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„The Role of Civil Society in Conflict Resolution: The case of South Africa and the fall of Apartheid "

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Abstract

The author of this thesis has drawn certain conclusions from the following research, which have guided the analysis that is to come throughout this thesis. The following research demonstrates that civil society is extremely important in the conflict resolution process. These civil society organisations, including NGOs, women's groups, student groups, trade unions, and others, were instrumental members of the anti-apartheid campaign and were especially influential in the development and the process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). This is true both on the domestic level and on the global level, where international solidarity campaigns helped to put a great deal of pressure on the South African apartheid government. It is, however, important to note that the case of the resistance movement against the South African government, was a very specific type of conflict and that the specifics of this conflict resolution process might therefore not be entirely applicable to other cases. Despite this limitation, it is evident from the research conducted in this thesis, that civil society was crucial in the process of bringing an end to the apartheid regime and in the reconstruction of the constitutional democracy that followed the end of the apartheid era. It is also possible to conclude that civil society can play a very important role in other instances of conflict resolution, however, the specifics of their role will depend on the precise contexts of each conflict.

Abstrakt

Die folgende Arbeit zeigt auf, dass die Zivilgesellschaft im Konfliktlösungsprozess enorm wichtig ist. Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen, einschließlich NGOs, Frauenrechtsgruppen, studentische Organisationen, Gewerkschaften und andere, waren entscheidende Elemente in der Anti-Apartheid-Kampagne und waren besonders richtunggebend in der Entwicklung und Durchführung der *Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)*. Das trifft sowohl für die nationale als auch für die globale Ebene zu, da internationale Solidaritätskampagnen dabei geholfen haben großen Druck auf die Südafrikanische Apartheid-Regierung auszuüben. Jedoch ist es auch wichtig zu betonen, dass die Widerstandsbewegung gegen die Südafrikanische Regierung ein sehr spezifischer Konflikt war und das dessen Besonderheiten im Konfliktlösungsprozess daher möglicherweise nicht vollständig auf andere Fälle übertragbar sind. Ungeachtet dieser Einschränkung geht aus der zugrunde liegenden Recherche hervor, dass die Zivilgesellschaft wesentlichen Anteil an der Beendigung des Apartheidsregimes und am Wiederaufbau des demokratischen Verfassungsstaats als Nachfolger der Apartheid Ära hatte. Darüber hinaus lässt sich aus dieser Arbeit schlussfolgern, dass die Zivilgesellschaft auch in anderen Fällen von Konfliktlösung eine wichtige Rolle spielen kann. Jedoch hängen die Einzelheiten ihrer Funktion von den genauen Umständen des jeweiligen Konflikts ab.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The apartheid era was host to one of the most oppressive regimes in human history (Taylor, 2002, p.69). For nearly fifty years the apartheid government directed a brutal system based on the notion of white supremacy, and created a society governed by the domination and maltreatment of the *Black*, *Coloured* and *Indian* groups of the population. Members of the oppressed races[1] were forced to live through a system bred on injustices, and based on horrifyingly unequal legislation. The apartheid system thrived on unequal economic, social and political policies, that created such a strong structure of inequality, that the apartheid legacy continues to remain visible today, even after more than twenty years have passed since the regime lost power. Throughout the period of apartheid, there were various attempts at resistance from the oppressed population, however, the National Party government tended to react to resistance with harsh punishments and often violence. Beginning in the late 1970s and lasting throughout the 1980s, the apartheid system went through a number of reforms, which made it more vulnerable to the resistance movement. The state reacted to the mounting resistance with increasingly harsh actions, and the high level of violence (on both sides of the conflict) began to draw international attention.

From the beginning of the apartheid era there was a strong resistance movement within the nation, however, the banning orders on several political parties and other like-minded organisations made this resistance difficult to maintain. Most often, when discussing the anti-apartheid movement, it is the African National Congress (ANC), the Black Consciousness Movement, the Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) that are mentioned as the headliners of the movement. These political parties and movements did of course have a very significant and leading role to play in the resistance movement, however, this movement also went far beyond the confines of the political sphere. Civil society organisations had an instrumental role to play in the implementation, execution, and maintenance of the anti-apartheid movement, both within South Africa and on an international level. The intention of this thesis is to create a better understanding of the role that civil society can play in the conflict resolution process and specifically what the role of civil society groups was during the apartheid regime, and most importantly during the resistance movement and the resolution of the conflict.

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[1] The term 'race' is a human social construct and is used to classify people into different groupings. The author of this paper would like to acknowledge that although 'race' does not exist in the physical/biological sense, it will be employed throughout this thesis as the grouping of people as *White*, *Coloured*, *Indian* and *Black*.

1.1 Research Problem

The research problem of this thesis is a descriptive research problem and will examine what the role of civil society during the conflict resolution process. This research problem has been derived through a thorough analysis of the available literature regarding the impacts of civil society organisations on conflict resolution. More specifically, the research problem has been developed through a review of the literature regarding the different scenarios and instances of civil society involvement in the anti-apartheid movement, and the role that these organisations played in bringing about the conflict resolution process, and especially in the development and implementation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). As such, with this thesis I aim to develop a greater understanding about the involvement of civil society in conflict resolution and create a greater understanding of how civil society might be able to help in future and different conflict resolution processes.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on this central research problem, the research questions of this thesis will look specifically at the case study of South Africa and the apartheid resistance to understand this problem. The following questions will be examined throughout this thesis through in-depth literature review and content analysis:

1. What was the role of civil society in the anti-apartheid movement?
2. How did civil society participate in and affect the resistance campaign?
3. Was civil society an important component of this campaign?
4. What was the role of civil society in the development and implementation of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission?
5. Did the involvement of civil society organisations have a positive or negative on the anti-apartheid movement?
6. Can the case of South Africa, and the involvement of civil society in the resistance campaign, be used to better understand the importance of civil society organisations' involvement in conflict resolution?

This thesis will attempt to answer these questions by providing detailed context of the apartheid regime, as well as a detailed description and analysis of the ways in which civil society organisations were involved in the resistance movement.

1.3 The Outline

This thesis will be divided into six different chapters, with each section approaching a different component of the research. Chapter 1 is the introduction, and details the direction of the research and the thesis, and will also provide definitions to clarify various terms used throughout this work. This introduction is then followed by a chapter on theory and methodology. This chapter explains the liberal conflict studies approach that will be followed throughout this thesis, as well as explaining the methodological approach, which is predominantly based on literature review and content analysis. Chapter 3 performs an in-depth literature review, looking at the literature regarding conflict resolution and how it applies to the case of South Africa. The latter half of this chapter looks more specifically at the literature regarding civil society involvement in conflict resolution and how this is applicable to the case study of South Africa. Chapter 4 will outline the historical context of the conflict in South Africa and gives a detailed account of the apartheid regime and the societal effects of the system. This is followed by Chapter 5 which outlines the resistance movement, and focuses specifically on the ways in which civil society organisations were involved in the eventual fall of apartheid and the implementation of a transitional justice system, in the form of the TRC. The final chapter will provide a concluding discussion and analysis of the research and will outline the specific findings of the thesis. Through this framework, the relevant information on civil society and conflict resolution will be discussed in order to understand the important role these organisations had in the specific case of South Africa, and how civil society might be important to other cases of conflict resolution.

1.4 Terminology

The topic of this thesis involves the use of several complex and often disputed terms. As such and to offer a certain level of clarity and continuity, the author of this dissertation will offer specific interpretations of these terms as they will be used throughout the thesis. The scope of this thesis will cover the involvement of civil society in the conflict resolution process. To begin with, there are various types of conflicts which occur at different levels of intensity and severity. In general terms, a conflict is "a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends" (Miller, 2005, p.22). In the realm of international politics, conflicts can exist as interstate, internal and state-formation conflicts (ibid). More specifically, if a conflict is defined as "the incompatibility of ideas, beliefs, behaviours, roles, needs, desires, values and so on- then such incompatibility leads, in some way, to change: in

attitude, perception, belief, norms, behaviour, roles, relationships and so forth" (Marcus, 2006, p.436). As these notions apply to this thesis, the conflict in South Africa between the oppressed portion of the population and the apartheid government (or the majority of the Afrikaner citizens), would be considered to be an internal conflict, and there were incompatibilities between what the apartheid state wanted (racial domination) and what the *Black*, *Coloured* and *Indian* people expected (a just society).

It is also important to develop an objective understanding of peace when discussing conflict and conflict resolution. Offering a concrete and definitive definition of peace is perhaps an impossible task; it is a complex and long-disputed term. The meaning of peace will be discussed in greater detail throughout the Literature Review in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. In a more general sense peace is "a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices and norms" (Miller, 2005, p.55). This is the general meaning of peace that will be referred to throughout this paper. However, as mentioned above, in following chapters there will be much greater time devoted to the discussion of peace, what peace really looks like, and how it might be achieved. Additionally, "peace is the state in which humans can maximize the use of their resources, physical, mental and cultural, and which gives the most chance for happiness for most people. Knowledge and skill in reconciliation after harm has been done is one of several areas of peace studies vital to the future of humans on this stressed planet" (Santa-Barbara, 2007, p.185). This is important in the case of South Africa because, the resistance movement was fighting for justice between all races, and reconciliation was eventually a core component of the recovery process.

As there can be such a degree of variation in types of conflict and their severity, there are also a number of different ways to approach the resolution of these different levels of conflicts. The term conflict resolution generally refers to "a process, a result and an identified field of academic study," thus it is the approach to dealing with any number of different conflicts (Miller, 2005, p.26). Miller (2005, p.26) writes that:

> *conflict resolution involves recognition by the clashing parties of one another's interests, needs, perspectives and continued existence. The most effective forms identify the underlying causes of conflict and address them through solutions that are mutually satisfactory, self-perpetuating, and sustaining. Conflict resolution can also be practised with a variety of emphases…cooperation, non-confrontation, non-competition, and positive-sum orientation. Serious challenges are found when parties at times favour, for various reasons, continuation of conflict over its resolution. In such cases, the role of*

external parties can be critical in creating a balance of power, enacting sanctions or incentives, or acting as neutral mediators or invested facilitators.

It is in this capacity that conflict resolution will be discussed throughout this dissertation. The specific tactics of conflict resolution used in the case of South Africa, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, will be discussed at a later time. Reconciliation is one such strategy of conflict resolution that is especially relevant in the case of post-apartheid South Africa. References to reconciliation throughout this paper, will indicate a "process that attempts to transform intense or lingering malevolence among parties previously engaged in a conflict or dispute into feelings of acceptance and even forgiveness of past animosities or detrimental acts" (Miller, 2005, p.66). More specifically, a truth and reconciliation commission (as appeared in post-apartheid South Africa), is "a temporary fact-finding body that aims to elucidate past human rights violations and war crimes and address issue of reparation and rehabilitation" (Miller, 2005, p.76). Chapter 5 of this dissertation will discuss the specifics of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that took place in South Africa following the end of the apartheid regime.

Civil society is defined as "a sphere of society distinct and independent from the state system, the means of economic production, and the household" (Miller, 2005, p.19). Most often the ineffectiveness, or failure of the nation-state to provide basic necessities for its citizens, means that entities outside of the state, such as civil society organisations, step up to fulfil these roles and obligations (Miller, 2005, p.20). It is often that NGOs are considered to be the core composition of civil society, however, it is important to note that civil society is a broad term that covers a number of different groups, especially in the case of the anti-apartheid movement. It is also important to consider that civil society is defined differently depending on different perspectives. For example, in 2013, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) defined civil society as "business forums, faith-based associations, labour unions, community groups, non-governmental organisations, philanthropic foundations, [and] think tanks, among others" (Vogel, 2016, p.475). On the other hand, the World Bank defines civil society as a "wide area of non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations that have presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations" (Venturi, 2011, p.16). Furthermore, in the context of peace studies, any references to civil society tend to be directed towards 'peace-oriented' actors, so those members of civil society who are actively working to promote peace and resolve conflict (ibid). Shubane (1992, p.34) defines civil society as the "realm in society which

comprises all those formations outside the state, namely the realm that is market-regulated, privately controlled and voluntarily-organized." However, Shubane (1992, p.34) also offers Gramsci's definition of civil society which "refers to that sector in society in which the struggle for hegemony between two fundamental classes takes place, the state, in contrast, is understood as a coercive institution which functions to secure the assent of the governed through coercion."

Most definitions of civil society focus on the narrower aspects of the concept: such as not-for-profit entities and informal volunteer groups (Waters, 2015, p.168). In South Africa, the apartheid state made it very difficult for NGOs to exist, let alone for them to pursue direct actions against the regime. As will be discussed later, the economic and administrative context for NGOs made if incredible challenging for NGOs throughout the apartheid era, thus, although these organisations were of course important in the apartheid resistance, there were also other members of civil society that played important roles in the movement. As such, when the term civil society is used throughout this thesis, it refers to NGOs, but also to township groups, women's organisations, trade unions, student groups, companies, newspapers, religious organisations and public figures, such as musicians and artists. Therefore, civil society will be used as a very broad term for the purpose of this thesis, and the main classification is that civil society organisations were groups other than political parties or political movements, even if they did have somewhat political objectives and/or ties to political movements. For example, many of the civil society organisations pledged themselves the ANC's battle, however, these organisations are still considered to be civil society organisations. As such, when discussing civil society, this thesis will cover a very broad range of actors and actions in the anti-apartheid movement.

Finally, the author of this thesis would like to comment on the use of the racial terminology created by the apartheid regime. In order to write about this period in South African history, it is somewhat necessary to engage in the terminology created and implemented by the racist regime. As such, the author would like to recognize that this was an inherently racist system and it is unfortunate that such terminology must be used in order to engage with the literature and history of this time period. The terminology used in South Africa to refer to different racial groups has evolved significantly over the years; however, the focus of this paper lies with the apartheid era and so it is the terminology of this period that will be discussed (Morris, 1992, p.115). The apartheid government classified the population of South Africa into

four main groups: *White*, *Coloured*, *Indian* and *Black*. Under this system, *White* referred mainly to Europeans (sometimes Japanese and in the later years Chinese); *Black* referred to people of African descent; *Coloured* encompassed any person of mixed heritage; and *Indian* referred to those of Indian descent (Mmusi, 1993, p.47). These different racial groups were ranked in order of importance: *White* being the most important, followed by *Coloured*, *Indian* and then *Black*; with the least important group receiving the fewest rights. In order to recognize the inherently racist undertones of this system, the author will refer to these groups as *White, Coloured, Indian and Black,* using italics to emphasize that these terms are constructs of a racist and unjust regime, taken from a certain time in history and are used to understand and engage with the literature of the time and the specific historical context.

