the government begin negotiating with black leaders. Other countries, including the United States, pressured the South African government to make changes or face economic sanctions. But President Botha hesitated. He spoke of reforms, but then did very little.

In June 1985, the government repealed (cancelled) the Mixed Marriages Act and sections of the Immorality Act. These laws prohibited marriage and sexual relations between whites and non-whites.

In September, Botha announced that the government would grant citizenship to blacks who lived in urban areas but who were considered citizens of the four “independent homelands.” Blacks, however, would still not be allowed to vote in South Africa. A most important change was announced in April 1986, when the government said it would abolish the pass laws that required blacks to carry passbooks. Instead, all South Africans would carry identification cards in the future and no one would be punished for failure to carry them.

**International Response**

In the 1980s, Western nations, including the United States, put greater pressure on South African leaders to end apartheid. In 1984 and 1985, there were anti-apartheid demonstrations on college campuses in the United States. Students demanded disinvestment, that is, that the universities sell all their investments in companies that do business with South Africa. Pressure was also put on state and local government to divest the billions of dollars they had invested in companies dealing with South Africa. The hope was that if enough U.S. companies stopped doing business with South Africa, it would suffer economically and be forced to make changes. As a result of this pressure, many universities as well as state and city governments took steps to sell their South African investments.

Many Americans demanded that the U.S. government impose economic sanctions, or penalties, on South Africa. This means to punish South Africa economically by not buying or selling vital things. There was a great demand for sanctions in Congress, but the Reagan Administration opposed sanctions. President Reagan preferred to follow a policy of “constructive engagement.” This was an attempt to persuade rather than pressure the South African government to make changes. This policy, however, did not produce results.

Many black leaders including Bishop Tutu called on other nations to impose economic sanctions on South Africa. Tutu declared, “I have no hope of real change from the government unless they are forced. We face a catastrophe in this land, and only the action of the international community by applying pressure can save us.” Many people in the United States and South Africa who opposed sanctions claimed that sanctions would also hurt black Africans, that many would lose their jobs. Tutu’s answer was, “We know we’ll lose jobs, but in the long run it is good for us.”

In 1985, the United States decided to impose limited sanctions. These sanctions restricted new bank loans to South Africa, banned the sale of computer systems to government agencies that enforce apartheid, banned the sale of nuclear technology, and prohibited the importation of Krugerrands (gold coins from South Africa). France banned any future investments in South Africa. Canada, the other nations of the British Commonwealth, and many European countries also announced that they were imposing sanctions on South Africa. For a long time Britain had condemned apartheid, but the British government was opposed to sanctions. However, Britain also went along with the other nations of Europe and the Commonwealth, although it imposed milder sanctions.
Sanctions—1986

Violence and unrest in South Africa continued. In June 1986, the government declared a new nationwide state of emergency. (The earlier state of emergency had lasted eight months and had ended in March.) The security forces were given greater power to make arrests without charge, hold detainees without hearings for unlimited periods, search any home or office without warrant, ban meetings, and to use whatever force necessary to break up “illegal” gatherings. Many new restrictions were put on the press.

Countries around the world denounced this action and demanded stiffer sanctions. In September 1986, the U.S. Congress voted for sanctions against South Africa. These stronger new sanctions banned all new public and private loans to South Africa, as well as new investments. These prohibited importing uranium, coal, textiles, iron, steel, arms, agricultural products, and Krugerrand gold coins from South Africa. They also prohibited the export to South Africa of crude oil, petroleum products, munitions, nuclear energy equipment, and computers. Direct air travel between the United States and South Africa was cut off. At the same time, the 49 nations of the British Commonwealth voted for sanctions, as did the nations of the European community.

Although the sanctions voted by Congress prohibited new investments in South Africa, they did not affect investments already made by U.S. companies. However, in 1986, a number of companies announced plans to sell their investments in South Africa and leave the country. These included Coca-Cola, General Motors, IBM, Warner Communications, Honeywell, and Eastman Kodak. In 1985 and 1986, more than 70 big U.S. companies left South Africa.

