mbeki's first term
16	South Africa's Achievements



▲ A negotiated settlement and peaceful transfer of power - the past, the present and the future presidents of South Africa, F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki - join hands in celebration of the birth of a free and democratic nation.



▲ The pass laws were an attempt to control the movement of Africans. The arrest of hundreds of thousands of ordinary Africans for pass law offences had the effect of criminalising the majority of South Africans.

**Institutionalised racial discrimination**

In 1948, the National Party, under the leadership of D F Malan, was voted into power on the election ticket of 'apartheid'. Apartheid was a deliberate policy to deprive black South Africans of their freedoms. Apartheid was not a wholly new initiative. Since the mineral discoveries in the late 19th century, Africans had been increasingly deprived of their rights, and segregationist policies had been applied. However, with the implementation of apartheid, black people faced a more determined and systematic onslaught on their freedoms.

**Apartheid laws**

Between 1948 and 1953, the government institutionalised racial discrimination by passing a series of apartheid laws. Under these laws:

- All South Africans were to be classified according to race
- Race determined where a person was born, educated, lived and was buried. African education was vastly inferior to white education.
- Different racial groups were not allowed to marry, nor were they allowed to have sexual relations.
- Blacks were not allowed to live in the same areas as whites. The pass laws were strengthened, making it even more difficult for Africans to enter the so-called white cities.
- Blacks were not allowed to make use of the same public facilities as whites.



▲ Dr D F Malan's first cabinet was made up of men who believed ardently in Afrikaner nationalism and the protection of the Afrikaner race at all costs. Their answer to white people's fears of being swamped by blacks was the complete separation of races through apartheid.



▲ Sophiatown was a freehold township in Johannesburg where a multi-racial community thrived. Under the Group Areas Act, all blacks living in so-called 'white' areas had to be removed. In the 1950s, the people of Sophiatown were removed to Meadowlands, an area of Soweto set aside for African occupation only.



▲ Sexual relations between blacks and whites were forbidden under the Immorality Act. In order to prosecute people successfully under this law, it was necessary to establish firm proof of sexual relations. Here a magistrate peers through a bedroom window to check whether Professor Blacking and Dr Zurena Desai were having sex.



▲ Dr Desai (left) and Professor Blacking (centre) were forced to emigrate to Britain after being found guilty under the Immorality Act. Others were not so lucky and spent time in prison.

### Peaceful protest

In the 1950s, there was a groundswell of resistance as black South Africans responded to the loss of their freedoms through a series of campaigns and protests. The African National Congress (ANC) had carried the banner of protest for black people against unjust laws and racial discrimination since 1912. Until this point, the ANC had adopted a moderate stance against the government's segregationist policies, protesting through petitions and deputations. Now they promoted active campaigns of non-violent confrontation against the government.

### Resistance campaigns in the 1950s

In 1952, the ANC, under the leadership of Albert Luthuli, launched the Defiance Campaign, where people deliberately broke the unjust laws of apartheid.

In 1955, the ANC, working together with other anti-apartheid organisations, including white liberal and radical organisations (the Congress Alliance), held the Congress of the People at Kliptown. Here the famous Freedom Charter was launched. Subsequently, 156 members of the Congress Alliance were charged with treason.

In 1956, when the government decided to extend passes to African women, 20 000 women marched to Pretoria in protest. The government responded to these non-violent protests with unchecked violence and increased repression.



▲ As part of the Defiance Campaign in 1952, large groups of people deliberately broke the apartheid laws. They aimed to get arrested and flood the country's prisons. They hoped that this would draw public attention to the apartheid laws and force the government to abolish them.



▲ The government regarded the Freedom Charter as a treasonable document, believing that the Congress Alliance was planning to overthrow the state. They charged 156 members of the Congress Alliance with treason. The Treason Trial lasted from 1956 to 1961, but the state failed to prove treason, and eventually all were acquitted.

### The Freedom Charter

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.

The people shall govern.

All national groups shall have equal rights.

The people shall share in the nation's wealth.

The land shall be shared among those who work it.

All shall be equal before the law.

All shall enjoy equal human rights.

There shall be work and security for all.

The doors of learning and culture shall be opened.

There shall be houses, security and comfort.

There shall be peace and friendship.

◀ The Congress Alliance started a campaign to collect the demands of ordinary South Africans for a just and free society. These demands were then listed in the Freedom Charter which was presented to the Congress of the People in 1955. The Freedom Charter became the overarching symbol of liberation in South Africa.

► In 1956, the government extended passes to African women who, until that point, did not have to carry passes. Women protested strongly against such controls being placed upon them. 20 000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria and handed over letters of protest to the prime minister.



► Whites also protested against the unjust laws of apartheid. The Black Sash consisted of a group of white, mainly middle class women, who protested against the pass laws and other apartheid restrictions. They wore black sashes to mourn the end of constitutional law after the government abolished the Coloured vote in 1953.





Bailey's African History Archive

▲ Robert Sobukwe (centre) was the founder of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). He broke away from the ANC because he opposed the ANC's co-operation with anti-apartheid whites and Indians. As an Africanist he believed firmly that only Africans should oppose apartheid. After Sharpeville, Sobukwe was jailed for three years. In 1963, a special law was passed by the South African government which allowed it to extend Robert Sobukwe's imprisonment beyond the end of his three-year sentence.

### The Sharpeville Massacre

In 1959, some members of the ANC broke away to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). In 1960, the PAC organised a peaceful protest against the pass laws at Sharpeville. The police responded violently, killing 69 people and wounding 180.

### The aftermath of Sharpeville

Sharpeville marked a significant turning point in the struggle against apartheid. There was a massive outcry, both nationally and internationally, about the actions of the police. The government responded to this protest by declaring a state of emergency and banning the ANC and the PAC. This forced these movements underground.