1.5 Limitations and Biases

This research does have certain limitations, and it is important to keep these in mind when reading and discussing the topics of this thesis. First of all, it is important to recognize that this thesis is written from an outside perspective. The author would like to recognize that she has spent only a limited time in South Africa, and was raised in a different environment and thus has certain biases and ideas resulting from this upbringing and education. As such, it is difficult, if not impossible to claim a complete understanding of the racial, social, economic, political and cultural impacts that apartheid had and still has on the South African society. Additionally, the author would like to make note of one core assumption that drives this thesis: and that is the assumption that apartheid was an inhumane, unjust and oppressive regime. Apartheid was globally recognized as in violation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and this is the basis upon which this author approaches the apartheid regime.

Furthermore, as this is a Master's thesis, it is somewhat limited in scope, in that it focused only on content analysis and literature review. Additionally, the case of apartheid and South Africa is extremely unique, and thus it may be difficult to generalize the results of this research for other cases of conflict resolution. However, some elements of the research can demonstrate the universal importance of civil society involvement in conflict resolution, despite different contexts. It is important to note though that the role of civil society will differ depending on each specific and unique conflictual context. The performance of a comparative study might have helped in understanding the greater applicability of this South African case

study, however, the limited scope of this study and Master's thesis meant that this was not possible.

1.6 Contributions

This thesis has the potential to offer significant contributions to the academic community, as well as to the greater understanding of conflict resolution processes. The research of this thesis creates a specific understanding of the instrumental role of civil society in the anti-apartheid movement and in the establishment and execution of the TRC in South Africa. This is important because it reminds the reader of atrocities and injustices of the apartheid regime, which is an important reminder that human society, on a global level, should strive to avoid the repetition of past conflicts. Furthermore, this study offers some additional insight into the effect that civil society could have in different conflict situations, and offers up the topic for greater studies in different conflictual contexts. As such, this thesis can make important contributions to the understanding of the importance of civil society organisations in conflict resolution and the reconstruction of a peaceful society.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Background and Methodological Tools
2.1 Introduction

The core theoretical analysis exhibited in this thesis revolves around the field of peace and conflict studies. As such, a brief historical overview of peace and conflict studies will be outlined below. This will be followed by an explanation of the theoretical relevance of peace and conflicts studies to the topic of civil society involvement in the Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa. Amongst the various and several conflicts currently in effect in the global system, the field of peace and conflict studies has increasingly emerged as an important area of academia; it acts as the link or connection between the peace movement and social sciences research (Kerman, 1972, p.149). The Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa was a major component of post-apartheid conflict resolution, (which will be explained in greater detail in Chapter 5); thus, it is important to consider the academic and theoretical components of this school of thought in order to properly examine and dissect this particular instance of conflict resolution. Furthermore, developing an in-depth understanding of conflict theories and peace theories will aid in the analysis of the role of civil society in conflict resolution; and specifically, the role of civil society in the case of South Africa.

2.2 Defining Peace

The development of a definition of peace is one of the major components in creating a theoretical approach to the study of peace and conflict. Peace appears as a universal value, however, there is no universal definition and no universally accepted best strategy to achieve it (Tremblay, Nikolenyi & Otmar, 2003, p.127). As will be discussed in Chapter 3 there is most often both a negative and positive conceptualization of peace. Barash and Webel (2014, p.4) write that "positive peace denotes the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society such as harmony, justice, equity and so on." On the other hand, "negative peace has historically denoted the absence of war and other forms of large-scale violence human conflict" (Barash & Webel, 2014, p.4). Therefore, in another sense, negative peace is freedom from conflict, confusion and/or violence; while positive peace is a sort of state of public harmony and quiet (ibid). It is sometimes assumed that peace can be equated with conciliation, however it is important to recognize these as inherently different things. Galtung (2010, p.25) writes that "conciliation is to violence what mediation is to conflict: mediation loosens the knots of incompatibility, conciliation clears the past trauma, gives closer and opens for a future of joint

projects with negative peace as a minimum project." It appears that peace is a common goal of most societies, however, there have only ever been brief intervals between wars, and peace continues to evade the majority of human societies (Webel & Galtung, 2007, p.5). This brings attention to the debate as to whether complete peace is truly an attainable goal, or whether it is actually just a theoretical notion and might never be capture by human society.

The conventional perception of peace has tended to be the more negative conceptualization, as it is much easier to recognize an absence of war than it is to identify the specific elements that compose harmony, justice and equality in a society. Employing a negative definition of peace, would likely mean working towards an absence of war or a diplomatic focus on peacekeeping and peacebuilding (Barash & Webel, 2014, p.8). Whereas working with a positive definition often means the development of much deeper political and social objectives, in that peace is referring to harmony in a society. Thus, when it comes to the study of conflict resolution, it can be much more beneficial to work with a positive definition of peace. Working with the positive form of peace will aid in developing a more complete understanding of the underlying problems which contribute to conflict in a society and also the needs of a post-conflict society in order to develop a more encompassing peace. As such, the use of the term 'peace,' throughout this thesis will refer to a positive conceptualization of peace, and will also look for elements such as equity and justice, as opposed to merely the absence of war or violent conflict.

2.3 Recognizing Conflict and Different Types of Violence

When working in the field of peace and conflict studies, it is also important to recognize that there are different forms of conflict and violence. Of course, it is possible to have a verbal conflict, where no violence is actually employed. However, often conflicts escalate to a violent level, and this violence can be exhibited in different ways. When first thinking of violence, it is likely that direct violence initially comes to mind. Direct violence, tends to work very quickly and is visible and extremely obvious, this is more likely to be direct physical violence. However, there is also structural violence, which is considered the denial of important rights to certain people. Such as the denial of economic well-being; social, political and sexual equality; and a sense of personal fulfillment and self-worth. Quite often structural violence can go unnoticed for significant periods of time (Barash & Webel, 2014, p.7). Following a conflict (involving two

parties), there are generally five possible outcomes: "(1) X gets what it wants and Y gets nothing; (2) Y gets what it wants and X gets nothing; (3) both give up their goals or give up everything to a third person; (4) they meet somewhere in between; (5) perhaps with a little assistance they create a new reality where both X and Y can feel at home" (Galtung, 2010, p.28). Thus, it is generally outcome number 4 or number 5, which is the objective of conflict resolution strategies, in that both parties can find a solution that benefits them and makes it possible to co-exist in the future.

2.4 The Place of War and Conflict in Society

War is often argued to be an inevitable element in human society, and some authors, such as Thomas Jefferson in 1787, argued that at times society might justify or even need violence to exist in the current way (Barash & Webel, 2014, p.9). Fisher (2006, p.611) argues that conflict is a "fundamental human choice" and that it has been exhibited in several different forms, on many different occasions throughout history. However, Fisher also makes the argument that the ability to think of peace, even in situations of extreme violence and conflict, is also a fundamental human capacity, creating the impression that violence is a fundamental part of human relationships, and yet the ability to believe in peace also exists (Fisher, 2006, p.615). It is often argued that conflicts are inevitable and that they rarely meet a true resolution in the sense that they disappear forever, more often they can be brought to a manageable level for a period before they revert back to conflict or even develop into a new one (Kriesberg, 1991, p.404; Louis-Pierre, 2016, p.1; Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.51). Due to the nature of these arguments, conflict resolution is often a somewhat disputed term, in whether a conflict can ever really be considered 'resolved'. Additionally, this widely held belief that war is inevitable has the ability to hinder the search for alternative solutions and approaches to violent conflicts (Kemp & Fry, 2004, p.163). Thus, despite the argument that violence and conflict are inherent aspects of human society, there is often the hope that something can be done, to at the very least, lessen the negative impacts of these conflicts. It is from this hope, that the field of peace and conflict studies rises, in order to better understand the driving forces behind conflicts and the equally important, strategies for resolving conflicts.

2.5 Peace and Conflict Studies and the Study of Conflict Resolution

The core objective of peace and conflict studies is to "identify, analyze and promote diverse non-violent approaches" to conflicts and conflict resolution (Hrynkow, Byrne, & Hendzel, 2010, p.298). As such, peace and conflict studies does not intend to abolish conflict, but attempts to develop new ways and avenues of thinking about conflict and dealing with it (Barash & Webel, 2014, p.17). The study of peace and conflict assumes that there are certain common theoretical ideas for understanding and responding to conflicts at various levels and in different contexts (Hrynkow et al., 2010, p.298). As a field within academia, and more specifically within the social sciences, peace and conflict studies is informed by various different approaches and disciplines. It is essential to approach this topic with an interdisciplinary lens. These different approaches to peace and conflict studies include: "human rights approach (justice, accountability, and universality), conflict analysis and resolution approach (deep conflict analysis, non-violent practice, process development and intervention), and the peace studies approach (the role of structural and cultural violence that is typically built into the very rules and regulations of social and cultural institutions)" (Hrynkow et al., 2010, p.298).

The study of peace and conflict truly began to emerge in the latter half of the 20th century (Hrynkow et al., 2010, p.296). One key moment for the emergence of the field, was Kenneth Boulding's development of the international and interdisciplinary approach to conflict resolution, in the form of the Journal of Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan (Hrynkow et al., 2010, p.296; Fontaine, 2010, p.245). The first issue of the journal was published in March 1957, and although it was not immediately a success, the journal has played an important role as a forum for analysis, discussion and innovation in the field of conflict studies (Kerman, 1972, p.151). This moment in time is often argued to be the point at which peace research truly emerged as an academic field (Kerman, 1972, p.149; Hrynkow et al., 2010, p.296). The emergence of the Journal of Conflict Resolution correlated with the development of the Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution. This centre has largely served as an institutional base for new and emerging studies, while the journal attempts to funnel insights and findings from many different disciplines in the social science and direct these insights towards the problem of addressing war and conflict (Kerman, 1972, p.153). Following Kenneth Boulding's mark on the field, the International Peace Research Association was formed in 1965, with the intention of

uniting academics from around the world on the topic of peace and conflict (Hrynkow et al., 2010, p.296).

Evidently, peace and conflict studies has a significant recent history and has become an essential component of the global political sphere, and how academics, and even society, address peace and conflict. One of the most important acknowledgements within the field of peace and conflict studies revolves around the idea that there is never going to be a "one-size" fits all solution to peace building in cultures which have experienced and are currently experiencing conflict (Hrynkow et al., 2010, p.317). Thus, an inherently central component of peace and conflict studies is flexibility and adaptability, contextual differences must be analysed and understood in order to approach different conflicts in an effective manner.

Peace studies specifically looks at the reasons for and outcomes of large- and small-scale conflicts, and identifies the preconditions for peace. It also examines the reasons for wars as well as the prevention of war. It goes even further to examine the nature of violence, including social oppression, different forms of discrimination and marginalization (Barash & Webel, 2014, p.20). It attempts to understand violence and its negation by conflict transformation and peace building, using cooperation and harmony (Galtung, 2010, p.20). There are generally three main approaches to peace studies, the analysis of past failures and the criticism of contemporary conditions, the imagination of possible future peacemaking conditions, and the analysis of past instances of successful peacemaking (Kriesberg, 1991, p.401). A significant portion of peace research emphasizes the analysis of contemporary conditions to reveal the actions and developments that contribute to peacemaking; this would include the study of the role of mediators and international organisations, and international governmental and nongovernmental organisations (Kriesberg, 1991, p.403). On occasion, members of the peace studies field argue that those members of the conflict resolution community push too hard for a solution, as opposed to analyzing the situation and discovering the best ways to move forwards (Kriesberg, 1991, p.414).

Peace education is "the theory and practice of education about peace and non-violence and a commitment to building a more cooperative society by utilizing the concepts and practices of peace studies, conflict resolution and nonviolence" (Barash & Webel, 2014, p.21). This is an important aspect in building a sustainable culture of peace. Creating an environment in which peace is part of the education system and is an inherent component of society, makes it

increasingly likely that a peace will survive, and even thrive. Peace education is also often an important complimentary aspect of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. It is used to create changes in a society, namely the creation of peace culture and the use of non-violent methods, in order to build and maintain a lasting peace in a post-conflict society. The main component of this theory is the thought that educating people about peace will give them the tools and motivation to create and maintain a peaceful society on a more long-term basis.

The foundations of conflict theory lie with Karl Marx (1997) and Max Weber (1947), who both agree that the negatives of coercion and the separation of the different social classes are the main basis of conflict (Pierre-Louis, 2016, p.13). However, they differ slightly in that Marx argues that economics are the basis of conflict and Weber maintains that political power and social status are equally important. Often conflict theory is used for conflict resolution and implemented to know which strategies will best address the specific conflict at hand (Wallensteen, 2002, p.33). The most classic conflict theory understands conflict as a dynamic phenomenon, in which one actor is reacting to something another actor has done. This leads to further action by both parties and the stakes escalate quite quickly (Wallensteen, 2002, p.34). However, there are different dynamics which push the actors into their initial actions, eventually leading to an escalated conflict. Thus, understanding these different dynamics is part of conflict theory.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there was an increase in the variety of conflict resolution techniques practised by the United States on the international political stage (such as the American mediation in the Middle East in the 1970s). This was significant in helping to raise the profile of conflict resolution as a viable means towards dispute settlement (Kriesberg, 2009, p.21). It was also around this time that conflict resolution methods became institutionalized in governments, as well as colleges and universities (Kriesberg, 2009, p.22). Conflict resolution developed from many different sources, including: political science, international relations, psychology, sociology, anthropology, biology, economics, mathematics and law (Aall, 2000, p.130). It is a very interdisciplinary field and is prominent across many borders. Often within the field of conflict resolution, it is assumed that a two-step approach is the most effective. First there is the development of preconditions which work to convince the competing groups that there are opponents to whom it is worth talking, and discussing structural changes that would amount to some form of solution or even stable peace. The second step is the more official

process, where representatives from different groups create constitutional and other arrangements which help to settle the basic fears and meet the interests of the groups involved (Ross, 2000, p.1002). It is generally defined as "a situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other's continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other" (Wallensteen, 2002, p.8). This definition is the basis of conflict resolution; however, it is also composed of many more elements than just this, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

The goal of conflict resolution is generally to develop solutions that yield mutual benefits for opposing sides (Kriesberg, 2009, p.16). Within this field, it is specifically important to understand the successes and failures in different attempts, and how specific initiatives impact the different participants (Ross, 2000, p.1004). Often, conflict resolution begins with a peace agreement and moves forward with conflict transformation, which is then followed by peacebuilding initiatives (Wallensteen, 2002, p.53). One important component of conflict resolution is community relations, any effective intergroup conflict resolution will require changes in how the people from these different communities perceive and interact with each other (Ross, 2000, p.1009). Mary Parker Follett argued that there are three main behaviours in conflict resolution: domination, compromise and integration (Louis-Pierre, 2016, p.16). These different behaviours need to be taken into account when engaging in a conflict resolution process, in order to ensure the effectiveness of the process. It is also important to understand that conflict resolution is not synonymous with peace, nor is it the same as disarmament (Wallensteen, 2002, p.10). However, there is of course some overlap with these terms and they are a part of the conflict resolution process.

