meetings because of the violent intervention by supporters of ZANU. Elections were held in June 1985. In many places, ZANU supporters threatened people, forcing them to vote for the government party. The results of the election showed an overwhelming victory for Mugabe's ZANU party. Mugabe was well on his way to achieving a one-party state where there would be little or no opposition.

The power struggle between Mugabe and Nkomo continued, but Mugabe was victorious. Nkomo's party was absorbed into ZANU in December, 1989. The only opposition party that remained was Edgar Tekere's Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZMU).

In elections that were held in 1987, Mugabe took office as the first Executive President of Zimbabwe. This was another step leading Zimbabwe away from a parliamentary democracy toward a one-party state.

While Mugabe remains committed to a one-party system, it seems that many members of ZANU do not agree with him. Mugabe has agreed to make no moves against the existing multi-party system in the near future.

South Africa and The Problem of Separate Development (Apartheid)

In the southernmost part of the continent of Africa is the Republic of South Africa. It is the homeland of over 30 million people: Africans (Bantu-blacks); Europeans (whites); coloreds (mixed European or Asian, Hottentot and Bantu); and Asians. The whites of South Africa are made up of two groups of people—the Afrikaners, who are descendants of the original Dutch settlers and the English descendants of the original British settlers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official Category</th>
<th>Number of People (millions)</th>
<th>% of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Britannica Book of the Year, 1991

Of all the independent countries in sub-Saharan Africa, only one, the Republic of South Africa, is ruled by a white minority. Since 1948, the government of the Republic has followed a policy of separate development, or apartheid, as it is called in other nations.

Policy of Separateness

In the years before 1948, governments containing Afrikaners and the English ruled the Republic. Social and economic separation between the whites and the Bantus, Asians, and coloreds had existed for a long time. In 1948, the Nationalists, an all-Afrikaner party, won the election.
The Nationalists passed laws to put their program of "separateness" (apartheid) into effect. The Group Areas Act of 1949 provided for segregated residential areas for each race. In 1950, a population register classified the entire adult population according to race. Laws were passed forbidding mixed marriages. Other laws reserved skilled jobs for whites. Separation of facilities for whites and non-whites was put into law. (This was similar in many ways to the separate facilities that existed in the United States in the years before 1960.) It should be noted that the Nationalists put into law customs and traditions that had existed for over 50 years. The Nationalists did not introduce segregation into South Africa because segregation had existed long before they took over. But the Nationalists did make separation of the races the official policy of the government.

In the field of education, the Nationalists passed laws that further separated the races. The Bantu Education Act of 1958 made the local Bantu communities responsible for the education of Africans. The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 forbade all non-Europeans to attend the English-speaking universities. This law also provided for the creation of separate "university-colleges," not only for each of the four racial groups, but even for each of the three main African language groups.

Various laws were passed by the Nationalists forbidding practically any form of opposition, by peaceful means or otherwise. The General Law Amendment Act of 1962 provided for a minimum sentence of five years of prison and a maximum sentence of death for sabotage. Sabotage includes any attempt to promote disturbance, to disrupt any industry, to hamper the maintenance of law and order, and to promote hostility between the different sections of the population. Illegal possession of explosives or illegal entry into any building was considered sufficient evidence of an intention to carry out acts of sabotage. The law also extended the government's powers to ban newspapers, organizations, and gatherings, and to imprison any person for any length of time without due process of law. The General Law Amendment Act of 1963 allowed repeated detentions of persons for 90 days at a time for questioning; refusal to allow anybody, including legal counsel, to see the detained persons; indefinite imprisonment without trial; and the death penalty for receiving training in the use of violence outside South Africa.

In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act was passed. It set up a blueprint for the development of the Bantu (African) peoples and attempted to set up separate "tribal states." The Nationalists felt that Africans should develop within their own tribal groups under tribal laws and traditions instead of trying to achieve equal political rights with whites. When Africans became capable of self-rule, they would rule themselves. The areas or so called homelands set aside for blacks would become "Bantustans" or semi-independent Bantu states. In 1956, the Transkei Territorial Authority was set up and in 1961 the Transkei was given self-government. The Transkei is located on the east coast of the Republic of South Africa and contains the largest single Bantu population group in the republic.

The creation of the homelands program was a basic part of the government's long-range plan for the survival of South Africa's whites. This policy called for dividing the country's blacks and whites into ten states. Nine would be for the blacks and one for the whites. The white state would hold 87 percent of the land, which would include all 17 major cities.

Eventually all black South Africans would be given citizenship in one of the tribal homelands. Seventy percent of the population of South Africa would be packed into 13 percent of the land. Only one of the planned homelands would be established with a single piece
of land. The others were broken into two or more parts surrounded by white South Africa.