### The launch of the armed struggle

The ANC and PAC, spurred on by the popular protest against apartheid laws (such as the events at Cato Manor), changed tactics and took up arms against the white South African regime. The armed struggle was launched.

In 1963, the headquarters in Rivonia of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC, were raided. The entire leadership of MK was arrested and tried for treason in what became known as the Rivonia Trial. Seven of the eight trialists, including Nelson Mandela, were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. They were to spend many long years in prison on Robben Island, just off the coast of Cape Town.



Ian Berry, Magnum Photos

▲ A large crowd marched on the Sharpeville police station with the intention of handing in their passes and offering themselves up for arrest. The police fired on the unarmed crowd, killing 69 people and wounding 180. Most of the people killed or wounded were shot in the back.

► In 1959, women protested non-violently against police raids which had shut down their shebeens at Cato Manor, near Durban. Beer brewing was their only means of making a living, and thus their entire livelihood was at risk. The women of Cato Manor were brutally attacked by the police, which demonstrated that women were not exempt from police violence.



Louise Bloomfield, UWC, Bill Maybury, Archives



Bailey's African History Archive

◀ After the banning of the ANC and the PAC, both organisations adopted the policy of armed struggle. Between 1961 and 1963, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, carried out about 200 acts of sabotage. These were directed against government installations, such as pylons, and not against human targets.

► At the Rivonia Trial (1963-1964), Mandela made his famous speech from the dock. He said: "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society... It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."



Jürgen Schaudberg





Eric Miller, Africa Photos

▲ The myriad of apartheid laws which ensured the separation of races in South Africa was often called 'petty apartheid'. This was to distinguish it from 'grand apartheid' which referred to the creation of the homelands. Petty apartheid laws, like the Separate Amenities Act, which forbade blacks from using the same public facilities as whites, were deeply humiliating and dehumanising.

#### Harsher security legislation

The arrest of the ANC leadership in the 1960s had left the liberation movement in tatters. The government tightened its grip through the introduction of even harsher security legislation. Police were given unlimited power. Detention without trial was introduced and became common. People were arrested and held, first for 90 days and then for 180 days, without being charged for an offence and were often tortured. In 1963, Solwandle Ngudli died in detention. His death was but the first of more than a hundred to follow. Resistance was at its lowest ebb.

#### Economic prosperity for whites

For white South Africans, the 1960s were a time of unprecedented prosperity. Foreign investment flowed in and the economy boomed. A small measure of this prosperity trickled downwards and there was the growth of a tiny African elite. But for the most part, black South Africans continued to struggle against poverty, hardship and repression.

► Most political executions in South Africa took place in the 1960s as the state crushed armed resistance. From 1963 to 1990, more than a hundred people died in detention. 'Official' causes of death included suicide by hanging, brain injuries, being kicked and beaten by police after arrest and even death by 'slipping on a piece of soap'.



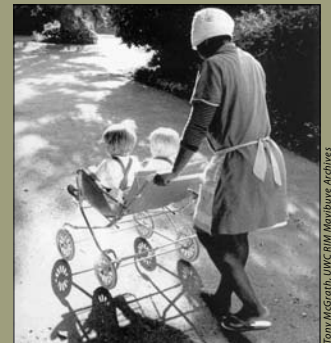
Pierre de Vos

▼ Migrant mine workers lived in miserable conditions in tightly controlled single sex compounds. They were forced to work on short-term labour contracts and were separated from their families who remained behind in the rural areas.



Eli Weinberg, UWC RIM Maybuye Archives

► White people in South Africa enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the world, in contrast to the majority of the population who lived in abject poverty. Almost the only point of contact that white families had with blacks was through their female domestic servants.



Tony McGrath, UWC RIM Maybuye Archives



Ernest Cole, Ernest Cole Estate

▲ As the rural areas faced crushing poverty, more and more people moved into the urban areas, seeking work and a place to stay. This was precisely what the government wanted to avoid. Thousands of Africans were arrested because they did not have the necessary pass.

## Separate development

When Dr Verwoerd became prime minister in 1958, he set about further limiting the freedoms of African people by refining and extending the policy of apartheid into separate development. The government tried to turn the African reserves into separate 'countries' or homelands. In these homelands, Africans would be given 'fake freedoms'.

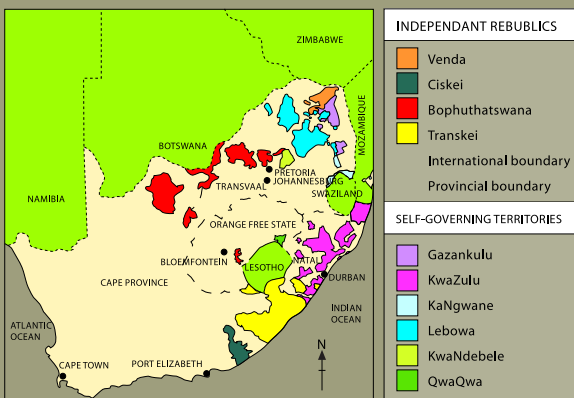
To conform with the process of decolonisation in Africa, Africans would be given their independence in their *own* homelands where they would have political rights. In this way, the government extended the myth of South Africa as a democratic nation, living alongside separate 'countries' which would also enjoy full democracy. In reality, the majority of South Africans were stripped of their citizenship and their urban rights.