A conflict mitigation approach is based on the analysis of successful conflict mitigation, it examines the interaction between adversaries, and then forms an appropriate strategy for mitigation and resolution (Kriesberg, 1991, p.407). In addition to conflict resolution and conflict mitigation, there is also the conflict transformation approach which is rooted in critical thinking, and the notion that the re-articulation of identities and perceived interests through psychological, educative and discursive change is insufficient (Marchetti & Tocci, 2009, p.212). Conflict transformation is largely considered to be another aspect of the conflict resolution process (Wallensteen, 2002, p.53). This school of thought argues that conflict is manifested through the frustration of basic needs, but that it often arises because the existing structures of society

prevent the fulfillment of all needs by different parties. This perspective believes that conflict society organisations (CoSOs) are important for the local organisation of discriminated groups in order to protest against violations of their needs. Furthermore, CoSOs can help to reconfigure the conflict through discursive acts, and they may also be involved in capacity-building, reconstruction and rehabilitation (Marchetti & Tocci, 2009, p.213). Thus, from this perspective, conflict arises from the structural faults that society is composed of. Mediation, peacebuilding, non-violence and conciliation are all important factors in conflict resolution (Webel & Galtung, 2007, p.28). These different elements of conflict resolution will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. Evidently, conflict resolution is far more than merely putting an end to the violence with a peace agreement; there is much more to the process and many additional elements that must be acknowledged and addressed.

2.6 Theoretical Approaches to Addressing Conflict

There are several different theoretical approaches that address conflicts. Perhaps the most dominant of these approaches are the 'realist' and 'peace oriented' perspectives (Barash & Webel, 2014, p.271). The realist perspective is more security-oriented, it says that actions taken to address conflicts often include wars, espionage and sanctions, although these actions might be used at the same time as diplomatic measures. From this perspective, the goal is to protect one's perceived interests and to either defeat or neutralize the enemy (ibid). Coming from the realist perspective, Kenneth Waltz argues that the anarchical structure of the international system makes the notion of perpetual peace highly unlikely, and the it is more likely that war is an endemic feature of the global system (Tremblay et al., 2003, p.128). The realist approach also tends to focus more on direct violence, which indicates that it is a fairly narrow approach to conflict, failing to consider other, non-direct forms of violence (ibid). Most often the realist and neo-realist approaches to conflict resolution have emphasized the notion of management and settlement when dealing with conflict. Also, from this perspective, conflict parties do not usually accept official mediation performed by conflict society organisations (civil society members), they prefer to focus on the states involved or the core parties involved in the conflict (Marchetti & Tocci, 2009, p.209).

On the other hand, a peace oriented approach stresses the prevention of conflict at all costs (Tremblay et al., 2003, p.128). This falls within the liberal school of conflict resolution.

This school of thought argues that conflict emerges when basic human needs are not met, and so it follows that peace is only achieved when the basic needs of *all* people are met. Furthermore, conflict emerges because the means through which particular groups attempt to meet their own needs, might conflict with attempts of other groups to meet their respective needs, thus creating a race for certain resources (Marchetti & Tocci, 2009, p.211). Within this school non-coercive means, based on dialogue are the preferred conflict resolution strategies. For example, persuasion and problem solving, and an emphasis is placed on the involvement of non-elites and the wider society. Furthermore, peace initiatives from this perspective are normally long-term and take place both during violent conflict and in the stages of post-conflict reconciliation (Marchetti & Tocci, 2009, p.212). Conflict society organisations play a much more important role in the liberal school of thought, as they are seen to be indispensable actors. The liberal perspective believes that conflict society organisations can:

> *prepare the ground and create the critical mass necessary for a ceasefire (and ultimately a peace agreement to be signed), provide forum for first contact between groups, develop capacity-building and training programs, might help through service provision (e.g. religious charities and NGOs might provide basic services that meet the minimum threshold of basic needs); following the signing of a peace accord, CoSOs work at societal level to encourage contact and reconciliation between conflict parties* (ibid).

Thus, the liberal school of thought puts a much greater emphasis on the involvement of non-government actors in the conflict resolution process. As such, this thesis will be undertaken from a more liberal perspective on conflict resolution, as there will be significant emphasis placed on the role of civil society members or conflict society organisations and their role in conflict resolution.

Social identity theory is an important element in understanding intergroup conflict and thus understanding how to approach a solution for such conflicts. This theory maintains that merely categorizing people into different groups, is enough to create differentiation between these groups. Following this differentiation is a certain bias in favour of one's own group and against other outside groups, creating a sense of competition and eventually conflict between the groups (Fisher, 2006, p.179). The more common contemporary issue is around which basic human needs of the groups, and those individuals who are members of the groups, are either being satisfied or left unfulfilled (Fisher, 2006, p.180). The eruption of conflict is often dependent on these differences between groups; and it is from these differences that negative stereotypes between groups begin to emerge and the conflict escalates from this point forward.

When intervening in intergroup conflicts, it is especially important to perform in-depth analysis of the situation in order to understand the best and most effective way to move forward (Fisher, 2006, p.186). This understanding of social identity theory is especially important in the case of South Africa, because it is exactly a case of differentiation between different race groups, which led to intense conflict between these different groups.

2.7 Methodology

As the above discussion displays, peace and conflict studies is a very complex field, which is composed of various different theoretical and practical components. This thesis will place the majority of its focus on the conflict resolution, as opposed to peace studies. The main focus will be on understanding the conflict that occurred in South Africa under the apartheid regime; how this conflict developed, which parties were involved and how it escalated. This will then be followed by an analysis of the attempts to create peace and the final initiatives that eventually led to the occurrence of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The final emphasis will be placed on the specific role of civil society in reaching the point of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the impact of civil society's involvement in the TRC. As such, the main focus of this dissertation will be on conflict resolution and the different elements involved in such a process.

As was discussed above, the core theoretical perspective of this thesis will be from the liberal school approach. The liberal school of thought is heavily peace-orientated and is focussed on non-violent means in order to obtain peace. Of course, the conflict in South Africa did involve a large amount of violence, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. However, the core focus of this thesis is to discover the role of civil society in this specific case of conflict resolution, and especially the process of agreeing on participation in a reconciliation commission. As is mentioned above, the liberal school of thought puts a significant emphasis on problem solving, and persuasion as techniques for conflict resolution. Although, violent methods were used by the parties involved in the conflict in South Africa, there was initially a concerted effort by the resistance to use peaceful means to obtain their goal of equality. Furthermore, the final instances of political change and the Truth and Reconciliation were important aspects in the resolution of the conflict. The liberal school of thought also puts a very heavy importance on the role of institutions and conflict society organisations, or civil society members, in achieving conflict

transformation and resolution. As the main focus of this thesis is to address the role of civil society in conflict resolution, the liberal perspective appears as the most appropriate one with which to approach the subject. Additionally, the liberal school of thought tends to embrace a positive definition of peace, considering peace to be more than merely the absence of war, and looking at the structural causes of conflict that might inhibit the future achievement of sustainable peace. The author of this paper will work with positive peace, and use a more holistic approach to peace, instead of merely the absence of violence, conflict and war. It is for these reasons that the author of this thesis will employ a liberal perspective in the approach to conflict resolution, peace and civil society's involvement in conflict resolution.

This thesis is largely based on the available literature addressing peace and conflict studies, as well as that literature addressing the apartheid regime in South Africa, and the eventual removal of said regime. Thus, an extensive literature review will be undertaken in the following chapter. This literature review will develop an extensive understanding of peace and conflict studies. It will also include the literature which specifically examines the role of civil society in conflict resolution. From this review, the author and the reader will be able to better understand the important elements of peace and conflict, and especially the different ways in which civil society is involved in conflict resolution. Additionally, the author will rely heavily on the literature dealing with the apartheid regime in South Africa and the evolution of the conflict there. An in-depth analysis of the available literature will be used to understand the different elements of apartheid and to understand the historical context in which this conflict developed. Furthermore, this literature will be used to develop an understanding the progression of the conflict and the different tactics that were used in attempts to bring about peace. Finally, this literature will be used to understand the role that civil society played in this progression of conflict, and more specifically in the evolution of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. As this thesis will mostly focus on historical events, literature review and content analysis is the most effective and efficient way to move forward. Therefore, this thesis will predominantly rely on literature and content analysis in order to gather the pertinent information. A discussion of the relevant literature will then take place in chapters 4 and 5, this analysis will be used to draw some conclusions regarding the involvement of civil society in conflict resolution and specifically in the case of South Africa.

Chapter 3. Literature Review

There is a considerable amount of literature regarding the general process of conflict resolution, as well as the involvement of civil society in conflictual contexts, and more specifically in the conflict resolution process. This chapter will attempt to engage in this vast array of literature in order to discuss and analyse common themes throughout. Findings regarding the general assumptions and themes throughout the academic literature of the field of conflict resolution and regarding the role of civil society in this field will be used to develop a better understanding of this involvement in the specific case of the Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa. The following section will move through a number of different articles and authors and will then proceed to discuss similarities within the literature and how these themes can be applied to the case of South Africa. To begin with, there will be a broad overview of the conflict resolution literature; this will be followed by the more in-depth discussion of the literature addressing the involvement of civil society in the resolution process.

3.1 Conflict and Conflict Resolution

There is an extensive history of peace and conflict studies within the range of academic literature. In a more general sense, Webel and Galtung (2007, p.4) write in the *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies* that since the beginning of academia, "philosophers, religious thinkers and political activists have written about and demonstrated for 'peace' and decried war." From Webel and Galtung's (2007, p.6) perspective, peace is one of the most desired states of being, however, it consistently remains unattainable. Throughout the literature peace is often deemed to be too difficult to define, and is thus often recognized by an absence of war. From this point, it is most common that there is a 'positive' and 'negative' definition of peace. According to Webel and Galtung (2007, p.6), positive peace indicates the presence of many desirable states that a society should strive for; such as: harmony, justice, and equity. On the other hand, negative peace is generally based on the absence of war or any other forms of wide-scale violent human conflict. Webel and Galtung (2007, p.12) argue for a very peace-centric approach to conflict. The authors propose that in society in general, and more specifically in a context of conflict, it would be better to think of peace as the 'norm' and that peace should be the guiding factor in any and all decision-making. Additionally, they argued that the security approach remains the dominant approach towards conflict, and that it is important to shift this focus towards peace and

developing working relationships between parties. The authors also call for a specific look at the past in order to learn from historical conflicts and to develop better ways of handling present and future conflicts. Finally, Galtung (2007, p.19) also argued that conflict, contradictions and arguments are all important components of how society functions, and these factors should continue to be welcomed so as to lead to greater growth and progression. This peace-centric approach is important in terms of the South African case study, because the initial resistance was based on the notion of non-violence, and the anti-apartheid movement struggled to win a society that embraced positive peace. In other words, peace and conflict resolution in South Africa was not only aimed at putting an end to violence, but also about creating a post-conflict society based on the positive notion of peace, which contributed to the heavy involvement of civil society members in the resistance and peacebuilding processes.

Galtung (2007, p.28) discusses various different methods of dealing with conflict and pursuing conflict resolution. There is of course the goal of building a peace structure, which would consist of an infrastructure based on equality, equity and reciprocity across faults in order to facilitate conflict transformation. This peace structure would be legitimized by a deeper culture of peace. Another strategy is mediation; where the underlying problem is a contradiction among goals, then mediation is used to create a new reality where the contradictions are less stark. Peace-building is often used when the underlying problem is behavioural dualism, and the goal of this strategy is depolarization and humanization in order to create a more 'normal' view of both the Self and the Other. Peace building creates new actions, new speeches and new thoughts, and an open mind is especially important to make peace building work (Galtung, 2007, p.29). Nonviolence is a strategy used when violence creates more violence, and so the goal is to achieve non-violent results using non0violent means. This would consist of breaking the cycle of violence by refusing to use violence and instead using constructive actions (ibid). According to the author, conciliation can be used as a strategy when there has been some form of trauma and the goal of this strategy is to create healing and closure (Galtung, 2007, p.30). In relation to the post-apartheid society, mediation and reconciliation were key components in any attempts to rebuild a functioning South African society, these strategies will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Graf, Kramer and Nicolescou (2007, p.123) discuss that since the end of the Cold War these new forms of violence, and new strategies to deal with the conflicts have not yet made a

significant impact. In this the authors are referring to intrastate conflicts and humanitarian interventions. The authors then move on to discuss Galtung's TRANSCEND philosophy which is based on scientific epistemology, historical anthropology and a political philosophy of peace (Graf, Kramer & Nicolescou, 2007, p.129). The core component of this philosophy is to take a creative approach to conflict resolution. As such it is based on a critical constructivist peace theory which uses a tridimensional theory of violence: direct, structural and cultural violence (Graf et al., 2007, p.131). This theory attempts to understand conflict in a deeper way and then approach the resolution process using creativity and innovation. The notion is that in order to fulfil their basic needs, humans become part of a group and then develop specific individual and group goals. Outside of the group the goals that have been developed meet the goals of other groups and individuals and when an incompatibility or contradiction occurs, then conflict emerges between the groups (Graf et al., 2007, p.134). Thus, Galtung's TRANSCEND approach attempts to offer a new way of approaching peace, conflict and conflict resolution as the strategies since the end of the Cold War have, thus far, failed to make enough of an impact.

Joanna Santa-Barbara (2007) writes an entire chapter on the notion of 'Reconciliation.' Due to the constantly conflicting nature of human goals, it is necessary to have some processes that will help to avoid conflict and clashes attributable to incompatible goals (Santa-Barbara, 2007, p.173). According to Santa-Barbara, to reconcile is to "come back together into council" or to work harmoniously together (2007, p.174). As such, reconciliation can be defined as "the restoration of a state of peace to the relationship, where the entities are at least not harming each other, and can begin to be trusted not to do so in the future, which means that revenge is forgone as an option" (ibid). Reconciliation is a way of healing those things that have been harmed by a conflict. Such as: "harm suffered by the victim, offender's propensity to hurt others, the relationship between the entities, the relationship between the offender and broader society" (Santa-Barbara, 2007, p.176). The process of reconciliation involves: uncovering the truth of what occurred, acknowledgement by the offenders of the harm done, apology expressed to victim, forgiveness, some form of justice, a plan to prevent recurrence, the resumption of constructive aspects of the relationship and the rebuilding of trust over time (ibid). Occasionally, an outside independent party might mediate the reconciliation process to aid in the effective implementation of the process. This understanding of reconciliation is important when considering the Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa and how society was impacted by this

method of conflict resolution. The TRC was largely used as a way of trying to create a more harmonious society following the end of apartheid, whether this was in fact the end result is another topic for debate. However, the importance of Santa-Barbara in regards to South Africa, is her understanding of the thought process and intention of introducing the method of reconciliation. The central message of Webel and Galtung's (2007) *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies* is that:

> *peace is the state in which humans can maximize use of their resources, physical, mental and cultural, and which gives the most chance for happiness for most people. Knowledge and skill in reconciliation after harm has been done is one of several areas of peace studies vital to the future of humans on this stressed planet* (Webel & Galtung, 2007, p.185).