Under the homelands program, when a black person’s homeland became independent, he automatically became a citizen of that “nation,” and lost South African citizenship. Black workers who were needed to run South Africa’s mines and industries would be permitted to continue on their jobs. Without them, South Africa’s economy would collapse. However, the wives and children of all those workers had to “return” to live in the homelands most of them had never known. This policy caused much hardship for black families in South Africa.

Four of South Africa’s nine homelands became “independent.” In October 1976, Transkei became independent. It was a united area located on the Indian Ocean with a deep-water port. The people of the Transkei depend mainly on agriculture and livestock to earn a living. Cattle, sheep, goats, and horses are raised.

In December 1977, the second of the homelands became independent within the Republic of South Africa. The new republic is called Bophuthatswana. It consists of seven patches of territory scattered in northeast South Africa. It is completely landlocked with no coastline. The area is rich in platinum, asbestos, chromium, and manganese. Little of the land is good for agriculture.

As in the case of Transkei, the nations of the world did not recognize the Bophuthatswana Republic. However, Lucas Mangope, the first president of the Republic, felt it was a good start to freedom. He said, “We cannot take the humiliations of the South African system any longer. We would rather face the difficulties of ruling a fragmented territory and the wrath of the outside world. It is the price we are prepared to pay for being masters of our own destiny.”

The Struggle Against Apartheid (1960–1984)

The Sharpeville Massacre—1960

In March 1960, thousands of Africans gathered in the township of Sharpeville to demonstrate against the hated pass laws. The purpose of the demonstration was to get the government to abolish the pass laws. These laws required blacks to carry passbooks that indicated where they could live, work, and travel. They were passed to control and limit the movement of blacks into white cities. If a black person did not carry a passbook, he or she could be fined or imprisoned. It was to be a nonviolent protest. The participants were told to surrender their passbooks and invite arrest. The police opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators and 69 blacks were killed. On the same day, there were large demonstrations in Cape Town. Black workers went on strike for three weeks. The government declared a state of emergency and drastic regulations were put into effect. Meetings were prohibited and police were authorized to detain people without trial. Publications (newspapers, magazines, and books) that were considered subversive (antigovernment) were banned. The African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress were outlawed. Thousands of Africans were jailed.
Many people inside and outside of South Africa were outraged. South African business and financial leaders, churches, and other groups called on the government to modify the race laws. In other countries people boycotted South African goods.

**Soweto Riots—1976**

The Soweto riots of 1976 were the worst race riots in South African history. Soweto is a township near Johannesburg with a population of 1 million blacks. It was built by the government to house blacks who work in the factories and businesses of Johannesburg. The riots began in June 1976 over what seemed to be a minor issue. The government had insisted that black high school students take some of their courses in Afrikaans, the language spoken by the Afrikaners who control the government and politics of South Africa. To blacks, Afrikaans is a symbol of oppression, the language of apartheid. To protest the requirement, Soweto students boycotted classes, staged demonstrations, and clashed with police. Soweto became the scene of almost daily rioting. The rioting spread to other black townships, to some of the Bantu homelands, and to several universities.

The Soweto riots marked a turning point for South Africa. They were the strongest assertion of black power in the history of the country. Young blacks, unwilling to tolerate apartheid any longer, were accepting violence as the only solution. It was recognized by many in South Africa that the real cause behind the riots was the terrible conditions under which blacks lived. For the first time, criticism of apartheid was heard from Afrikaners. There were growing demands inside and outside the country for radical changes in South Africa’s race policy.

**Government Reform**

During the next few years, the South African government took steps to improve the living conditions of blacks. Apartheid signboards were removed in many public places. These were the ugly signs that kept blacks from using the same fountains, bathrooms, and restaurants as whites and from sitting in the same sections on trains and buses. Blacks were permitted to participate in many sports together with whites. Black residents in Soweto and other black townships were given the right to acquire or build their own houses. This right had long been denied to them. Blacks received permission to open supermarkets and other small businesses in black urban areas.

A number of important advances were made by black workers because there was a serious shortage of skilled labor in the country. More facilities were provided to train black workers. Wage gaps were narrowed in many industries. This meant that black and white workers would receive similar pay for similar work. Job reservation, the practice whereby certain jobs were reserved for whites, was practically abolished. In 1979, black workers were given the right to join or form legally recognized trade unions. In 1980, some unions admitted black members for the first time.

However, the policy of apartheid, or separation of the races, remained basically unchanged. Separate schools and universities for each race continued as before. Blacks were still not permitted to live in the white cities or to move about freely without a passbook. The government claimed that blacks working in the cities of South Africa were still connected with their own “homelands.” Therefore, blacks could not have any political rights or citizenship in South Africa.
Reaction and Riots: 1977–1984

The reforms raised the expectations of blacks and many whites. They looked forward to greater and more radical reforms. But the government of President Botha was caught in the middle. On the one hand, there were greater demands for change. On the other, there was pressure from white extremists not to change the traditional racial policies and to preserve white supremacy. There was an open split in the ruling National Party. Those who thought that President Botha had gone too far seceded from the National Party and formed the Conservative Party. Several ultra-conservative groups joined in an alliance that they called “Action to Save White South Africa.” Many engaged in acts of violence against people who cooperated with blacks.