## Forced removals

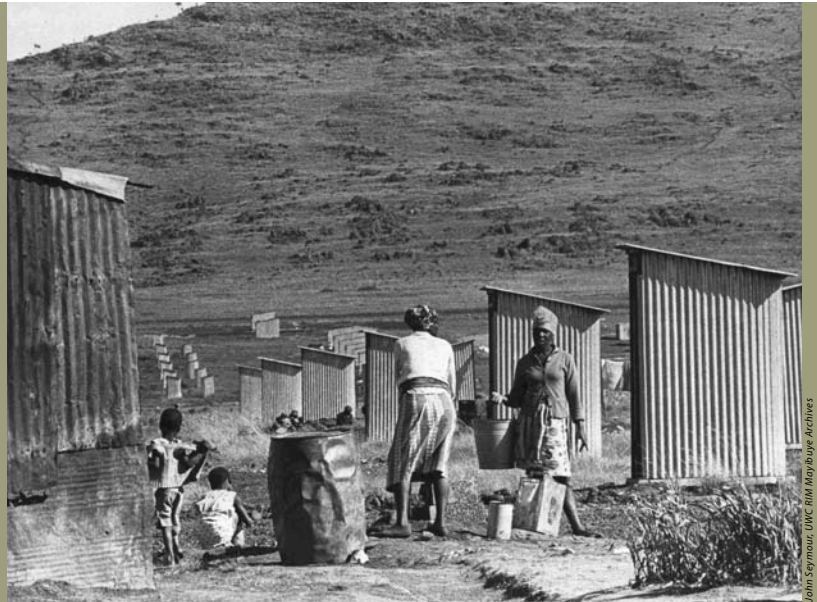
In order to implement this policy, the government forcibly removed over three and a half million people into the poverty-stricken homelands which had no facilities, nor any possibilities for making a living. Outside of the Soviet Union, these were the largest forced removals in the world.

## Protest against the homelands policy

Not all white South Africans bought into the illusion of separate development. Protest came from within the churches, the universities and the trade unions. And Helen Suzman raised a lone voice of protest within parliament.



▲ Ten homelands were created out of the former African reserves, which had been set aside for African occupation in 1913. They consisted of 13% of the land – for over 87% of the population. The homelands tried to entrench ethnicity and division, as each ethnic group was allocated a separate homeland.



▲ The government insisted that there were "measureless and limitless opportunities for the Bantu" in the homelands. In reality, the homelands were overcrowded, infertile pieces of fragmented land with no facilities, no employment opportunities and little possibility of survival.

► People living in 'black spots' were forcibly removed to the homelands, to endure lives of unspeakable hardship. 'Black spots' were areas where blacks lived and owned land but were now designated as white areas.



◀ Among the few individuals who stood up to defend the rights of political prisoners was Helen Suzman, lone Progressive Party member of parliament from 1959 to 1974. Helen Suzman visited Robben Island on several occasions to investigate the treatment of political prisoners. She was responsible for significant improvements in the conditions of prisoners.

► Rev Beyers Naudé was an Afrikaner and a member of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), which actively supported and promoted apartheid for 22 years. He then suffered a crisis of conscience. He broke away from the DRC and became an active opponent of apartheid. He was banned for many years and continually subject to police harassment. Here Rev Naudé (on the right) and Rev Kotze examine the wreckage of a progressive church in Cape Town that was burnt down by the apartheid state.





▲ The teaching of subjects in Afrikaans, the language of the oppressor, was the burning issue of the Soweto uprisings. But behind these protests lay deeper discontents. Overcrowded schools, poverty, prospects of unemployment and hopelessness were the lot of young black South Africans.

The rise of Black Consciousness

Out of the quiescence of the 1960s, a new resistance movement began to take hold. Black Consciousness, led by the charismatic leader Steve Biko, argued that blacks should develop pride in being black, and that they should lead the struggle against apartheid.

The ideas of Black Consciousness began to appeal to African youth in schools who were angry at the poor quality of education for young Africans. Many of them also faced the prospect of unemployment and a life of hardship when they finished school.

The Soweto uprising

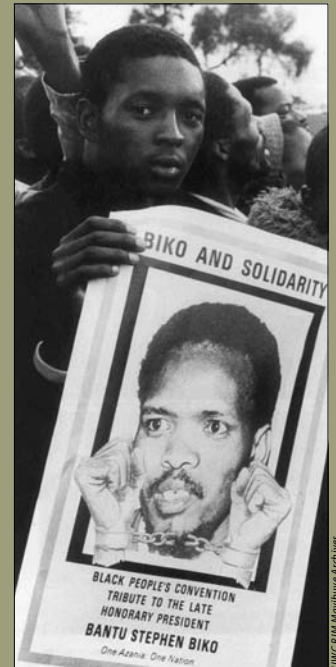
The major turning point came in 1976, when the government decided to force African students to learn half of their subjects in Afrikaans. This decision sparked off the Soweto uprising of 1976.

As the uprisings spread from Soweto to the rest of the country, the government clamped down on opposition leaders. Thousands of young people fled into exile. The Soweto uprising was a landmark event leading the government down the road to greater repression and limited reform.



◀ Susan Shabangu, a student activist in the 1976 uprising and now a member of Cabinet: "When our parents accepted Bantu Education, they said, 'Half a loaf is better than nothing.' We were saying, we don't want any half loaf. We either have a full loaf or nothing at all. That became our slogan."

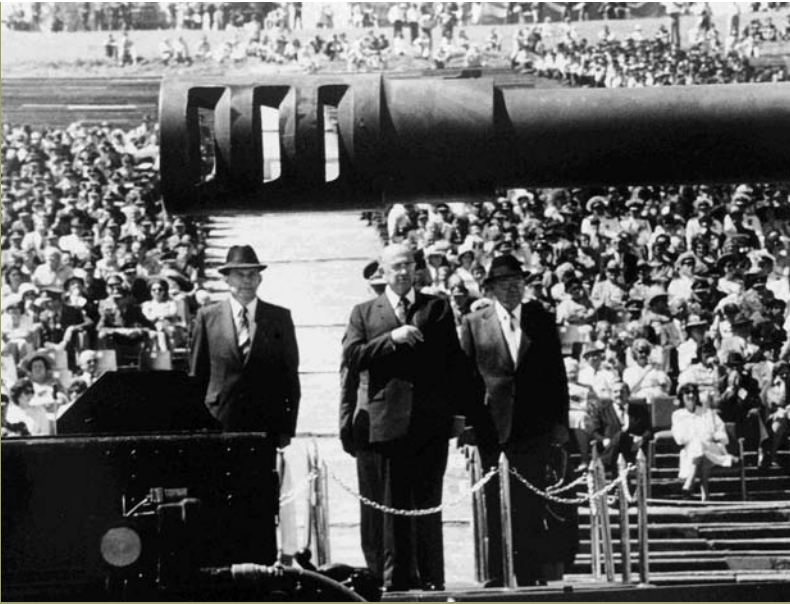
► Steve Biko very quickly became a threat to the security police because of his ability to inspire township youth with his message of black pride and action. In 1977 Steve Biko was detained and, after being severely tortured, died at the hands of the security police. South Africa had lost a great leader.