This is one of the core premises of this thesis, that the goal is to establish some form of peace, in order to benefit the greatest number of people possible.

The *SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (2009), edited by Bercovitch, Kremenyuk and Zartman, is also an important piece in the literature addressing conflict resolution. Kriesberg (2009, p.16) writes that, within the literature there is a general agreement that conflicts should be managed in a better and more effective manner than that which is currently being used, which was attempted in the case of South Africa. Kriesberg (2009, p.16) notes that conflict resolution is a method within peace and conflict studies, which emphasizes conflict processes that generate solutions where benefits can be gained from all parties involved in the conflict. Therefore, from this perspective conflict resolution is about building conditions for peace, which includes post-violence reconciliation, the enhancement of justice, as well as the establishment of conflict management systems (Kriesberg, 2009, p.17). This approach to war and other types of violent conflict emerged after the extreme violence of World War One destroyed perceptions any sort of lasting global harmony (ibid). The field of conflict resolution became more established and held a greater presence in institutions from 1970 to 1989, when the Cold War was at a more manageable stage (Kriesberg, 2009, p.21). The 1970s and 1980s saw a significant rise in the variety of conflict resolution practised throughout the world, and specifically in and by the United States. For example, it was during the 1970s that the American mediation in the Middle East took place, which was an occasion largely deemed as having raised the status of conflict resolution methods (ibid). It was also during this period that conflict resolution became institutionalized in colleges, universities, and within the corporate and non-governmental world (Kriesberg, 2009, p.22). Somewhat later, in the 1990s the practice of conflict resolution truly

became popular and NGOs were often forced to fill the void caused by governments' and International Governmental Organisations, that were not sufficiently prepared for the conflict resolution process (Kriesberg, 2009, p.25). Kriesberg (ibid) also notes that there are very specific methods which are considered to be consistent within the field of conflict resolution, such as de-escalation steps in the form of small workshops, dialogue circles and training to improve the capacity to negotiate and mediate. For Kriesberg the main question is around the universal applicability of conflict resolutions, and whether this approach can be employed in all different conflictual contexts. Furthermore, the author concludes that conflict resolution is a field that is constantly evolving as the nature of conflicts also continue to change, even today.

The *SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* also specifically addresses the notion of reconciliation as a part of the peacebuilding process. Rossoux (2009, p.545) writes that it is possible to make some structural changes quite soon after the conclusion of a conflict, however, the transformation of relationships is a very long and difficult process, hence the importance of reconciliation. Changing the minds of those actors involved in conflict, is an incredibly difficult task, and is important in relation to the case study of South Africa. Even throughout the TRC process, it was very difficult to change the minds of actors on both sides of the conflict and an attempt at reconciliation was very important in order to create the possibility of a harmonious society based on positive peace following the conflict. Generally, a reconciliation is also in part, a search for what truly happened during the conflict, and often the victims have very high expectations for what justice should look like (Rossoux, 2009, p.555). This notion was also apparent throughout the TRC, in that there was often a great deal of anger about granting amnesty for perpetrators throughout the apartheid era. Rossoux (2009, p.557) also remarks that the notion of reconciliation is not always well-received, there can sometimes be resistance to the process due to a fear of being manipulated, or in terms of the victims distrusting the entire concept of reconciliation. Reconciliation is an important component of conflict resolution, especially in terms of the Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa, however, as is demonstrated by Rossoux, it is often met with distrust and skepticism. This perspective on reconciliation will be important in Chapter 5's discussion about the TRC and different reactions to this method of justice.

In *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, a variety of different authors examine the theoretical and practical components of conflict resolution in this edited

collection. Deutsch (2006a, p.32) writes in the first chapter 'Cooperation and Competition' that "the theory of conflict resolution equates the constructive process of conflict resolution with an effective cooperative problem-solving process in which the conflict is the mutual problem to be resolved cooperatively." This indicates that both parties need to be involved in the post-conflict process in order to develop a solution that fits all parties. Deutsch goes on to say that in order to create a constructive resolution process, a knowledgeable, skillful and cooperative approach is necessary (Deutsch, 2006a, p.42). In this sense, this handbook portrays conflict resolution as a creative process that lends innovative ways to resolve a conflict, when all parties involved in the conflict are willing to cooperate. Deutsch (2006b, p.64) also discusses the concepts of reconciliation and injustice as they pertain to conflict resolution. The notion that reconciliation is actually one step further than forgiveness in that it means accepting "one's moral community, [and] it also establishes or re-establishes a positive, cooperative relationship among the individuals and groups estranged by the harms they inflict on one another," is especially important when referring to the case study of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (ibid). The author's conceptualization of injustice is also extremely relevant when it comes to the case of South Africa. Deutsch (2006b, p.59) writes that there are several different types of injustices: distributive injustice (every system has benefits, costs and harms depending on how resources are distributed), procedural injustice (whether a system offers fair procedures to all people within said system), retributive injustice (whether crimes by certain groups of people are less likely to be seen as 'crimes') and moral exclusion (does a system treat people differently, especially when said system is under stress). Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 will offer an elaboration on the types of injustices seen in South Africa and how those injustices impacted the conflict resolution process. However, Deutsch also notes that "injustice breeds conflict and destructive conflict gives rise to injustice," which indicates the bilateral relationship between conflict and injustice. This relationship between conflict and injustice will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters in references to apartheid and post-apartheid reconstruction in South Africa.

Ronald Fisher discusses the notion of 'Intergroup Conflict' in Chapter 8 of T*he Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. Fisher (2006, p.177) argues that intergroup conflict is about more than matters of misperception or misunderstanding, and that it is based on fundamental differences between the groups in regards to "social power, access to

resources, important life values or other significant incompatibilities." Furthermore, in terms of conflict resolution intergroup conflicts can vary significantly and so it is important for each situation to be analyzed in its own particular context and a solution to be developed from said analysis (ibid). Fisher's perspective is that intergroup conflict lies in incompatibilities, behaviours and sentiments. These elements can then generate destructive conflict, where there are perceived incompatibilities of the goals or values between different parties and these perceived incompatibilities are answered by one of the parties attempting to control the other, which is followed by antagonistic feelings toward each other (Fisher, 2006, p.178). Fisher also argues that an important element of intergroup conflict lies in social identity theory whereby the categorization of individuals into different groups, is enough to cause differentiation between said groups, which is accompanied with some amount of bias in favour of one's own group and discrimination against the other out-groups (Fisher, 2006, p.179). He goes on to write that the most common causes of destructive intergroup conflict are economic, value and power differences, and that "identity groups tend to be ethnically centred to accept and even glorify those who are alike, and to denigrate, discriminate against and reject those who are unlike" (Fisher, 2006, p.181). Social dominance theory goes on to argue that social groups do not usually respond well to differences that appear to threaten the identity or well-being of their own group, and that groups in conflict often partake in conformity pressures, where group norms dictate stereotypes and discriminatory behaviour (Fisher, 2006, p.182; p.183). Many of these elements of social identity theory and social dominance theory, can be applied to the case of South Africa and will be discussed in Chapter 4, in reference to the apartheid regime. Fisher (2006, p.186) specifically remarks that any type of intervention in intergroup conflict needs to begin only after a very thorough analysis of the situation and context takes place. Each intergroup conflict is enormously different and thus each situation will require its own specific approach to conflict resolution. This is helpful in analysis of the South African case, because it is its own unique situation, and this must be acknowledged in any attempt to deal with the conflict or perform conflict analysis.

In essence, *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* presents a comprehensive overview of the field of conflict studies and conflict resolution. Conflict is a prominent element in how societies function, and thus conflict resolution is an important field in coping with the conflicts that plague societies around the world. Bartoli and Psimopoulos (2006,

p.615) make the argument that "the capacity to think of peace is a fundamental human capacity that people retain even in the midst of the most terrible conflict." In summation, the book presents the various dimensions of conflict and conflict resolution, and at the core of the book is the notion that problem solving and conflict resolution are absolutely key in dealing with different conflicts, however, resolution strategies and tactics need to be formed on a contextual and case-specific basis. There is not one simple approach to conflict resolution and this is a continuously evolving field that requires contextual analysis and strategies.

In *Keeping the Peace* Kemp (2004) discusses the notion of peaceful societies. Kemp argues that the discussion around peaceful societies really begins at the early stages of philosophers' takes on peace. For example, there is Hobbes (1651) who argues that human violence and evil come from human nature and it is actually the forces of civilization that bring peace and goodness to the world (Kemp, 2004, p.2). On the other side of the debate, Rousseau (1755) argues that it is in human nature to be good, and it is civilization that created evil within the human condition (Kemp, 2004, p.3). As such, Kemp goes on to make the argument that peaceful societies do not need to be peaceful in the absolute, and that warlike societies do not exist in the absolute either (Kemp, 2004, p.5). The author also makes the argument that it is generally accepted that peaceful societies result from social decisions, which in turn means that a society can make the decision to transition from warlike to peaceful (Kemp, 2004, p.6). Arguably the most important point made by Kemp, is that peaceful societies are not all the same and will look different in different contexts. Furthermore, some of these peaceful societies might be more successful than others, and the methods of promoting peace and addressing violence might be different and different peaceful societies (Kemp, 2004, p.8). The second chapter of this edition 'A Positive Concept of Peace' by Ximena Davies-Vengoechea details Johan Galtung's popularization of the concepts of negative and positive peace. Galtung argued that negative peace is "the absence of organized violence between major human groups," which is now more commonly known as the absence of direct violence between groups (Davies-Vengoechea, 2004, p.10). Whereas, positive peace is "cooperation, development, pluralism, dynamism, justice and freedom" (Davies-Vengoechea, 2004, p.11). This understanding of peace makes the point that if peacemakers only target violence, then the real issues of conflict might remain untouched (ibid). The various authors featured in this book discuss the importance of developing a complete understanding of peace in order to deal with violence and conflict properly. It is essential to

develop a proper understanding of peace before one can hope to resolve conflicts. This text creates a good depiction of what peaceful societies can look like, and thus offers important insight into what is the objective of conflict resolution. This text is also helpful in understanding the author's of this master's thesis perspective on peace, and interpretation of South Africa as aiming for a positive peace during the immediate post-apartheid era.

In Wallensteen's (2002) 'Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System' the topic of conflict resolution is discussed from all different angles to create a very broad yet detailed understanding of the notion. Again, the text begins with the Cold War, following which the arrival of peace agreements and initiatives became much more frequent. Here the author specifically mentions that some peace initiatives have been successful, while others have been enormous failures (Wallensteen, 2002, p.3). Wallensteen (2002, p.5) also makes the argument that conflict resolution is much more ambitious than either disarmament or arms control, as conflict resolution targets the root of the problem and the basic issues or incompatibilities amongst parties. The author describes conflict resolution as "a situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other's continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other" (Wallensteen, 2002, p.8). In this sense, it is necessary that conflict resolution comes after some form of conflictual encounter between parties. Wallensteen argues that often peace agreements are a central component of conflict resolution and that arguments appear when the parties at odds accept each other as parties in future dealings with one another (Wallensteen, 2002, p.9). These agreements are designed to create some sort of compromise between parties, and to ensure that one party does not win all that there is to win and that no one party loses all that there is to lose. This perspective can be applied to the South African case, in that the conflict resolution methods were used to ensure that neither party came out with all the benefits, and the other none. The author of this text also makes sure to make the distinction between conflict resolution and peace, as well as conflict resolution and disarmament. There is of course some degree of overlap between conflict resolution and peace, however, depending on which notion of peace is used then there are significant differences as to what makes peace and what conflict resolution is composed of (Wallensteen, 2002, p.10). Additionally, conflict resolution is different from disarmament because it is not merely about the removal of violent weapons, but it is in fact a "bridge between a very narrow concept of peace (no war) and a very broad one (justice)"

(Wallensteen, 2002, p.11). A significant argument in Wallensteen's text is that he writes that most actors involved in all conflicts will, at some point, need to develop a system for negotiations in order to manage the conflict (Wallensteen, 2002, p.13).

Wallensteen writes about the different theories that have been used to address conflicts and conflict resolution. Nearing the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s, the end of the Cold War and the settlement of local conflicts increased the general level of interest in conflict resolution. There are different ways of performing conflict analysis, these include: conflict dynamics, needs-based conflict origins, and, rational strategic calculations; although these different forms of analysis are often found to be overlapping, despite their being distinct. According to Wallensteen, the classic understanding of conflict is that it is a dynamic phenomenon, where one actor is forced to react to what another actor is doing. Which in turn leads to further action and the stakes often escalate very quickly (Wallensteen, 2002, p.34). This helps in understanding the escalation in the South African conflict. For example, the apartheid government would react very harshly to many of the demonstrations by the resistance movement, which would then be met by even greater protests and resistance. In the end, the reactions of both parties to the other's actions, caused rapid escalation of violence in this conflict. In terms of conflict theory, Wallensteen refers to several different ones, with Johan Galtung's conflict triangle perhaps being the most interesting and relevant to the subject of this paper. Galtung developed this triangle in the 1960s and made the suggestion that a conflict moves among the three corners of a triangle. In this scenario, corner A of the triangle refers to conflict attitudes, corner B to conflict behaviour and corner C to the conflict itself. Then, from the movement within the triangle, it can be suggested that the resolution of conflict, or conflict transformation is a never-ending process. Said conflict would need to be transformed through transcendence, compromise and withdrawals from all parties involved in the conflict. Galtung also confirms that peace agreements, especially those of actual substance are an important factor in making the conflict transformation successful (Wallensteen, 2002, p.35). Wallensteen argues that from Galtung's perspective, incompatibility is central to the dynamics of conflict. Thus, Galtung's main objective is transcendence, where both parties find the point where they are both able to get the things that they desire at the same time (Wallensteen, 2002, p.37).