The government’s slowness and hesitation in bringing about greater reforms led to unrest and violence in the black communities. The violence led to police crackdowns, arrests, and detentions, which in turn led to more violence. Parliament passed the International Security Act in 1977, giving the police greater power to detain persons whose activities were considered a threat to the state. Hundreds of people of all races were detained without trial under the security laws. In 1977, Steven Biko, a former student leader, died in jail in Pretoria while being detained by the Security Police. An inquest into Biko’s death found that he died from head and brain injuries received while being questioned by the police.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) stepped up its terrorist acts. On several occasions, South African forces attacked ANC bases in Mozambique and Bophuthatswana in an effort to destroy the organization.

South Africa Since 1984

Internal Turmoil

The New Constitution

In 1983, a new constitution was approved by South Africa’s white voters. The new constitution provided for a Parliament with three separately elected chambers—a white House of Assembly, a colored House of Representatives, and an Asian House of Deputies. Each chamber would be responsible for its community’s “own affairs”: education, social welfare, housing, local government, arts, and culture. For the first time the colored and Asian people were given the vote and the right to participate in a limited way in the political process. But South Africa’s 23 million blacks remained completely excluded from the new Parliament. Many South Africans of all races condemned the constitution, saying that it entrenched (strengthened) apartheid.

In September 1984, on the day the constitution went into effect, rioting broke out in the black residential areas outside of Johannesburg. During 1985 and 1986, there was no letup in the violence. Outbreaks occurred in different parts of the country. Blacks set buildings on fire, threw stones at police, looted stores, and attacked buses and trains. Angry young people, many of them teenagers, took over the leadership of some communities. They organized school boycotts and boycotted white businesses. Thousands were arrested and detained. Crackdowns by the South African government led to more violence.
At the same time, foreign countries began to put a great deal of pressure on South Africa to end the system of apartheid.

Much of the violence by blacks was directed against blacks who were regarded as "collaborators" with apartheid: black police officers, blacks regarded as police informers, and black officials in the local community councils. In many townships, the local police force, although commanded by white officers, is made up almost entirely of blacks. Some of them come from distant regions and hostile tribes and are hated by the local people. Moderates like Bishop Tutu (see page 240), who opposed the government's racial policies, condemned the violence and warned that it would only hurt the black cause.

The government reacted to the violence harshly, and at times brutally. The police were reinforced by units of the South African Defense Force (army). They used whips, tear gas, truncheons, and shotguns to break up crowds. They fired on demonstrators, killing many people. The government put a ban on all indoor meetings in black urban areas. Outdoor meetings had long been banned. But blacks defied these bans, coming together for memorial services for the dead and at huge outdoor funerals. The police broke up these gatherings and arrested many of the people. Thousands of people were detained without charge for weeks and months. Most of the detained were eventually released. There were widespread reports of torture. The Security Police raided the homes and offices of opponents of the government, especially members of the United Democratic Front, an organization made up of more than 700 non-white community groups, trade unions, and church groups. A number of its members were arrested and detained, and several were charged with treason.

The South African government also attacked bases of the African National Congress in some of the neighboring countries. It accused the ANC of carrying out dozens of terrorist acts in South Africa from these bases. In June 1985, army commandos attacked ANC bases in Angola and Botswana. In May 1986, South African armed forces attacked ANC bases in the capital cities of Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana.

In July 1985, after 11 months of mounting violence, the government declared a "state of emergency" in 36 districts. It was South Africa's first declared state of emergency in 25 years (since the Sharpeville massacre). Police were given much greater power to enter homes, seize property, make arrests, detain suspects indefinitely, impose curfews, and restrict press reporting. During the following weeks there were thousands of arrests, violent clashes between blacks and police, and many deaths. In August, the government banned mass outdoor funerals in the areas where the state of emergency existed. Blacks reacted with outrage. In African tradition, funerals are occasions when the whole community participates to express feelings of sorrow and sympathy. In South Africa, where blacks cannot hold political meetings of any kind, funerals had become the one place where large numbers of blacks were able to express their anger publicly. Funerals for the victims of violence often attracted as many as 50,000 mourners. The government ordered that funerals were to be held indoors; there was to be no talk about the political system, police actions, or the state of emergency; and there was to be no display of flags, banners, or posters.

The actions of the South African government were denounced all over the world. The government of President Botha faced tremendous pressure from all sides to begin to make serious reforms. Rioting by blacks continued despite the state of emergency. More and more white South Africans, especially business leaders and church groups, demanded that