▲ The world was shocked by the images of violence that began to appear in the international press. Security forces randomly gunned down hundreds of young children and detained thousands more.



▲ After June 1976, South Africa lost many of its brightest sons and daughters to exile. Thousands fled to the neighbouring countries of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, as well as Tanzania and Angola. Some went in search of a better education. Many joined the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, entering military camps for training as guerrilla fighters.



Paul Weinberg, South Photographs

▲ P W Botha, the former minister of defence, became prime minister in 1978. His promises to reform apartheid echoed hollowly in the wake of intensified repression and unprecedented government spending on the military.

### Total strategy

The Soweto uprising had unleashed the anger of the people. In the 1980s, Prime Minister P W Botha referred to the pressures on the government as a 'total onslaught'. His response was 'total strategy', with its twin pillars of reform and repression.

### Introducing reforms

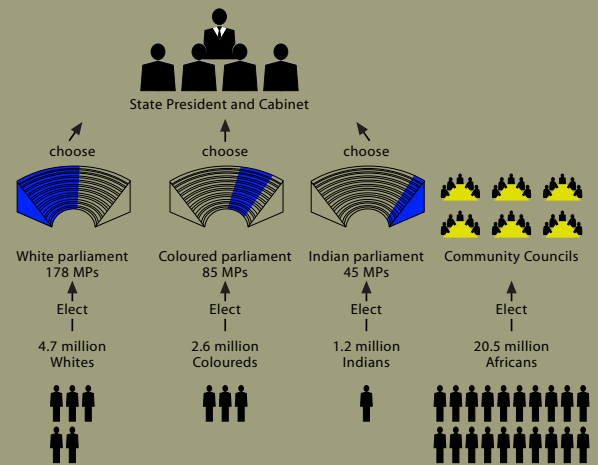
The government tried to appease sections of the black population by making concessions in a number of areas. In 1983, Indians and coloureds were given some representation in a tricameral parliament but Africans continued to be excluded from government on the grounds that they could vote for their own local community councils. Botha's new constitution was nothing short of a sham democracy.

Under the umbrella of reform, the government also recognised African trade unions. It acknowledged the reality of the urban African population by giving urban Africans permanent urban rights, while attempting to block new African arrivals from the countryside into the towns. The process of giving African homelands political independence was accelerated in the hope of satisfying African political aspirations.

### Intensifying repression

At the same time, the government increased its military expenditure substantially and intensified the forces of repression. Organisations were banned and thousands of political activists were detained and tortured. The number of deaths in detention rose significantly.

► In response to ongoing resistance in the townships, P W Botha declared a state of emergency in 1985 and the army was mobilised to crush opposition. Casspirs and an armed military presence became a permanent feature of South African townships.



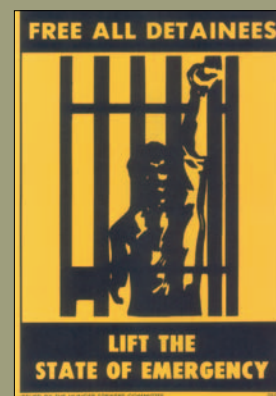
From South Africa since 1948 by C Culpin

▲ The Tricameral Parliament consisted of three separate houses, one each for whites, Coloureds and Indians. The state president had the power of veto over all decisions. The Tricameral Parliament was denied any legitimacy as the majority of people responded to a call for a boycott from the newly formed United Democratic Front.

► In the military crackdown of the 1980s, young men recruited into the army and police found themselves carrying out acts of extreme violence. While many actively supported the system and did not question the orders they were given, there were white soldiers and policemen who were horrified at the events unfolding before their eyes.



Johan Kruis, Sipa Press



South African History Archive

◀ The Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) was formed in response to the wave of detentions in the early 1980s. It brought parents and family members of detainees together and offered them a support system. It also publicised the plight of detainees.



Paul Weinberg, South Photographs



Adri Bradlow, Trace Images

▲ The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) was formed in 1989. It was made up of an alliance of the UDF, COSATU and other organisations opposed to apartheid. The MDM embarked on new acts of resistance, such as the Defiance Campaign, in which activists deliberately defied apartheid legislation. Increasingly, the government was unable to counter such challenges to its authority.

### The formation of the United Democratic Front

In order to give the illusion of respectability to his new reforms, P W Botha unintentionally opened up spaces for real democratic structures and opposition to emerge. Many anti-apartheid groups and trade unions came together to form the United Democratic Front (UDF). Both the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) mobilised thousands upon thousands of people in an active struggle against apartheid.

### “Making the townships ungovernable”

From exile, Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, called on the people “to make the townships ungovernable”. Unemployed youth responded enthusiastically to the calls from the UDF and the ANC. These ‘comrades’ determined the pace of political resistance in the townships, toyi-toyi-ing defiantly against the cossacks and police. Despite the states of emergency in 1985, and then again in 1986, the government was unable to stem the tide of resistance.



Sunday Times, Johnnie Publishers

### The first steps to freedom

In 1989, the government finally realised that it could no longer ignore the demands of blacks for political rights. In 1990, under the leadership of F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and his comrades were released from jail, the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) were unbanned, and apartheid laws were abolished. Responding to mass resistance and increasing international pressure, the white South African government had taken its first steps to freedom.