Further on in the text, Wallensteen expands on his earlier definition of conflict resolution, adding that conflict resolution is "a social situation where the armed conflicting parties in a

(voluntary) agreement resolve to peacefully live with- and/or- dissolve their basic incompatibilities and henceforth cease to use arms against one another" (Wallensteen, 2002, p.50). This particular definition would indicate that conflict must be transformed from violent to non-violent by the actors involved in the conflict, and not by outside actors. The author argues that the first test for conflict resolution is that arms are no longer used, the second test is that the parties do not resort to violence or to the threat of violence (ibid). The parties must enter into some sort of agreement to establish the conflict resolution process and therefore they must take responsibility for the accords of the agreement and their implementation. A central component in conflict analysis and conflict resolution is to learn to adapt to or dissolve the incompatibility between parties (Wallensteen, 2002, p.57). From Wallensteen's perspective, conflict resolution is very much in the hands of the actors involved in the original conflict and it must be the responsibility of these same parties.

The conditions created by the peace agreement are very important for a post-conflict society's recovery in various different ways. For instance, the security dilemma following the end of a conflict is a major issue societies in the rebuilding stages. General demilitarization and the creation of a unified army; specific guarantees for leaders; an international presence transitory power-sharing and amnesty to leaders are all important measures in managing the security dilemma during the transition from conflict to peace (Wallensteen, 2002, p.149). Internal cases, such as the case of South Africa, are especially complicated as it requires the reconstruction of societies on inclusive principles, and must provide broader participation in state affairs, while also needing to offer a sense of security to both leaders and citizens, or the different conflicting parties (Wallensteen, 2002, p.159). Wallensteen also spends some time discussing the role of civil society in this process. The author argues that "an active civil society, the existence of numerous independent (non-governmental), civilian-based organisations non-violently and freely pursuing civilian values on issues of societal significance, is important for sustaining democratic society" (Wallensteen, 2002, p.160). Wallensteen includes voluntary organisations, professional associations, student movements, trade unions, religious groupings, clans, tribes, women's movements, and environmental groups as members of civil society; which supports the inclusion of all of these groups as civil society members by the author of this thesis (ibid). Another important element is that civil society can be a very important barrier to the military taking control of a society (Wallensteen, 2002, p.161). Furthermore, the implementation

of peace agreements creates a very important role for civil society as these groups are the best option for accountability measures, and can monitor violations of the agreements and bring said violations to the attention of the right institutions (ibid). Thus, civil society is important in reaching the stages of developing an agreement, as well as creating some sense of accountability around the agreement and other processes within conflict resolution, which is also applicable to the anti-apartheid movement. Wallensteen (2002) provides an in-depth overview of conflict theory and how this pertains to the field of conflict resolution. The text implements various examples to create a better understanding of the process of conflict resolution and argues that the actors involved in the conflict are those responsible for peace agreements, as well as civil society members.

3.2 Civil Society and NGO Involvement in Conflict Resolution

Parver and Wolf (2008) analyse the role of civil society in the process of post-conflict peacebuilding. The authors argue that civil society involvement "is one of the most important factors in determining whether a post-conflict peace-building initiative will be successful" (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.52). The article even goes so far as to state that "efforts of local government officials or international community likely will be unsuccessful in post-conflict peace building where civil involvement is absent, and without a societal belief that these [peacebuilding] measures are beneficial" (ibid). The article illustrates the importance of the cultural context provided by civil society in a post-conflict and reconciliation context. Parver and Wolf argue that it is this cultural context that makes civil society so important to the conflict resolution process (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.54). The authors outline civil society as "the voluntary actions of individuals who share common beliefs and values," however, there is also debate as to how well this definition can be applied in developing countries, or whether it is purely a notion conceived in and of the Global North (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.53). The functions of civil society are described as: "protecting citizens, holding government leaders accountable for their actions, advocating public interest, socializing citizens' behaviour, building community, mediating between citizens and state actors and delivering the necessary services for the functioning of society" (ibid). The authors of this article argue that peacebuilding will be most effective when it can be approached from a number of different perspectives, and that NGOs and the greater civil society can serve as important liaisons between international organisations, or

even the state, and local communities (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.65; p.70). Thus, Parver and Wolf (2008) argue that civil society involvement is crucial for understanding the cultural context that is extremely important for any peacebuilding process, furthermore, these actors have a different way of promoting a culture of peace, which is argued to be an important factor in building lasting, sustainable peace. This literature helps to enforce the specifics of the post-apartheid conflict situation, in that it supports the assertion that civil society played a necessary role in the fall of apartheid and in the post-conflict society building process.

Marchetti and Tocci (2009, p.201) also discuss the role of civil society in a conflict society, this article operates under the assumption that it is widely accepted that civil society plays a key role in fostering democratic governance in peaceful societies, and that many conflict societies may generate a more significant mobilization of civil society. This assumption is also applied within this thesis, in that civil society was important for the development of the constitutional democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. The main argument of this article is that country and international context have a major impact on how civil society develops, and whether it can exist in conflict situations; this also being true in the case of South Africa and the extremely harsh policies of the apartheid government towards civil society, and specifically NGOs (Marchetti & Tocci, 2009, p.203). The authors note that often, within the fields of development and security studies, civil society is assumed to mean NGOs, and more specifically local Western-funded liberal NGOs, and these assumptions ignore the wider definition of civil society that exists in developing countries (Marchetti & Tocci, 2009, p.205). The authors argue that it is important to consider all forms of civil society within a conflict and/or post-conflict society and to understand the implications of contextual factors on said actors. From Marchetti and Tocci's (2009, p.216) perspective there are three significant macro-impacts of the involvement of civil society in conflict: fuelling conflict (seen as exacerbating the causes of said conflict), holding (where the conflict is neither augmented nor diffused) and finally civil society can have peacemaking impacts. The authors suggest that in order to truly consider the role of civil society in conflict societies, context must be considered and at the very least civil society can operate by providing immediate relief from conflict, though often the role is much greater than this (Marchetti & Tocci, 2009, p.216). In sum, civil society will take different approaches, (realist, neorealist, liberal and/or conflict transformation approaches) to address conflict

societies, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2, and these different approaches will largely depend on the context within which this particular civil society actor is situated.

Barnes (2009, p.131) argues that civil society can play a role at any point in conflict development and resolution, however there is some degree of hesitation to recognize civil society as having a legitimate role to play in said arena. This hesitation to include and recognize civil society can negatively impact their ability to promote and maintain peace (Barnes, 2009, p.131). The author also argues that it is evident that civil society alone cannot transform a conflict situation; however, it is also very unlikely that governments and intergovernmental organisations will be able to encourage a so-called 'positive peace' without the cooperation of civil society (Barnes, 2009, p.133). As with many of the authors discussed in this literature review, Barnes (2009, p.136) views civil society as an important factor in helping to shape peace, through its ability to fill in policy gaps and address problems that might have been overlooked by the government. This is also attributed to the idea that civil society can more accurately demonstrate the opinions of the greater public. Furthermore, civil society can help with 'back channel communications and unofficial dialogue,' which is an important component of peace negotiations (Barnes, 2009, p.139). Barnes portrays civil society as an important source for innovative ideas and solutions to address conflict situations. As a source of innovation, civil society can be an important factor in finding an effective response to the conflict at hand, however, alone, civil society is not enough (Barnes, 2009, p.145). Thus, it becomes evident, that according to Barnes, civil society is an important member of the team or partnership which must be developed in order to address conflict situations in an effective manner. Barnes' work is important in helping to understand that civil society did indeed have an important role to play in South Africa's conflict resolution process, however, it was not the only group involved, and the other political actors were also crucial for the process.

Vogel (2016) looks at the impact of civil society on peace processes largely within the context of exterior interventions in conflict situations. Vogel writes that the UN highlights that one important component of the involvement of civil society in conflict resolution, is that civil society actors help to lend legitimacy to peacebuilding projects and initiatives (Vogel, 2016, p.473). This assertion made by Vogel is important in understanding how the TRC began to gain legitimacy in South Africa and on the international stage. This process had such a variety of significant supporters that it was able to become viewed as a legitimated and helpful process.

This legitimacy is largely attributed to the important role that civil society has in a functioning liberal democracy, thus, making the peace process appear to the public as a more legitimate course when civil society is involved. However, there is also concern that civil society can be heavily influenced by donors and the motivations and intentions of the international community. As such, it is civil society is an important actor within the peace process due to the work that can be accomplished by such groups, but also as a result of the political appearance attributed to the inclusion of such groups in said processes. However, it is necessary to consider that certain biases might exist and that these biases have the potential to influence the outcome of peace processes, especially where funding for civil society groups is involved. This is also something to consider in discussing civil society organisations in South Africa. During the apartheid era, many of these organisations were receiving funding from international donors due to the strict conditions imposed by the apartheid regime. Therefore, it is important to consider the alternative motivations and biases that could be behind these international donors.

Civil society had a more prominent role in the reconstruction of some post-Soviet countries than in others. For example, Venturi (2011) writes about the range of actors involved in conflict resolution in Moldova following the fall of the Soviet Bloc. Venturi (2011, p.17) argues that it is difficult to identify the extent to which civil society organisations influence political processes, and more specifically peacebuilding process, however, it is widely accepted that these organisations play a very important role in promoting good governance and people-centred development. Venturi (2011, p.18) writes that in the case of Moldova, civil society played a crucial role in the post-Soviet transition period; this was especially true in civil society groups being able to negotiate access to basic needs for all parties involved, largely because they have better access to these parties. Thus, Venturi (2011) argues that in the case of Moldova, in the post-Soviet period, civil society groups did have an important and relevant role to play in the peacebuilding process. Venturi's findings help to support that the general claims made within this thesis regarding civil society's role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, are likely to be applicable in other conflict situations, and not only the unique case of South Africa.

3.3 NGOs (as Members of Civil Society) in Peaceful Conflict Resolution

Bartoli (2009, p.392) in The *SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, edited by Bercovitch, Kremenyuk and Zartman writes that the tasks and functions of NGOs in the conflict

resolution process have often been overlooked, despite there being significant literature regarding the roles of NGOs as an expression of civil society in the humanitarian and development sectors. Following the end of the Cold War, NGOs' involvement in international conflict resolution has become an important component of this negotiating system. As conflict resolution processes are increasingly dealing with the challenges of state failures, state formation and state cooperation, NGOs are important in easing the nature of these negotiations (Bartoli, 2009, p.392). Furthermore, this inclusion of NGOs in conflict resolution largely emerged from a universal need to ensure that mediation and negotiation could be established without the burdens and constraints of national biases and interests (Bartoli, 2009, p.393). Additionally, Bartoli (ibid) remarks that NGOS were largely able to fill the gap in conflict resolution when states are either unable or unwilling to provide the services to properly conduct mediation and negotiation. Bartoli (ibid) argues that the strength of NGOs in conflict resolution lies with their independence and impartiality, as well as their ability to access states, without actually being states. Bartoli's observations can certainly be applied to the South African case, however, it is also important to note the strong restrictions that South African NGOs were forced to deal with throughout apartheid. However, this positive argument for the role of NGOs in conflict resolution is a core premise of this thesis, which will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters to follow.

The author also outlines the different strategies that NGOs can take for mediation and conflict resolution, communication-facilitation, this is where a mediator facilitates the conflict resolution process, which is engineered by the involved parties, and avoids any form of intrusive measures. There is also the procedural strategy, where the mediator calls meetings, sets the agenda and also influences the outcome of the negotiations by making suggestions. Finally, there is the directive strategies, where mediators use their own power to broker a mutually-agreeable outcome between parties (ibid). Bartoli makes a number of important assertions about the involvement of NGOs in conflict resolution. For instance, NGOs are only one example of civil society, and there can be many other actors involved in the resolution process, as will be discussed in the case study of South Africa in Chapter 5 (Bartoli, 2009, p.394). Furthermore, it was the end of the Cold War that marked an important shift towards the increased agency and involvement of non-state actors in mediation and conflict management (Bartoli, 2009, p.406). Bartoli sees the importance of NGOs in their ability to connect different actors who might not usually be able to interact in the more traditional lines of conflict resolution processes.

Furthermore, the author advocates that NGOs lend some legitimacy to the process as they must include all actors in the political process and they tend to be credible and have high levels of confidentiality (Bartoli, 2009, p.407). Bartoli outlines the importance of civil society, and more specifically of NGOs in the conflict resolution process and argues that these actors will continue to play an important role in the future of conflict resolution. Thus, Bartoli's core arguments are used to support the main premise of this paper, in that these actors do hold a crucial position in the conflict resolution process.

Zutshi (2006) analyses the role of NGOs in peacemaking and conflict resolution from the perspective that peace is the absence of chaos, confusion and conflict. This assumption is somewhat problematic in terms of the content of this thesis, as this paper is based on the notion of positive peace, which specifically advocates for more than just an absence of conflict. However, Zutshi's arguments regarding the importance of NGOs in building a peace culture, is an important addition to the supporting literature for this thesis. Zutshi adds that peace encompasses democratic ideals, the protection of all human rights, the establishment of equity and equality based on societal values and a general freedom from discrimination (Zutshi, 2006, p.41). Zutshi (2006) even remarks that from a historic perspective NGOs have often been at the forefront of peace movements, this was demonstrated by a UN report looking at the history of said movements. The article argues that NGOs are important to building a culture of peace, and that they even "impart the values of human civilization as a product of mutual enrichment among cultures and people" (Zutshi, 2006, p.45). This would indicate a certain ability to bring together opposing parties and find common ground upon which negotiations and settlements might be reached. This article works to demonstrate that as members of civil society, NGOs do have an important role to play in the peace process, this is largely due to their ability to contribute to a peace culture and find somewhat common ground between those involved in a conflict.

The specifics of NGOs' ability to enhance the effectiveness of international negotiations is investigated by Albin (1999). The author remarks the increasing prominence of NGOs in recent years, especially when it comes to international negotiations. However, the involvement of these organisations, at the time of this article, was generally seen as undermining the system and was not usually official and was thus subject to the preferences of national governments (Albin, 1999, p.272). Although, Albin (1999) attributes the enhancement of democratic political participation to the involvement of NGOs in different international negotiations. However, Albin

also notes that as NGOs have begun to make significant contributions to international negotiations, there remains a lack of academic work addressing the more theoretical and general nature of these organisations. Thus, Albin (1999) argues the potential of NGOs to positively impact situations where negotiations are being undertaken, however, there is a need to better understand the nature of these organisations as they become an increasingly important factor in the international political system.