South African leaders claimed that their country was strong and would not be greatly affected by the sanctions. South Africa produces most of what it needs, including arms and 50 percent of its oil needs. At the same time, South Africa produces a number of things that are vital to the rest of the world. South Africa is the world’s leading exporter of gold, platinum, and diamonds. Besides being used for jewelry, platinum and diamonds have great industrial importance. South Africa has 71 percent of the world’s manganese, which is vital in making batteries, steel, and cast iron. It has 84 percent of the world’s chromium, a material essential in defense, aerospace, and other industries. South Africa would have no problem selling these materials to the rest of the world. But many Americans and Europeans claimed that even if the sanctions did not have any real practical effect, they made a political statement. They are saying that until South Africa ends apartheid, it will be treated as an outcast.

Movement Away From Apartheid

De Klerk Becomes President of South Africa

In January 1989, South African President P.W. Botha suffered a stroke and then resigned his office in August. Frederick W. de Klerk was elected leader of the National Party (NP) and he replaced Botha as the head of the government. A national election held one month later in September gave the NP a majority in the all-white House of Assembly. However, the NP suffered its most serious loss of seats since 1950 because the supporters of apartheid felt that de Klerk would not continue these policies. Both the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party gained seats.
The Formation of the Mass Democratic Movement

Despite the restrictions placed on political and economic activity, black South Africans continued to defy the government through rent strikes, hunger strikes, and boycotts. To protest the exclusion of the black majority from the September election, black opposition groups set up a new organization called the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). It included all groups opposed to apartheid and the white government.

The MDM called for a two day general strike in which 3 million South Africans took part on the day elections were held. The strike resulted in the death of 28 demonstrators who were shot by riot police. South Africa depends on the labor of its 6 million black workers who now have the power to bring the economy to a stop.

De Klerk Removes Some Apartheid Laws

Under de Klerk’s leadership, the South African government began to move away from complete apartheid. Although the idea of majority rule was still rejected, the de Klerk plan called for the right of minorities to retain control of their own affairs.

De Klerk legalized mass demonstrations. This was followed by the release from prison of Walter Sisulu, former secretary general of the ANC, and seven other political prisoners. All beaches were opened to all races. Four previously segregated areas near Johannesburg were also opened to all races.

The Release of Nelson Mandela

In February 1990, de Klerk announced the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and 33 other anti-apartheid organizations. The long awaited release of Nelson Mandela (see page 236), who had been imprisoned since 1962, took place in February 1990.

A series of meetings took place between de Klerk and Mandela. In the first meeting, the ANC agreed to assist in curbing violence, and the government agreed to end the four-year old state of emergency. In the second meeting, the ANC agreed to suspend the policy of armed struggle that began in 1961. The government agreed to release more political prisoners to allow the return of all political exiles and to ease the security laws.

Repeal of Many Apartheid Laws

During 1990, the de Klerk government repealed the Separate Amenities Act which opened formerly white-only public facilities such as libraries, pools, and parks to people of all races. The government also said it would no longer push for the setting up of independent black “homelands” in South Africa. Apartheid was abolished in state hospitals. The death penalty for certain offenses of a political nature was also abolished. The government promised to establish a nonracial state education system as soon as possible, to repeal the Land Acts, and to amend the Group Areas Act. These last two laws were the cornerstone of the official government policy of apartheid. Membership in the National Party was opened to people of all races.

In June 1991, the South African government repealed the Land Acts, which had set aside 67 percent of all property in South Africa for whites only. At the same time the Group Areas Act, which told South Africans where they could and could not live, was also
repealed. The South African Parliament also repealed the Population Registration Act which had ordered the classifying of all South Africans by race.

Despite these actions that seemed to do away with much of the apartheid system, a new Local Governments Act was also passed. This law gave local governments the right to set qualifying standards for those people who lived in their communities. It enabled local communities to exclude blacks and coloreds. Furthermore, all people born before February 1, 1991, had to retain their racial classification. This made the repeal of the Populations Registration Act meaningless.

The Proposed New Constitution

In September 1991, de Klerk presented a proposed constitution that would give black South Africans the right to vote. However, the power of black voters was greatly limited by a feature of the plan that would set up an executive council that would have to ratify acts of the president and the legislature. This executive council would be made up of members of the three largest parties in Parliament. Since the National Party was certain to finish at least second or third in any general election, this feature would give the white-dominated National Party veto power over any law. De Klerk included the executive council to protect white South Africans. He has said, “Black domination is as unacceptable as white domination.”