Paul Weinberg, South Photographs

▲ The UDF, launched in 1983 as a protest against P W Botha's new constitution, became the leading force in mobilising people against apartheid. It brought together over 500 anti-apartheid organisations under the umbrella of non-racialism.



Paul Weinberg, South Photographs

▲ The legal recognition of African trade unions opened up spaces for trade unions to conduct political protests against the government. In 1985, the largest federation of trade unions was formed with the launch of COSATU, representing more than half a million workers. Trade unions filled the gap created by the banning of many political organisations.

◀ In 1984, the Vaal Triangle, an area of black townships to the south of Johannesburg, exploded in violence triggered by repeated increases in rent of municipal houses. The remarkable thing about the uprising is that it was led by young children. Despite a massive police and army presence, the state never regained full control of the townships.



South African History Archive

▲ As the government sent more and more troops to occupy the townships, many young white South African men became increasingly unhappy with having to perform their military service. The End Conscription Campaign was formed in 1983 to oppose the conscription of white men into the South African Defence Force.

### The ANC in exile

After Sharpeville, a new chapter was opened in the South African struggle for freedom as a number of activists moved into exile. Oliver Tambo, then deputy president of the ANC, was sent to London in 1960 to develop an external wing of the ANC.

Many African countries such as Egypt, Algeria, Ghana and Tanzania offered bases and military training. In 1963, the OAU Liberation Committee declared its support for the efforts of the ANC and PAC to overthrow white rule by military and other means.

### The Anti-Apartheid Movement

In 1960, the Anti-Apartheid Movement was set up by South African exiles and local sympathisers in Britain and Sweden. Starting in 1963, the efforts of these escalating pressure groups led to the imposition of the UN arms embargo on South Africa, a mounting disinvestment campaign and an increasingly comprehensive sport and cultural boycott.

Many southern African countries paid a high price for their support of the ANC and the PAC as South Africa conducted cross-border raids, and continued to apply economic pressure on these economically-dependent states.



▲ The Anti-Apartheid Movement called on the British government to impose a trade boycott on South Africa and for disinvestments in South African companies. It had no support from its own government, but thousands of ordinary people joined protest marches in solidarity with the ANC.



◀ After Sharpeville, Oliver Tambo (second from the left) went into exile to continue the struggle abroad. He was central in keeping the ANC alive and gaining support from African leaders in the fight against apartheid. Here he is pictured in the mid-1980s with Samora Machel, Eduardo Dos Santos and Julius Nyerere.



◀ New life was injected into the exile movement when thousands of young people left South Africa and took up military training in MK in the wake of the Soweto uprisings.

*"Without solidarity from the international community, South Africa would not be where it is today. We won an extraordinary victory against one of the most abominable systems the world has seen. We want the world to know how much we owe them and how grateful we are for their help."*

Archbishop Desmond Tutu



▲ Apartheid was equally applied in sporting activities and South Africa was banned from the Olympics in 1962. The Anti-Apartheid Movement played a role in preventing South African sports teams from playing abroad. Sporting isolation hit keen South African sports fans almost more than any other sanctions.

**NEVER AGAIN!**



**Dulcie September  
Vote ANC**

◀ Assassinations of high profile anti-apartheid activists in exile were commonplace. Dulcie September was shot five times and killed as she was opening the ANC office in Paris in 1988. This poster was used by the ANC in the first democratic election of 1994 to remind the electorate of the high cost of freedom.



Gareem Williams, South Photographs

◀ On 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela took his first steps of freedom as he walked out of the gates of the Victor Verster prison. As he raised his right fist in the victory salute of the ANC, the whole of South Africa cheered. For Mandela and South Africa, "life was beginning anew". By now Mandela was increasingly being referred to by his Xhosa name 'Madiba'.



Jurgen Schadeberg



UWC RIM Mayibuye Archives

◀ As one of the young lions of the ANC Youth League, Mandela had called for a change of tactics against government oppression. As a result, in the 1950s, non-violent confrontation replaced the moderate tactics of petitions and delegations. Here Mandela makes a show of burning his pass in an act of non-violent confrontation.

▲ In 1963, Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment. Mandela called his time on Robben Island 'the dark years'. In his cell, he had only a mat, a bedroll and two blankets. When he lay down to sleep, his head touched the one wall, his feet the other. Mandela worked hard at keeping himself mentally and physically strong. When P W Botha offered him freedom in 1985 if he renounced all violence, Mandela sent a message to the people with his daughter Zinzi: "I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom... I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return."

▶ After Sharpeville and the banning of political organisations, Mandela helped organise a mass stay-at-home in May 1961. This only served to generate more tension with the police. Mandela came to see that the only way forward was to take up arms. He said in a television interview in 1961: "If the government reaction is to crush by naked force our non-violent struggle, we will have to reconsider our tactics. In my mind we are closing a chapter on this question of non-violent policy." The ANC established a military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) or MK, in 1961.



Peter Magubane, Bailey's African History Archive



Herbert Mabuza, Sunday Times, Johannesburg Publishers

▲ In jail, Mandela was a symbol of continuing resistance, and the sacrifices that so many people had made in the name of the struggle against apartheid. As a free man, Mandela became a symbol of the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation that was to shape the new South Africa. Nelson Mandela has inspired the world with his moral integrity and goodness, and has become the icon of the 20th century. In 1998, Mandela married Graça Machel, after divorcing Winnie Mandela a few years before.



### Convention for a Democratic South Africa

In 1991, negotiations for a new South Africa began at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). At these talks Mandela and de Klerk negotiated the way forward. Unfortunately the negotiations took place against a backdrop of intense violence. There were clashes between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) who supported Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Massacres of people at Boipatong and Bisho threatened to derail the negotiations.