Mawlawi (1993) also writes specifically regarding the role of NGOs in conflicts and conflict resolution. Again, the author points towards the changing shape of conflicts (towards appearing as intra-state, instead of inter-state) as one reason for the increasing role of NGOs in conflict resolution (Mawlawi, 1993, p.391). The article points towards the early religious and spirituality-oriented nature of those NGOs involved in the field of conflict resolution, however, in more recent times this has evolved to include a variety of different organisations (Mawlawi, 1993, p.395). For example, the American Friend Service Committee and the British Friends (also commonly known as the Quakers) were very involved in conflict resolution in the Middle East in 1955, as well as in the India-Pakistan War and the Nigeria-Biafra civil war (ibid). Similar to Bartoli (2009), Mawlawi (1993) points to the informal and non-official aspect of NGOs as one of their core advantages in that they can bring parties together in an unofficial setting. Also, these organisations are often able to be involved on a more long-term basis. However, the one downside to the inclusion of NGOs in conflict resolution is the lack of influence they often possess because they are not seen as 'official' actors in conflict resolution. For instance, they are unable to gain firm commitment from opposing parties as they are not able to implement the same economic, political or military threats that a nation would be able to use (Mawlawi, 1993, p.403). Despite this downside, Mawlawi (1993, p.409) argues that once a peace settlement has been reached, NGOs have an important role in implementing information programs to inform citizens about the opportunities from the settlement, as well as in the repatriation and resettlement of refugees, the conduct of elections, monitoring local police, offering human rights watch and also monitoring civil administration. Thus, according to Mawlawi, NGOs have a very important role to play in the conflict resolution process, especially in mediation and post-settlement contexts, however, it is also important to remember that these organisations do have some limitations in this field. This helps to support the overall assumptions of this thesis, that

NGOs were important in the fall of apartheid and the reconstruction of South African society following the end of the regime.

3.4 NGOs and Military Agencies in Peaceful Conflict Resolution

Aall (2000) similarly maintains that the changes in the nature of conflict seen following the end of the Cold War, has also meant that the responses to said conflict have changed; this author examines the relationship between NGOs and the military in conflict resolution and peacekeeping situations. During the 1990s, due to an increase in involvement of civilians in these contexts, Aall argues that there was some confusion of the roles and responsibilities between civilian groups and military agencies (Aall, 2000, p.123). The author argues that it is difficult to measure an NGO's capacity for conflict management and resolution, as there are so many different definitions for what an NGO really is. Aall maintains that the composition, functions and structure of an NGO can vary significantly depending on the context and country said NGO is found in (Aall, 2000, p.124). The author argues that there are Humanitarian NGOs, which is the most extensive group, composed of organisations such as Red Cross, CARE and Oxfam. There are also Human Rights NGOs, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, which attempt to "define and promote the basic rights of all people regardless of beliefs or backgrounds and to prevent political and economic repression" (Aall, 2000, p.128). Finally, Aall writes about Conflict Resolution NGOs, which are the organisations devoted to conflict management and are specifically focused on avoiding crises through preventative measures or these organisations act as intermediaries when a conflict is already active (Aall, 2000, p.129). The specific conflict resolution organisations in South Africa will be discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis. The author does remark that NGOs within conflict resolution are, at times, criticized for being sporadic with their work addressing conflicts, in that the work is occasionally offered on a one-time basis. However, Aall concludes that NGOs and military agencies have generally perceived their roles within conflict management as distinctly different. Furthermore, the author adds that NGOs have and continue to make significant contributions to conflict management and that these organisations are central to the conflict resolution process at each stage of the conflict cycle (Aall, 2000, p.138). Thus, although there might be some growing pains in terms of finding correct roles and responsibilities for all parties involved in the conflict resolution process, as members of civil society, NGOs have an important and influential role to play in such processes.

Abiew (2010) also examines the relationship between NGOs and military agencies in the context of peace operations. The article states that since the end of the Cold War, with more multidimensional conflicts, there is an increased need for multifunctional peacekeeping, and more coordination and integration in peacekeeping operations. Abiew (2010, p.25) writes that "only a well-planned and coordinated combination of civilian and military measures can create the conditions for long-term stability and peace in divided societies." The author goes on to argue that "in the future NGOs will be indispensable features of peace operations" but that the dynamics of the relationships and how to properly include these groups in the process is being questioned (ibid). Abiew (2010, p.26) remarks that there are huge differences between NGOs, in terms of their sizes, mandates, capacity and levels of professionalism, these discrepancies also come from the fact that different NGOs are influenced by different interests and motivations, which influences their mandates and the operations of the organisation. The vast differences between NGOs also influences their role in peace operations, and the ways in which the organisations would act in cooperation with military agencies. NGOs often have some form of reluctance in dealing with military agencies, usually because of the perception that the organisation is compromising its security, impartiality, neutrality, or sometimes due to mistrust arising from previous experiences in cooperating with military actors (Abiew, 2010, 31). Abiew (2010, p.36) argues that the greatest concern to securing and sustaining peace is in the long-term social and political transformation of post-conflict societies. This focus on the long-term would mean state building, reformation of the security sector, the strengthening of civil society and promoting social reintegration (ibid). Thus, establishing an understanding of the relationships between civil society and military agencies is an important component of ensuring long-term peace as the result of peace operations.

3.5 NGO Networks in Peaceful Conflict Resolution

Wilson, Davis and Murdie (2016) evaluate the networks that currently exist in connecting organisations involved in conflict resolution. The authors write that at the beginning of the 21st century, there were nearly 1200 international nongovernmental organisations dealing with conflict resolution focused missions (Wilson, Davis & Murdie, 2016, p.443). The efforts of these organisations ranged from and included:

> *providing information about the occurrence or potential use of violence; mobilizing a*
> *variety of domestic and international actors to work to prevent or limit violence; working*

> *to increase the willingness and capacity of domestic, national and international actors to become involved in peacemaking efforts; and pressuring parties to cease the use of violence.* (ibid).

The authors of this article put forth a very strong argument for the importance of the role that civil society can have in conflict situations. One great advantage of Conflict Resolution Organisations (as they are referred to by Wilson, Davis and Murdie (2016)), is that they can build trust within the local population and they are often able to bring people together on both sides of the conflict by changing perceptions about the costs and benefits of different settlement options (ibid). The authors argue that Conflict Resolution Organisations (CROs) are a good forum for connecting actors within a conflict, as well as a great space for providing information (Wilson et al., 2016, p.444). This perspective is especially true in the case of South Africa, when discussing the crucial role of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the resistance movement. This umbrella organisation was used to coordinate the actions of different groups in the fight against apartheid, as will be discussed at length in Chapter 5. The arguments from this article can certainly be applied to the case of South Africa, and help to show that not only were civil society organisations using direct actions in the resistance, were also working to coordinate these actions in order to create a more effective movement. The authors ultimately conclude that CROs, which can be understood as members of civil society for the purpose of this study, are crucially important for obtaining and sustaining international peace.

3.6 Discussion

Throughout the above literature review it is revealed that there is extensive academic literature on the concepts of peace and conflict resolution, as well as the more specific involvement of civil society in these processes. These notions are exceptionally complex and are composed of a large number of different factors and elements. These are areas for further study as there is significant change depending on the context of a conflict situation. However, in general, this literature can be used to support the claim that civil society did play a crucial role in the conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes in South Africa. This vast array of literature will later be considered in the case study of South Africa; looking at which processes of conflict resolution were used in this specific case. As well, as how civil society factored in to these processes and what were the specific impacts of civil society's role in the Truth and

Reconciliation Committee in South Africa. Thus, the literature discussed above serves as the foundation for the discussions to follow in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 4: The Case Study: Historical Context and the Apartheid Regime
4.1 Historical Context: The Rise of Apartheid

South Africa has a diverse and complex history, beginning well before the arrival of the Dutch colonialists in 1652. At least 10 000 years ago, the region of South Africa was occupied by the hunting and gathering San people, who now live in arid regions of Botswana, Northern Namibia and Southern Angola (Worden, 2012, p.10). However, prior to the arrival of Dutch settlers, there were various occasions of population movement and resettlement in the area. Between AD 300 and 1000 there were various crop cultivator populations in Southern Africa, as well as some communities that mined and processed metals (ibid). This was all long before the Dutch East India Company established its fort at Table Bay; which was ideal for the expansion of the company's network of trade in the Indian Ocean, and it also provided the roots for the eventual colonial conquest of South Africa.

4.1.1 Colonization

From the very beginning of Dutch arrival in South Africa, from 1652 onwards, there was conflict between the Khoekhoe people and the Dutch settlers (Worden, 2012, p.13; Stapleton, 2010, p.2; Sonnebron, 2010, p.20). There were various conflicts and intermittent fighting between the Dutch and the native South Africans, however both populations managed to co-exist to some extent. The Dutch settlers established a fort for the Dutch East Indies Company, and created an economic system based on the exploitation of slaves imported from East Africa and Southeast Asia (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.3). In 1795, the British arrived in Southern Africa, and began governing the region. The year 1806 marked the permanent establishment of British control in the region; initially the British were working closely with Dutch administration in order to keep costs lower; however, this did not last and they eventually established their own forms of indirect colonial rule (Worden, 2012, p.14). In the 1820s British immigrants were brought to the region to increase settlement, and in the 1830s disputes with the native Xhosa populations continued, however, the British were successful in mostly bringing the eastern frontier under their control and solidifying their colonial control of the region (Worden, 2012, p.15).

In the 1830s the Boer population (the descendants of the original Dutch settlers, now known as Afrikaners) were frustrated by the British refusal to conquer and colonize African lands in the Eastern region, to be used for the benefit of the settler and colonial communities

(Sonnebron, 2010, p.22). Following this conflict, a large number, about 20%, of the Boer population left the Cape (the British area) and moved North of the Orange and Vaal rivers on the eastern coast of Africa (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.13). In the following decade, the British invaded this region as they were fearful of having an 'anti-European' population with direct access to the sea. This meant that by the 1860s, South Africa was composed of two British colonies, two Afrikaner republics and several large African kingdoms (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.14). However, it was not to remain this way, due to the discovery of diamonds in the late 1860s and of gold in 1886; so that from the 1870s onwards the British colonialists took a much more aggressive approach to the colonization of the entire sub-continent (Worden, 2012, p.24). These discoveries meant an even greater division between the British and the Boers, the *White* and the *Black* populations and between the rich and the poor. In order to profit from these new resources, the British required large amounts of inexpensive labour, which is why they conquered the still-independent African states in the 1870s and 1880s, to ensure that African labourers were available, at low wages, for their needs. Thus, by the early 1890s, indigenous independence in Southern Africa was mostly destroyed, however, South Africa was still divided into the settler colonies and the Boer republics, with trouble brewing between these two camps (Worden, 2012, p.30). Between 1899 and 1902, the Second Boer War occurred predominantly as a struggle for control over the newly discovered mineral resources. The British did eventually win; however, it took far more resources and capital to defeat the two Afrikaner republics than they had initially expected (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.19). Following the end of this war, *Black* South Africans were hopeful that they would receive better treatment from the government, as many of them had been forced to fight in the war, however, this was not at all the case (Sonnebron, 2010, p.29). From this time forward, tensions continued to exist between the native populations, and both settler communities and the eventual decolonization of South Africa did not necessarily bode well for native South Africans.

The decolonization of South Africa in 1910 involved the transfer of political power from the colonialists to the *White* South African population; as such, the *Black* South African population never truly saw an end to colonial domination until the end of apartheid; up until that point the domination merely changed hands (Shubane, 1992, p.37). The establishment of the Union of South Africa on the 31st of May 1910, was underpinned by a commitment to segregation and the institutionalization of white supremacy on a national level; and it is from this

point forward that South Africa embraced segregationist policies, which quickly evolved into the harsh conditions and legislation of the apartheid regime (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.20; Sonnebron, 2010, p.31). This evolution was aided by the South African Native Affairs Commission, which was established in conjunction with the process of establishing the Union in 1910, and which was designed to outline the potential policies of the Union towards *Black* and *Coloured* South Africans. This commission is largely viewed to be the first "clear articulation of segregationist ideals" and it put forth the foundations for much of the segregationist legislation that followed in the years to come (Worden, 2012, p.81). These foundations included the proposed racial separation of land ownership, the establishment of 'Native locations' in towns, the development of pass laws to control labour influxes to the cities, different wages, and missionary schooling for Africans instead of state education (ibid). Many of these suggestions can be seen cemented in the legislation and policies of apartheid that were to follow, and which will be discussed in the following sections.

4.2 The Beginnings of the Apartheid Regime

Racial discrimination in South Africa emerged well before 1948, and it can be traced back to the beginnings of Dutch colonization of the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, as can be seen from the above discussion. In its essence, the apartheid system was designed to make the *White* and *Black* populations entirely separate and independent of one another (Barkon, 1961, p.104). The literal translation of apartheid is 'apartness' or separateness,' both in the physical and social sense, but also morally and spiritually (Dubow, 2014, p.10). The Afrikaner population (or Boers, the descendants of the Dutch settlers who came to South Africa in the 1600s) largely felt that their cultural, political and economic survival was being threatened by both the English-speaking South Africans and the Bantu people (or the native South Africans). As such, apartheid was about economic, social and political domination of the *White* portion of the population over the *Black* portion (Barkon, 1961, p.105). The overall objective was to create a system of dual autonomy, and have two sovereign, equal governments: one to rule over the *Black* area, and one to rule over the *White* areas. However, apartheid had some structural issues as the system was entirely reliant on inexpensive African labour in order to create the high profits that were desired by the Afrikaners (Barkon, 1961, p.107). Therefore, from the very beginning, apartheid was

inherently flawed, however, it nonetheless managed to impose severe suffering on the oppressed portions of the population before its eventual downfall.

Apartheid was, in the basic sense, a theory of how to treat the '*non-White*' portion of the population, however, it emerged out of discussions within the Dutch Reformed Church, which decided to segregate its churches in 1857, regarding the special nature of 'God-given' tasks for Afrikaners (Dubow, 2014, p.16; Worden, 2012, p.79). There was also a strong narrative of national suffering involved in the idea of apartheid. Afrikaners had struggled to beat the Zulu warriors upon first arriving in South Africa, and then the British had somewhat stifled Afrikaner culture during the colonial period, thus a significant aspect of the Afrikaners' national identity was one of suffering (Dubow, 2014, p.18). This Afrikaner nationalist movement began to mobilize around the issue of poverty, with the core idea behind apartheid emerging from missionaries in the Orange Free State. The term was intended to allow the Afrikaner population to express the importance of the maintenance of their cultural identity, and especially in the sense that it was different from that of the English-speaking European South Africans (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.4). The intention was to reinforce Afrikaner ethnic identity by protecting its authentic cultural and spiritual 'own-ness,' and through this God would protect their identity and their well-being (Dubow, 2014, p.19). A biblical justification for apartheid was developed by the missionaries, as they believed that God wished for them (the *White* Afrikaners) to remain separate from the rest of the population (*Coloureds*, *Indians* and *Blacks*) (Dubow, 2014, p.22). Thus, the notion of apartheid first emerged in discussions by the Dutch Reformed Church missionaries in the 1930s, however, it only became part of the mainstream in the 1940s (Dubow, 2014, p.10). However, it was during the 1948 election campaign that the concept truly came under public scrutiny and became the governing principle of South African society.