The ANC opposes de Klerk’s plan because they feel that it cheats blacks of the right to rule South Africa. Another problem is the question of decentralization. De Klerk wants to establish a federation form of government that will give a great deal of power to local governments. The ANC favors a strong central government with enough power to enforce its ideas after apartheid is ended.

The ANC strongly objects to giving great powers to local areas in the field of education. They fear that a white town council could easily deny blacks access to local schools because they do not speak Afrikaans well enough.

However, there are some issues on which there is agreement. Both sides are in favor of a two-house legislature, an independent court system, and a bill of rights. The government has agreed to end the black homelands program. The ANC is prepared to drop its idea of nationalization of key industries such as mining. Both sides agree that all South Africans should have the right to speak their own language and follow the religion of their choice. They also recognize South Africa’s tribal and culturally diverse society. (There are 10 major languages.)

Both blacks and whites realize that negotiations will be long and difficult. However, many decisions will have to be made before 1994 when a new constitution will go into effect.

The Dispute Between the ANC and Inkatha

Despite some movement toward winning political rights for blacks in South Africa, mass protests have continued against high rents, poor housing, inferior black education, unequal wages, and poor working conditions.

Violence by black South Africans against one another has become a serious problem. This has resulted from the lack of agreement between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The Inkatha movement, led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (see page 238), was set up in 1984 to represent the interests of the 7 million Zulus of South Africa. (The Zulus are the largest ethnic group of South Africa.) Inkatha believes that the ANC, which has few Zulu
members, does not pay enough attention to Zulu concerns. Since 1984, almost 11,000 blacks have died in the fighting between the ANC and Inkatha.

Soon after Nelson Mandela was released from prison in February 1990 he appealed to both sides to stop the killing. Chief Buthelezi rejected the appeal and the violence continued. Throughout the early months of 1991, attacks by the ANC and Inkatha on each other continued. The ANC repeatedly accused the police and security forces of working closely with and supporting Inkatha.

Not only is an agreement between ANC and the white South African government essential, an agreement between the ANC and Inkatha must be worked out to assure a stable future in South Africa.

**Historic Vote in South Africa**

In December 1991, President de Klerk began constitutional negotiations with the ANC and 17 other parties to discuss plans to end apartheid and grant full citizenship to blacks. Amid growing opposition from conservative whites, de Klerk called for a referendum (a vote by the people on a proposal or law) on the issue of a new constitution.

The referendum, in which only whites were allowed to vote, was held in March 1992. A total of 85.1 percent of the 3.3 million white voters cast ballots in the referendum, which asked “Do you support the reform process begun by the State President of February 2, 1990, which is aimed at reaching a new constitution through negotiations?” The results showed that 68.6 percent of the voters answered “yes” and 31.2 percent voted “no” to the question. The vote was seen as giving de Klerk a decisive mandate to end apartheid and negotiate a new constitution.

Many whites voted for the proposal for a number of reasons. Many white South African businessmen and workers have been hurt by the worldwide boycotts. They believe that the end of apartheid would bring an end to the economic boycotts. Others wanted South Africa to again be accepted as a member of the world community. Some feared that a “no” vote would mean increased violence by militant black South Africans. It also appears that many whites are ready to accept blacks as citizens of South Africa.

The result of the referendum was hailed worldwide. Some countries called for an end to economic boycotts against South Africa. However, black leaders were more guarded. Nelson Mandela, who had urged white support of the negotiation process, welcomed the result but warned that apartheid was not yet over. He said, “Apartheid is far from over. Above all, I still cannot vote in my own country.” Both de Klerk and Mandela said they would move quickly to negotiate an end to apartheid.

**The African National Congress (ANC)**

The African National Congress has become the most important political organization for black South Africans. It was outlawed in South Africa between 1960 and 1990. This was because the ANC advocated a policy of armed struggle to end apartheid and achieve equal rights for blacks. From its bases in neighboring countries, the ANC engaged in acts of sabotage and terrorism inside South Africa. As the situation in South Africa worsened after 1976, and especially after 1984, more and more blacks identified themselves with the ANC. At the same time the ANC became more militant. In 1985, the military wing of the ANC, of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) called for a full-scale “people’s war” against the white rulers of South Africa.
Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela is South Africa’s best known black nationalist leader. In 1964, he was sentenced to life imprisonment for his political activities and he remained in prison until 1990. During this time, he became a hero to black South Africans. His resistance to apartheid and his struggle for equal rights for blacks has been an inspiration for all.