### Talks break down

Mandela accused De Klerk of treachery – of deliberately promoting the ongoing violence through the ‘Third Force’ and there certainly was strong evidence of such complicity. White right-wing extremists also responded to the idea of a new South Africa with violence, and it was during this period that Chris Hani, the leader of the South African Communist Party, was assassinated. Both Chief Buthelezi and the Conservative Party walked out of the talks. The fragile unity achieved by Mandela’s release seemed poised to collapse into civil war.

### A compromise is reached

However, despite the terrible violence, the process of negotiations continued in fits and starts. It was only on the basis of a compromise that a date was set for the first democratic elections - 27 April 1994.



Adrij Bradford, Trace Images

▲ Negotiations at CODESA were a long, drawn out process with no easy victories.

The ANC wanted a simple democracy based on one-person-one-vote, while De Klerk pushed for some form of ethnic power-sharing. Finally a compromise was reached – power-sharing for the first five years,

▶ In April 1993, and then majority rule.

Chris Hani, the well-loved leader of the South African Communist Party, was assassinated by a right-wing fanatic, Janusz Walus. This heightened tensions in the

country and threatened to derail the negotiation process.



Mail & Guardian

◀ Inkatha had a strong support base among Zulu migrants living in hostels. Brandishing weapons that asserted their Zulu identity, Inkatha impis vowed to crush ANC supporters. Much of the antagonism and violence between Inkatha and ANC supporters was fuelled by the police.



Adrij Bradford, Trace Images

▲ In a climate of tense negotiations and spiralling violence, things were made worse when unarmed ANC supporters were fired upon in Bisho in September 1992. The march was a protest against Brigadier Gqozo, ruler of the Ciskei homeland and a perceived puppet of the apartheid regime. Gqozo ordered his troops to open fire, killing 28 people and wounding 200.

▶ In the run-up to the 1994 elections, the white right-wing sent armed soldiers to support the black homeland leader of Bophuthatswana, who was facing a popular uprising. Some of these white soldiers were shot execution-style in the violence that followed.



Graeme Williams, South Photographs



Kevin Carter







Sunday Times, Joanne Publishers

▲ Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, pictured here with Alex Boraine, the deputy chairperson. Tutu's deep and abiding compassion and his call for reconciliation in the spirit of *ubuntu* enabled the Commission to become an instrument of healing.

#### The terms of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) emerged as part of a deal reached at the CODESA negotiations. This deal involved granting amnesty for politically motivated human rights abuses, provided the perpetrators confessed to their crimes. The TRC's role was to discover the truth about South Africa's tortured past by giving voice to apartheid's victims. Past injustices were to be addressed "on the basis that there is a need for further understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation".

#### The painful road to reconciliation

The emphasis was on truth-telling. Thousands of victims and survivors came forward to the TRC to tell their stories. Perpetrators of apartheid crimes who made a full disclosure were granted amnesty. Those who failed to do so now face prosecution for their crimes against humanity. And for the victims, there will be some form of reparations.

The TRC's public hearings exposed the violence and barbarity of apartheid to many whites for the first time. Only once they were able to acknowledge that these atrocities had taken place, could the process of reconciliation begin.

*"History does not wipe away the memories of the past", concluded the TRC. "It understands the vital importance of learning from and redressing past violations for the sake of our shared present and our children's future ... Reconciliation requires a commitment - especially by those who have benefited and continue to benefit from past discrimination - to the transformation of unjust inequalities and dehumanising poverty."*



Louise Gubb, Trace Images

▲ Archbishop Desmond Tutu watches with great joy as Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk are jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 for their efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement in South Africa. Tutu himself was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984.

► Mandela's remarkable ability to forgive was displayed by such actions as visiting the widow of Hendrik Verwoerd, the grand architect of apartheid, and lunching with the man who had prosecuted him in the Rivonia Trial.



Homer Frankfeld, PictureNet Africa



Greg Marmonch, PictureNet Africa

◀ Daniel Sebolai, 64, who lost his wife and son in the Boipatong Massacre in 1992, holds back the tears during a workshop on issues related to the TRC in 1998.

▼ A special ceremony was held in Pretoria in 1998 to mark the hand over of the final report of the TRC by its chairperson, Archbishop Desmond Tutu to Nelson Mandela, who was president at the time. It may be considered testimony to the impartiality of the TRC that sections of the leadership of both the National Party and the ANC objected to certain of its findings.



Peter Andrews, Reuters, South Photographs



### Stabilising the economy

After the euphoria of the transition years, Thabo Mbeki's presidency had to ensure that South Africa's 44 million residents would begin to reap the fruits of democracy. South Africa had inherited a massive apartheid debt, and the inequalities of apartheid were still sharply apparent. President Mbeki has stabilised the domestic economy and re-integrated South Africa into the global economy in a masterly fashion. Black economic empowerment has gone some way to redress a racially imbalanced economy and the government has continued major spending programmes on social services.

### New Partnership for Africa's Development

Mbeki has placed his own personal stamp on the presidency with his vision of an African Renaissance and has put South Africa at the centre of African affairs through the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

### Challenges facing Mbeki's government

There are still major challenges facing the ANC government elected to its third term with an increased majority in April 2004. These include unemployment, violent crime, and a high rate of HIV/AIDS infection. These issues are of great concern to many people and are the topic of energetic debates in South Africa. But there is no doubt that South Africa has already overcome incredible obstacles, and that efforts to address poverty and inequality continue.



South Africa is building a robust and democratic society, which is beginning to deliver a better life for all.

◀ Mbeki at a news conference with South Africa's first black Reserve Bank Governor, Tito Mboweni. The economy has grown since 1994, at an average rate of 2.8%. The budget deficit fell from 9.5% in 1993 to 1% in 2003. However, unemployment is high, and much of the government's current attention is focused on job creation.