Prior to World War Two, segregation and discrimination based on race were major aspects of South African society, even before the advent of the apartheid regime (Barkon, 1961, p.105). For example, the first instance of structured segregation, called the Shepstone System, was conceived in 1846. The idea behind this system was to protect the colonial state by allocating any land that was still unclaimed by *White* farmers, as 'locations;' these 'locations' would then be made available to native South Africans, who could then cultivate the land, although they were of course not allowed to own said land. Furthermore, these cultivators would be subjected to the rule of a local 'headman' or chief, who was operating under the Native Law,

and was thus loyal to the colonial authorities (Worden, 2012, p.80). These segregation policies had major effects on African rights to own land, to live or travel where they chose, as well as on their job security (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.21). As such, the implementation of apartheid was not a huge change for the society, however, it did take segregation significantly further with the creation of racist legislation and policies; apartheid was, in some ways, just the entrenchment of the existing racial order (Dubow, 2014, p.12). It was after the increased number of economic activities for *Black* South Africans during the Second World War which made Afrikaners fearful for their own economic success, as well as a rise in Afrikaner nationalism, that the segregationist polices evolved into the massively oppressive apartheid regime (Stapleton, 2010, p.152; Harvey, 2001, p.39). As such, it was a combination of factors that eventually pushed the Afrikaners to turn to the apartheid system.

Leading up to the 1948 elections, South Africa experienced a number of transformations that would help shape the movement towards the vote in favour of the National Party and the apartheid system. Between 1940 and 1946, South Africa underwent enormous social and economic changes, largely due to its participation in the Second World War (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.38). There was a need for factory workers, and so both *Black* and *White* people were drawn to the urban areas to find employment. Prior to the war, *Black* South Africans had not been allowed to participate in any skilled or even semi-skilled labour, however, the increase in factory jobs and the absence of labourers due to the war meant that a greater number of the *Black* portion of the population were employed in this expanding sector (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.39). Furthermore, Afrikaner resentment and the notion of a national identity of suffering, had been brewing since the end of the Boer War in 1902 (Sonnebron, 2010, p.40). As mentioned above, there had been segregationist policies in place for several years, as well as tensions amongst the Afrikaner population in regard to protection of their own people and culture; and so, it did not take long for these policies to shift into the full-fledged harshness of the apartheid regime. As the country moved towards the 1948 elections, Afrikaners were increasingly worried and thus created a plan to ensure the maintenance of white privilege. The National Party responded with the Sauer Report which called for total segregation; whereas the United Party released the Fagan Report which outlined different proposals for dealing with *Black* populations, however, it said that total segregation was impossible and that *Black* labourers were needed for employment

(ibid). Therefore, it was largely by playing to the fears of the Afrikaner people, that the National Party was able gain such a high degree of political support throughout the country.

The National Party was formed in 1915, with the intention of creating fair and just representation for Afrikaners (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.28). Apartheid largely grew out of a rise in Afrikaner nationalism and it was the electoral slogan that brought the radical Afrikaner National Party to power in 1948 (Barkon, 1961, p.104; Dubow, 2014, p.1). The National Party was targeting the poorer segment of the *White* population, which was the *White* working class throughout the campaign period (Dubow, 2014, p.5); it's official election campaign offered a choice between "integration and national suicide" or "protection of the pure white race" (Dubow, 2014, p.9). As mentioned above, the incumbent United Party argued that the premise of apartheid was impossible, because native South Africans were part of the country and complete segregation was never going to be possible. However, the National Party retaliated by arguing that Africans should remain in the rural areas and that total segregation was both "politically justified and morally defensible" (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.43). The National Party took control of the government in 1948 and South Africa was immediately transformed into an 'Afrikaner ethnic corporate body' (Kotze & Du Toit, 1995, p.31). It was quite a surprise to many that Prime Minister Smuts (of the United Party) lost the election as he was well-liked, especially during the wartime, however, many people accused him of siding with Great Britain, and this was not something that appealed to the Afrikaner population (Dubow, 2014, p.2; Harvey, 2001, p.46). D.F. Malan's National Party won only 443 719 votes, while the United Party won 624 500 votes. However, the National Party won the majority of the seats in parliament, 79 to the 71 for the United Party and due to a constitutional provision that allowed greater representation in rural areas, this was enough to grant victory to the National Party (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.45). Despite Malan's parliamentary lead over Smuts being only a few seats, Malan was able to form a pact with the Afrikaner Party, which was led by N.C. Havenga, and this pact meant it was enough to form an effective government (ibid).

Following his election to power, Prime Minister Malan wasted no time in creating new policies to cement apartheid in South African society. Malan came to power with the objective of "protecting the white character, and called for the prohibition of mixed marriages, complete banning of *Black* trade unions and for stricter enforcement of job reservation for whites" (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.45). Hendrik Verwoerd was the Minister of Native Affairs for the new

government in the 1950s, and was one of the main masterminds behind apartheid legislation (Harvey, 2001, p.50). Evidently, Malan and Verwoerd had no intention of implementing the apartheid system in a gentle manner. However, Malan and his government did need to be quite careful in terms of foreign policy, as there were significant critiques regarding apartheid policies in the international community. For example, South Africa's participation in the Korean War, was largely a tactic of Malan's, in order to maintain good relationships with Great Britain and the United States (Dubow, 2014, p.35). One of the ultimate achievements for Afrikaners is argued to be the moment when South Africa broke from the Commonwealth and were able to establish a republic in 1961 (Worden, 2012, p.96). Once the National Party gained power in 1948 there was little do to prevent the rapid expansion of apartheid policies.

The National Party dominated the South African state throughout the apartheid era, however, there were of course other organisations that played a role in the development, legitimation and implementation of apartheid. For Example, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK or the Dutch Reformed Church) was an important civil society organisation in the development of apartheid (Kuperus, 1999, p.1). The organisation's involvement has already been mentioned to some extent, however it is important to understand the role of the church before, during and after apartheid. Throughout the apartheid era, the Dutch Reformed Church worked to justify many of the apartheid policies. From the very beginning of Dutch arrival in South Africa, the NGK rarely "evangelized, baptized or embraced *Blacks* due to the pressures placed on clergymen from slave-owners in their congregation who wanted to maintain their ownership of slaves," and so the church had always had some elements of racial segregation in its practices (Kuperus, 1999, p.3). By 1910, the NGK had become a socio-religious institution that was aligned with the needs of the Afrikaner population, and from 1948 to 1961 leaders within the church and the leaders of the state held similar political views, with collaboration between the two lasting well into the late 1970s (Kuperus, 1999, p.76). This collaboration even went so far that the Dutch Reformed Church was one of the most prominent *White* civil society organisations in support of apartheid from 1962 to 1978 (Kuperus, 1999, p.112). Evidently, apartheid was a social, racial and political ideology, however, there were also heavy religious undertones and various religious justifications of the regime.

Since the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, institutional racial segregation had been official government policy (Dubow, 2014, p.11). The Mines and Works Act of 1911, reserved all 'skilled' jobs as being beyond the competency of *Black* workers, and so *Black* people were hugely limited in which jobs they could pursue (Harvey, 2001, p.37). In 1913, native South African land holdings were frozen and thus the future purchases or renting of lands outside the reserves was against the law, in accordance with the Natives Land Act (Barkon, 1961, p.105). This meant that only 7% of the land area of South Africa was reserved for the use of *Black* workers, predominantly in the Zululand, Ciskei, and Transkei regions (Harvey, 2001, p.37). The 1920s marked the creation of pass laws, and in 1946 the government removed Africans from a common roll, which meant that Africans voted separately (Barkon, 1961, p.105). Evidently, the foundation of apartheid was laid well before 1948 when the National Party was elected. However, the apartheid regime was further cemented by the various policies and legislative acts undertaken by the government from 1948 onwards. From this point forward, the National Party fully embraced the concept of apartheid and worked to ensure its overarching reach by entrenching white supremacy in the legal system. For example, in 1949, the Mixed Marriages Act prohibited marital unions between *Black* and *White* citizens and in 1950 an amendment to the Immorality Act outlawed interracial sex (Dubow, 2014, p.37; Harvey, 2001, p.53). In 1950, the Population Registration act classified people by race at the time of their birth. People would be classified as either *White*, *Coloured, Indian* or *Black*. This particular law was an important foundational element of apartheid and it also meant that the principle of biological ancestry and race was brought into all aspects of life in South Africa, making apartheid the most oppressive system of racial rule in the post-Holocaust world (Dubow, 2014, p.38).

The Bantu Authorities Act (1951) was the replacement for the Natives Representative Council; this act meant that government-approved chiefs were placed in the reserves, and it made zero provision for the representation of Africans in the towns and '*White*' rural areas (Worden, 2012, p.106). The Group Areas Act divided South African into urban racial areas, and the Natives Resettlement Act, which followed in 1954 meant that *Black* South Africans could be forcefully removed from certain areas and resettled in others. One example of this was in Sophiatown, near Johannesburg, the area was declared to be a *White* area and so 70 000 *Black* South Africans were evicted and moved to Meadowlands, an area much further outside of the

city (Barkon, 1961, p.105). The case of District Six in Cape Town is another notable example of the resettlement of a huge portion of the population, who were moved from District Six, mostly to the Cape Flats outside of Cape Town away from the majority of their places of employment, and which is now an extremely volatile community with high levels of violence and crime (Dubow, 2014, p.37).

In 1950, there was also the Suppression of Communism Act, which defined communism very loosely and so it basically encompassed any individual or group who disagreed with or went against the government (Barkon, 1961, p.105). The implementation of this act was also responsible for driving the Communist Party underground (Dubow, 2014, p.37). The Bantu Authorities Act followed in 1951, which gave control over the administration of the tribal reserves to the government, and also increased the power of the chiefs (who were subject to the control of central government). In 1953, the Criminal Law Amendment Act meant severe fines, prison sentences and lashings for anyone guilty of protesting the government's policies, this was implemented in an effort to quell growing resistance amongst the *Coloured* population. In the same year, the Public Safety Act enabled the government to impose emergency regulations, which allowed them to detain a person at will. This was also accompanied by the Separate Amenities Act, making it lawful to have separate but unequal facilities for the different races. The following year, the Industrial Conciliation Act outlawed trade unions for *Black* workers (Barkon, 1961, p.105).

One of the most crucial legal aspects of apartheid was the Bantu Education Act. In 1954, this act meant that native education was taken out of the control of missionaries and was instead taken over by the apartheid government. The goal was to keep the education limited in order to ensure that Bantus (the *Black* South African population) could not rise above secondary positions. Furthermore, only enough English and Afrikaans were taught to allow *Black* South Africans to follow orders, and do little else. The Bantu Education Act was also accompanied by the Extension of University Act in 1959, which meant that *Black* students would be banned from *White* universities, and would instead be forced to attend '*non-White*' institutions (Barkon, 1961, p.106). The legal foundations of the apartheid regime discussed above, demonstrate that during apartheid, South Africa was a totalitarian country and a police state, and most of the population (*Black*, *Coloured* and *Indian* people) were subjected to serious control measures, social engineering, often arbitrary arrest and state violence (Harvey, 2001, p.64).

4.2.2 The Societal Impacts of Apartheid

One significant aspect of apartheid was the intention that the system bring a greater level of wealth to the Afrikaner portion of the population. By the end of the 1960s, and the high point of apartheid, the *White* population accounted for less than 1/5 of the total population of South Africa. However, the *White* population controlled close to 3/4 of the country's share of income (Dubow, 2014, p.99). This demonstrates the immense wealth experienced by only the *White* portion of the population, while others struggled to stay alive, those who benefitted from apartheid were experiencing immense wealth. In the 1950s the government's slogan had been 'saving for stability' and by the 1960s this slogan had become 'spend for success' (ibid). Of course, it was not solely the apartheid policies that contributed to this accumulation of wealth, however, these policies certainly had an effect.

The mining industry was a very important component of South Africa's economy and the maintenance of the apartheid government. For example, the South African company, De Beers maintained control over the international market for uranium during the 1960s, which was (and is) an important mineral resource. This was also a time during which the value of gold increased significantly because there was an increase in labour productivity and there were static real wages (Dubow, 2014, p.100). The manufacturing industry also experienced significant growth beginning in the 1930s and continuing from there. This growth was largely due to new technologies, the need for war-time goods, and foreign investors were attracted by the quantity of cheap capital and labour that was available in South Africa (Dubow, 2014, p.101). Evidently, the South African economy did see some significant periods of growth in these early days of apartheid, however, the benefits from this growth were not in any way equal, and merely created even greater degrees of inequality amongst different race groups.

In general, the South African economy can be distinguished in two halves during the apartheid era: the first being one of rapid growth from 1948 to 1973, and the second being stagnation or decline from the 1980s until 1994 (Dubow, 2014, p.177). In the 1980s firms operating in South Africa were able to generate significant profits, averaging at nearly 25% annually, as compared to 6.5% in Great Britain and 4.1% in Germany. The attraction for these firms was largely the cheap labour they were supplied with (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.68). Furthermore, the generation of this wealth came at the expense of the *Black*, *Coloured* and *Indian* South Africans, for the benefit of the *White* South Africans (ibid). There had been a small

resource boom in the late 1970s, however, this slowly faded out in the 1980s and brought about a serious issue with a lack of formal employment in South Africa as those who had been working in the resource sector became unemployed. Furthermore, the drop in the international price of gold that occurred from 1975 to 1976, meant that there was a much greater level of pressure on government tax receipts, as gold had been South Africa's 'mainstay' for the economy for several years (ibid). This decrease in gold prices also forced the government to take out short-term foreign loans, which indicates the level of economic difficulty the country was experiencing. Additionally, the 1973 oil crisis did not help economic matters in the country either.

The apartheid regime had many more impacts than solely economic ones. The racist policies of the regime created a system that would take decades to overcome and create a system of justice and equality, which has not yet been accomplished, even today. South Africa continues to struggle with the dark legacy of Apartheid, in terms of economic, political and social impacts. Throughout the regime's time in power, millions of *Black* South Africans were expelled from their lands, and/or houses, forced to move to different areas, made to carry passes, and were forced into ghettos, as well as increased levels of poverty (Taylor, 2002, p.69). The effects of apartheid were detrimental to the majority of the population who were not considered *White*, and these effects have and will continue to have a harmful and disturbing impact on race relations throughout the country.