Mandela joined the African National Congress in the 1940s. Since then he has struggled against the ruling National Party and its policy of apartheid. After the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the banning of the ANC, the ANC gave up its policy of nonviolent resistance. Mandela was one of those who pressed for armed struggle. In 1962, he was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison for subversive activity. In 1963, police raided the headquarters of Unkonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress. They discovered quantities of weapons and equipment. Mandela, who was in jail at the time, was linked with the organization and charged with seeking to overthrow the government by violence. Mandela pleaded guilty and admitted responsibility for having started the Unkonto We Sizwe to wage an armed struggle. In June 1964, he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mandela achieved worldwide fame despite the fact that he was in jail for almost 30 years. He has received many international prizes as well as a number of honorary doctorates from universities. Many of his writings and speeches have been collected and published.

Part of the reason for Mandela’s importance was the great effort made by his wife, Winnie Mandela, to promote his cause. Winnie Mandela endured arrests and solitary confinement as a result of her struggle against apartheid. In 1977, she was forbidden to travel and to make public appearances. She was restricted to a black ghetto near the town of Blandfort, 250 miles southwest of Johannesburg. After August 1985, as violence increased in South Africa, Winnie Mandela defied the ban. She traveled around the country without permission and met with reporters.

For many years, very little was heard from Nelson Mandela. In 1984, the South African government relaxed many of the restrictions against him, including visiting rights. Soon after, President Botha declared that he was prepared to release Mandela if the black leader promised not to “plan, instigate, or commit acts of violence for the furtherance of his political objectives.” Mandela, who was 67 years old, rejected the offer, saying he would not give up violence until blacks in South Africa achieved equal rights. Mandela sent the government a message stating his own demands: the South African government must renounce violence, end apartheid, end its ban of the African National Congress, free those who are imprisoned or banished because of their opposition to apartheid, and guarantee blacks the right to choose their own leaders.

Nelson Mandela was released from jail in 1990. Since then Mandela has traveled to many countries, including the United States, to win support for his cause. Mandela was received as a hero in all the countries he visited. Mandela is now president of the ANC and has frequent meetings with South African leaders to try to bring peace and justice to South Africa.
Nelson Mandela addressing the United Nations. Mandela has achieved international fame for his leadership in the struggle to end apartheid.
Chief Buthelezi

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is the political leader of South Africa’s largest ethnic group, the 7 million Zulus. He rules KwaZulu, the poor mountainous territory that the South African government set aside for the Zulus in 1973. KwaZulu is the largest of the ten “homelands” set aside for blacks.

Buthelezi is one of the most important black leaders in South Africa at present. He differs with many of the other black leaders, however, in that he rejects the use of violence against the government. Buthelezi believes in compromise and negotiation as the best way to bring about an end to apartheid. “There are no prospects either now or in the foreseeable future of toppling the South African government by violent means. The harsh reality...is that we do not destroy the foundations of the future by what we do now.” Buthelezi also differs with other black nationalists over the issue of economic sanctions. Buthelezi frequently said that sanctions against South Africa would hurt blacks more than anyone else. Therefore, many black activists call him a “puppet” of the South African government.

Buthelezi insists that all South Africans must have their share of political power. In 1982, he proposed a plan for KwaZulu Natal (one of the four provinces of South Africa) to be governed by an executive body composed of equal numbers of whites, blacks, Indians, and coloreds. The South African government rejected the proposal. But in 1986, Buthelezi organized a historic meeting between blacks and whites to discuss the creation of a multiracial government in Natal. Buthelezi has resisted the South African government’s efforts to grant KwaZulu “independence.” He said “independence” would deprive the Zulus of their South African citizenship and of participating in the political affairs of the country.

As a student, Buthelezi had joined the African National Congress and became good friends with Nelson Mandela. Even though he differed with Mandela and the ANC over the use of violence, Buthelezi repeatedly called for Mandela’s release from prison and for lifting the ban on the ANC.

Buthelezi talks of future cooperation between Afrikaners and Zulus for the “common good.” He is respected by many white South Africans. He also has great prestige outside his country and has met with Pope John Paul II, President Reagan, Prime Minister Thatcher, and other world leaders. All agree that Chief Buthelezi will play a very important role in the future of South Africa.