▲ Millions of people have benefited from improved service delivery. Subsidised houses have been provided to 1.53 million households. Piped water has been brought to 9 million people, and electricity connections have been made to 3.8 million households. The government has also expanded social security, with over 7 million people now receiving government grants on a monthly basis.



▲ South Africa faces major health problems with one in five adults infected with HIV/AIDS. The government is now in the process of providing appropriate medication to HIV sufferers, although there has been criticism that the government's response to the AIDS pandemic has been too slow. There are also other health challenges, including tuberculosis and malaria.



▲ South Africa is now a sturdy democracy with a free press, and strong civic organisations such as trade unions and non-governmental organisations. As a result, the government has been brought much closer to the people.

*“During the first decade, we have made great progress towards the achievement of the goals we enunciated as we took the first steps as a newborn child. We also laid a strong foundation to score even greater advances during the exciting and challenging second decade ahead of us, as a people united to build a better South Africa and a better world.”*

*President Thabo Mbeki, State of the Nation Address, 6 February 2004*

OUTPUT OF GOVERNMENT'S SOCIAL PROGRAMMES			
	From department reports	www.gov.za	Delivery since 1994
Water	People gaining access via community programmes		9,1 million
Electricity	Grid connections		3,8 million
Housing	Subsidised houses built or under construction		1,53 million
Land redistribution	Hectares redistributed		1,56 million
Land restitution	Hectares restored		799 479
Social grants	To all who qualify		4,4 million
Healthcare	Women and children under six		Free
	Expenditure on HIV/AIDS (from R30 million in 1994)		R3,5 billion

## South Africans and the World

South Africa is a relatively small country with a short history of democracy. And yet, in the last ten years, South Africans from all walks of life have excelled in every sphere. Here we pay tribute to a selection of South Africans who have achieved recognition on the world stage since 1994 in the fields of social activism, sport, science and the arts. Out of the ashes of apartheid, South Africans are building a better society and are pursuing greatness in many fields of endeavour.



Mamphela Ramphele played a key role as an anti-apartheid activist in the 1970s and 1980s. She also worked as a medical doctor and an academic. When apartheid ended, Ramphele was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town. After successfully leading the University, she was appointed to her current position in Washington DC as a Managing Director of the World Bank.

In recognition of his tireless work in the field of human rights and improving race relations, Hanif Bhamjee was awarded an Order of the British Empire (OBE) by Queen Elizabeth in 2003. Bhamjee played an active role against apartheid in South Africa, and went into exile in 1965. In the UK, he helped establish the Anti-Apartheid Movement and was instrumental in the sports and cultural boycotts against apartheid in South Africa.

Nkosi Johnson was probably the world's youngest AIDS activist and a great symbol of courage. He was born HIV-positive and died of AIDS in 2001 at the age of 12. Nkosi and his adoptive mother, Gail Johnson, began actively campaigning against AIDS discrimination when he was refused permission to attend a local school because he was HIV-positive. He was given a hero's burial when he died, and was posthumously awarded the World's Children's Prize in 2002.



Zachie Achmat was a prominent youth activist during the anti-apartheid struggle. Achmat helped establish the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) to fight for free medication for HIV sufferers. In 1998, Achmat disclosed his own HIV-positive status. In 2003, he was awarded the Jonathan Mann Award for Global Health and Human Rights. Achmat and the TAC have been nominated for the 2004 Nobel Prize for Peace.

In a career that spanned 22 years, Baby Jake Matlala impressed the boxing world with his non-stop, aggressive style. He was the South African junior flyweight champion before capturing the WBO flyweight, the WBO junior flyweight, the IBA junior flyweight and WBU junior flyweight titles. He is the only South African boxer to win four world titles.

Josiah Thugwane won the marathon at the Olympic Games in 1996. He won the gold medal despite being one of the least experienced runners in the field. He was virtually unknown at the start of the race. Born into a life of poverty, Thugwane began running as a young boy and continues to contribute to his community by training younger athletes.

Sport



Mike Hutchings, Reuters

Nathalie Du Toit is a swimmer whose leg was amputated at the knee after a motor cycle accident. She became a top disabled swimmer, while continuing to compete against able-bodied swimmers. At the 2002 Commonwealth Games, she qualified for the final of the 800 metre freestyle, beating many able-bodied swimmers. She also broke the 50 and 100 metre freestyle world records for disabled swimmers. Du Toit won the David Dixon Award for Outstanding Athlete of the Games. She also won the 800 metre freestyle (against able-bodied swimmers) at the All Africa Games in 2003.



Will Burgess, Reuters

Swimmer Penny Heyns won two Olympic Gold medals at Atlanta in 1996. She broke the world record for the 100 metre breaststroke in 1996, and for the 200 metre breaststroke in 1999. She is probably the greatest female breaststroke swimmer of all time.



Gary Hetherington, Reuters

Hezekiel Sepeng was for many years one of the world's best 800 metre athletes. He won silver medals in this event at the Commonwealth Games in 1994 and 1998, at the Olympic Games in 1996, and at the World Athletics Championships in 1999. He is a great competitor and shrewd tactician.



Toby Hetherington, Reuters

Ernie Els started playing golf at the age of nine and had won the World Under-14 title by the time he was 13. He has become one of the world's greatest golfers, winning the US Open in 1994 and 1997, and the British Open in 2002. He led South Africa to victory in the 1997 Dunhill Cup. Els topped the European Order of Merit in 2002, and has won the World Matchplay Championship a record five times.



Darren Staples, Reuters

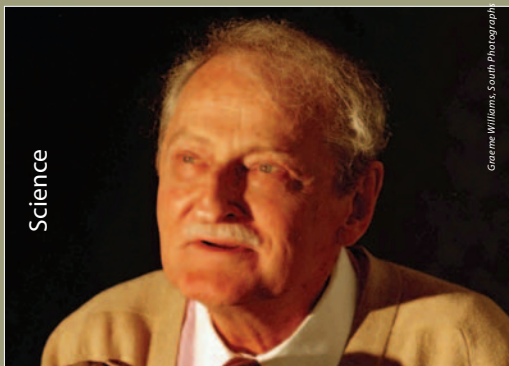
Hestrie Cloete is South Africa's world champion high jumper. In 2003, she won the award for Female World Athlete of the Year, after setting a new African record of 2.06 metres for the high jump at the Commonwealth Games. Since 1995, Cloete has garnered a wealth of medals, including the Gold in the All Africa Games, the Commonwealth Games, the IAAF Grand Prix Final, and the World Athletics Championship. She won the Olympic Silver Medal in 2000.



Julia Meyerov, Reuters

Lucas Radebe is considered to be one of the greatest defenders in the game of soccer. He was captain of the national team and key to its successes. He was also captain of the English team Leeds United, leading the side to many important victories. He was honoured with the Fifa Fair Play Award for working to rid soccer of racism.

Science



Greame Williams, South Photography

Professor Emeritus, Phillip Tobias, is a world expert on human evolution, as well as a champion of human rights. He has played a key role in demonstrating the path of human evolution through the fossil record. His work on the human brain and the origins of spoken language is internationally recognised. Tobias is one of the most renowned South African scientists and probably the most highly honoured, having received numerous international awards, as well as 16 honorary degrees.



Peter Andrews, Reuters

Professor Ron Clarke, together with his two assistants, Steven Motsumi and Nkwane Molefe, have made a number of exciting fossil discoveries at Sterkfontein Caves in the Cradle of Humankind, a World Heritage Site near Johannesburg. Their most important find is the near complete skeleton known as Little Foot, which helped to confirm the existence of early hominids in South Africa as far back as 4,17 million years ago.



Mark Shuttleworth, who had dreamt of space travel since he was a child, proved that dreams do come true, when he became the first African citizen in space. Shuttleworth became a billionaire through his internet-based business, and is actively involved in promoting science education in South Africa.

Science



University of Cape Town

Professor George Ellis, one of the University of Cape Town's leading scientists, has been awarded the 2004 Templeton Prize for his work on the links between science and religion. A professor of Applied Mathematics, Professor Ellis specialises in general relativity theory. His most recent investigations question whether there was a start to the universe and if there is only one universe or many.

Arts



Thimba Maseka, Sunday Times, Johnnie Publishers

Professor William Makgoba is an internationally recognised molecular immunologist and is currently the president of the Medical Research Council of South Africa. He is also leader of the South African AIDS Initiative. Makgoba is a distinguished academic, having received many honours, including the United Kingdom Department of Health's National Health Service Distinction and Meritorious Award. The British National Museum of Science and Industry selected his work in 1994 for a permanent display.



Lucy Nicholson, Reuters

South African actress Charlize Theron has won numerous international awards for her role as leading actress in the film *Monster*, which she also produced. She won the 2004 Golden Globe award, as well as the Academy Award (Oscar) for Best Female Actress. Prior to *Monster*, Theron starred in many successful movies and has worked with some of the world's top directors.

Sally Chance, Financial Mail



Anant Singh, South Africa's first black film producer, is recognised as a pioneer in the movie industry in South Africa. He is the first South African producer to be invited to become a member of the prestigious Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. In 1998, he won an American award for his commitment to cinema and social justice. In 2001, the World Economic Forum awarded him its prestigious Crystal Award.

Frank Polich, Reuters



J M Coetzee won the Nobel Prize for literature in 2003. He is the first author ever to win the Booker Prize twice, first in 1983 with his book *The Life and Times of Michael K*, and then again in 1991 for his novel, *Disgrace*. Coetzee spent many years teaching English at the University of Cape Town.

Cape Argus



Sibongile Khumalo has delighted audiences all over South Africa and throughout the world with her soulful singing. Comfortable in a variety of genres, from opera to jazz, she infuses her songs with a particular South African flavour. She has performed at the Royal Albert Hall in London in a concert honouring Nelson Mandela, as well as with the late Lord Yehudi Menuhin. She received the national Performing Arts Award in 2001.

Jodi Bieber, South Photographs



John Kani and Antjie Krog jointly won the Hiroshima Prize in 2000 for their contributions to peace. John Kani is a world-renowned stage actor who won Tony Awards for his performances in *The Island* and *Sizwe Banzi is Dead*. His latest play *Nothing But the Truth* examines the effects of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Simon Mathibane, Sunday Times



Antjie Krog and John Kani jointly won the Hiroshima Prize in 2000 for their contributions to peace. Antjie Krog, an acclaimed journalist, chronicled the experiences and work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in her moving and often harrowing book, *Country of My Skull*.

Andrew Sawa, Johnnie Publishers



William Kentridge is a versatile artist, working in film, animation, puppetry, drawings and sculpture. A comprehensive retrospective of his work was presented in 1998 by the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. His work has been exhibited in famous galleries throughout the world, and in 2003 he was awarded the internationally renowned Goslar Kaiserring.

*"To be free is not merely to cast off one's chains but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others."*

*Nelson Mandela*

The Apartheid Museum is an independent organisation registered as a section 21 company not for gain. It is dependent on funding raised from the private and public sectors to finance its activities and educational programmes.

The museum conveys a universal message of the perilous consequences of racism and discrimination, and the peaceful resolution of conflict through dialogue, negotiation and reconciliation. This message is one which the world needs to be reminded of, never to forget.

Should you wish to support the museum in its work through a financial contribution, or if you are interested in receiving exhibition material, please contact the museum.

Racism should remain where it belongs - in a museum.  
Witness the triumph  
of the human spirit over adversity, and walk away free!



## **APARTHEIDMUSEUM**

Commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs of the  
Republic of South Africa, 2004

Produced by the Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, South Africa  
Tel + 27 11 309 4700 Fax + 27 11 309 4726  
info@apartheidmuseum.org  
www.apartheidmuseum.org