4.2.4 The Fall of Apartheid

There were various different events and causes that brought about the eventual downfall of apartheid and transition to democracy. One of the key events in this process was the Soweto Uprising, the details of which will be discussed in the following chapter, which not only captured the attention of the entire country, but also the whole world (Harvey, 2001, p.71). By the end of 1976, the Soweto Uprising had motivated a wave of violence that killed nearly 600 protestors (Sonnebron, 2010, p.71). The immense violence involved in the uprising, and the months following the uprising, created an environment that could no longer be ignored by the international community. This inspired a great deal of action, both nationally and internationally, against the apartheid regime. The 1980s were an especially dark time in South Africa, and it was a highly-militarized country. By the end of 1985 the South African Defence Force had deployed over 32 000 troops in 96 townships across the country. Additionally, between 1985 and 1988

over 5000 people were killed in instances of political violence, and nearly 50 000 people were detained (Taylor, 2002, p.69). During this time, the apartheid regime was beginning to lose its grasp on complete political domination after having made some reforms to the apartheid system, and so was making extreme physical attempts to hold on to their power.

Chapter 5: The Case Study: Anti-Apartheid and Civil Society
5.1 Resisting Apartheid

From the on-set of the apartheid regime there was significant resistance and active protests and demonstrations against the system. During the days of high apartheid (the 1960s and 1970s), the resistance movement was somewhat limited because of a number of banning orders and the extremely harsh reactions of the regime towards protesters. However, the anti-apartheid movement once again gained ground in the 1980s and came to be centred under the United Democratic Front, which was a Charterist umbrella organisation whose goal was to coordinate the activities of hundreds of affiliated resistance organisations (Kotze & Du Toit, 1995, p.32). There were many different forms of resistance, and there were several different political movements in opposition to the regime; however, this section will focus more on the instances of civil society resistance to apartheid. The following will demonstrate the different ways in which South African citizens (predominantly *non-White* citizens, though there were also *White* anti-apartheid activists) resisted apartheid and eventually brought about its demise.

5.1.1 Political Opposition

To begin with, there will be a brief discussion of the political movements which acted against apartheid. The extra parliamentary opposition to apartheid was led by the African National Congress (ANC), from whom the Pan Africanist Congress branched off in 1959 (Kotze & Du Toit, 1995, p.32). The ANC initially emerged as an organisation dedicated to mass campaigning for the inclusions of *Black* people as full and equal citizens (Dubow, 2014, p.38). Its formation also included the ANC Youth League, which developed a Programme of Action in 1949 for the ANC, which outlined direct actions to take against the apartheid regime and system. The intention of the program was to achieve national freedom for all South Africans. One challenge for the ANC and the resistance movement was the decision of whether all anti-apartheid actions should remain within the law, using Gandhian traditions of passive resistance, or whether more confrontational tactics needed to be used (Dubow, 2014, p.40). As time wore on, and the ANC and the resistance movement was unsuccessful in obtaining its goal of national freedom, the party increasingly turned to the latter tactics, turning the resistance movement into a confrontational, violent program in the hopes that more change would be affected.

There were of course any number of political groups involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, and the ANC was increasingly likely to combine efforts with *Coloured* and *Indian*

groups, and even some of the more radical *White* groups (Dubow, 2014, p.40). For example, one of the highpoints of opposition to apartheid occurred in 1955 when the ANC, the Indian Congress, Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats came together, as nearly 3000 delegates, to agree on the Freedom Charter, which would then replace the ANC's manifesto (Dubow, 2014, p.69). This was an incredible display of collaboration between the different anti-apartheid groups. However, the apartheid government did not react well to the establishment of the Freedom Charter, and instead saw it as having serious potential for the creation of a revolution. As such, the state reacted strongly to these extra-parliamentary organisations; and in 1956, 156 activists from nearly 50 different organisations were arrested and charged with high treason. This massive crackdown included the arrest of Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, Helen Joseph, Joe Slovo, Ruth First, Rusty Bernstein, Ahmed Kathrada, and Walter Sisulu, some of the most prominent anti-apartheid activists at the time (Dubow, 2014, p.70). There were of course other political movements against the regime, such as the Black Consciousness Movement (established by Steve Biko), which were crucial to the resistance movement. However, the intention of this thesis is to focus on the actions and involvement of civil society groups and organisations, thus the specific political movements are beyond the scope of this paper.

5.1.2 State Violence and The Resistance Movement

The government had quite a strong hand in its reactions and strategies to deal with the resistance movement and came down extremely hard on those who were involved in the anti-apartheid movement. When it came to protests, security forces were often very violent in their responses, and many protestors were killed on various different occasions. As stated earlier, the government also launched several banning orders against the ANC and its members, as well as against the Communist Party and other anti-apartheid political organisations (Dubow, 2014, p.45).

Many anti-apartheid protests were met with extreme violence on the behalf of the apartheid state. For example, on March 21st, 1960, the Sharpeville Massacre occurred. There was a crowd of *Black* protesters who were protesting the pass laws, the protest got out of control and police fired more than 1000 rounds of ammunition into the crowd. Police killed 69 people at the Sharpeville Massacre, and many of them were shot in the back, as they were running away from

the police (Dubow, 2014, p.74). This is just one example of many, where the state's heavy-handed reaction to protestors cost several lives. South Africa experienced some significant upheaval during the 1960s. A state of emergency was declared in 1960 which gave the police sweeping abilities of power and arrest (Dubow, 2014, p.81). In 1963, there was also the raid on Lilliesleaf farm in Rivonia, which meant that nearly all of the underground leadership of the ANC, the Communist Party and the Congress of Democrat was arrested. This raid also brought a temporary halt to the more military actions of the resistance. From 1961 to 1964, was the last period of direct resistance to apartheid in South Africa for nearly ten years, as the anti-apartheid movement struggled to compete with the extremely difficult crackdowns orchestrated by the government (Dubow, 2014, p.94).

The early 1970s brought round the beginning of the end of the high point of apartheid and the re-emergence of more direct domestic opposition, however, the resistance did not resume its full force until the 1980s (Dubow, 2014, p.174). In 1976, there was a mass demonstration as 15 000 to 20 000 students marched towards Orlando Stadium in Soweto (the largest township in Johannesburg). This march occurred after the new Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Andries Treurnicht, implemented a policy that ensured that Afrikaans be the language of instruction in half of all subjects taught in the African curriculum. This move was met with significant anger

(Gauteng, 2017).

from students across the country and led to the Soweto Uprising and other uprisings across the country. However, Zolile Hector Pieterson was one of the first children to be killed by police in the uprising, in the end the government declared that 176 people were killed and 1139 were injured, however, it is possible that the actual numbers are much higher than this (Dubow, 2014, p.180). The iconic photograph of Zolile Hector Pieterson (pictured below) brought a significant amount of anger and international attention to the injustices of the apartheid regime and the extreme violence inflicted by the apartheid police. Already in the 1960s and 1970s the international community was becoming aware of the extent of apartheid's injustices, however, the shock of this particular photo and the escalating police violence in the 1980s brought even

more attention and criticism to the regime (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.5). The highly repressive forces used by the state in the 1980s, had the effect of promoting the importance of developing civil society, democracy and non-racism in South Africa (Dubow, 2014, p.249).

5.2 Civil Society Resistance to Apartheid

Civil society is an important element of a properly functioning democracy as it is used to hold governments accountable for their actions, strengthen public policies and develop the community following a conflict (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.52). Parver and Wolf (2008, p.52) even go so far as to say that civil society involvement is one of the most important factors in determining whether a post-conflict peace-building initiative is successful or not. The authors define civil society as "the voluntary actions of individuals who share common beliefs and values" (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.53). According to these authors, the functions of civil society are to protect citizens, hold government leaders accountable for their actions, advocate public interest, socialize citizens' behaviour, build community, mediate between citizens and state actors and to deliver the services necessary for the proper functioning of society (ibid). Marchetti and Tocci (2009, p.216) write that there are three core macro-impacts of civil society in conflict: these groups can fuel conflict by exacerbating the causes of said conflict, they can hold it by neither increasing nor diffusing the underlying incompatibilities of the conflict or they can have peacemaking impacts when they work to diffuse the conflict. Civil society works to contrast with the state and it serves to distribute power to as many social institutions as possible; as such, it functions as a sort of check and balance against the concentration of power in one institution or body (Shubane, 1992, p.35). Thus, when civil society is nurtured and encouraged to develop "tolerant, civil attitudes independent of the state and other societal institutions, [it] can and will hold the state accountable and contribute to healthy state-civil society relations" (Kuperus, 1999, p.165). The following will be an analysis of the attempts made by civil society organisations in South Africa to hold the state accountable for the injustices of the apartheid regime.

Civil society was a major factor in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Cochrane (2000, p.4) writes:

> *Amongst the social forces that made for peace, for creating the 'new' South Arica, were the innovative actions of an ever increasing network of progressive movements, institutions, non-governmental organisations and associations (which included churches, trade unions, civics and women's groups) engaged in a 'war of opposition' against apartheid rule. This network of anti-apartheid organisations created an alternative space*

outside distorted and limited binary racial thinking, seeking to undercut the apartheid state's reification of 'race' and 'ethnicity', and promote the idea of a common society.

This quotation demonstrates the very important and influential role that civil society played in the resistance movement. Most of these groups had similar goals in that they all organized around their opposition to apartheid and were intent on creating a positive peace culture within South Africa (ibid). The NGOs and other civil society groups were intent on focusing on a positive peace because their goal was not solely about ending the violence and returning to the previous order, instead the intention was to overthrow an illegitimate and anti-democratic form of government (ibid). There is considerable discussion as to whether these groups can truly be classified as civil society as they were part of the resistance movement, and thus the opposition for the National Party (Kotze & Du Toit, 1995, p.33). However, this thesis will look specifically at those organisations which were not political parties, even if they did have political affiliations and/or political goals.

Civil society groups had a significant impact on the peace process in South Africa leading up to and following the end of the apartheid era. It is important to recognize that *White* civil society groups were largely the ones establishing working relationships with the state, and the majority of *Black* civil society groups were adopting conflictual engagement relationships with the government (Habib, 2005, p.672). Thus, prior to the liberalization of apartheid beginning in the 1980s, state-sanctioned civil society was largely recognized as organisations and institutions that were either pro-apartheid or pro-business (Habib, 2005, p.673). However, if there was a period of civil society in South Africa, it was certainly the 1980s, this was the beginning of the emergence of vast numbers of organisations and groups and they were almost all united by one common thing: the ANC and resistance to apartheid (Fine, 1992, p.24). These organisations promoted the concept of a non-racial South Africa, a nation built on the notion of a shared national identity; helped to build relationships between *Black* and *White* communities; they had important material resources, intellectual skills and large international networks which the entire anti-apartheid movement was able to capitalize on; and these organisations were also able to produce effective research which demonstrated the human and material costs of the apartheid regime (Cochrane, 2000, p.16). There was a vast number of radical organisations which opposed apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s, and these groups are largely identified as civil society (except those which are classified as political movements such as the ANC or the Black Consciousness Movement); these groups consist of the trade union movements, civic associations, youth groups,

women's organisations and professional groups, as well as many others (Shubane, 1992, p.35).

Under apartheid, NGOs that opposed the government were referred to as antigovernment organisations, and were considered nonprofit organisations that provided research/policy, socio-economic developmental or welfare services with some indication of a social and political orientation that was not racist, or was even anti-racist, and usually tended to be on the side of the poor and/or oppressed portion of the population (Habib & Taylor, 1999, p.73). Prior to the 1980s, the legal system was only supportive of NGOs that were directed at serving the *White* community and followed the principles of the apartheid regime, which meant that these anti-apartheid NGOs were few and far between. Any NGOs that were critical or opposed to apartheid, were subjected to continuous harassment and banning orders (Habib & Taylor, 1999, p.74). Nearly all of the leaders of anti-apartheid NGOs were subjected to some sort of confrontation during the 1980s, ranging from arrests to assassination attempts (Taylor, 2002, p.78).

The liberalization of the apartheid system that began in the 1980s, was not entirely supportive of NGOs, however, it did allow for a number of them to, at the very least, exist. One positive aspect of the difficulties regarding the function of NGOs under the apartheid system, was that foreign funding was funneled directly to the organisations themselves, instead of being sent via the government. This ability for the NGO sector to grow meant that by the 1990s, there were around 5000 development NGOs in South Africa (ibid). Most of the NGOs that emerged during this period were aligned with the resistance movement. For example, there was the Urban Foundation, Black Sash, South African Institute of Race Relations and the Institute for Democratic Alternative for South Africa, which were generally liberal-orientated organisations that were not quite so extreme as Afrikaner or African nationalism (ibid). There was also the National Education Crisis Committee, the Legal Resource Centre, the Transvaal Rural Action Committee and the Trade Union Research Project, which all associated themselves quite closely with the ANC and worked towards the liberation movement (ibid). Anti-apartheid NGOs generally made their greatest impact through support for the trade union movement and aiding in the organisation of worker strikes. For example, the National Union of South African Students worked on a wages commission and offered advice offices for the workers; while the South African Council of Churches offered leadership training and promoted mediation for workers (Taylor, 2002, p.80). The figure below represents a list of the top anti-apartheid organisations in

South Africa:

TABLE 4.2. The Leading Anti-Apartheid Nongovernmental
Organizations in Apartheid South Africa

Organization	Acronym	Date formed
National Union of South African Students	Nusas	1924
SA Council on Higher Education	Sached	1959
South African Council of Churches	SACC	1968
Centre for Applied Legal Studies	CALS	1978
Lawyers for Human Rights	LHR	1979
Legal Resources Centre	LRC	1979
National Medical and Dental Association	Namda	1981
Organization for Alternative Social Services for SA	Oasssa	1981
Transvaal Rural Action Committee	TRAC	1983
Five Freedoms Forum	FFF	1986
National Education Crisis Committee	NECC	1986
Human Rights Commission	HRC	1988

(Taylor, 2002, p.78). Although these organisations were able to emerge, the administrative, legal, political and security environments were still very hostile towards NGOs operating outside of the apartheid-sanctioned realm. For example, tax law was very hostile to corporate sponsorship of these new types of NGOs, and so it was very difficult for them to accumulate enough funding and resources to operate (Habib & Taylor, 1999, p.75). Furthermore, these organisations were still subjected to banning orders, arrests, detention without trial, phone tapping, post interception, death threats and even assassination attempts, as well as having their meetings interrupted and their structures invaded (ibid).

Despite the harsh political and economic climate designed to limit NGOs opposed to the apartheid regime, there was some degree of NGO activism for peace, reconciliation and negotiation; many of these NGOs placed themselves somewhere between African and Afrikaner nationalism, in an attempt to bring people from different camps together (Taylor, 2002, p.71). Throughout the apartheid era, there were also peace and conflict resolution organisations (P/CROs), which aimed to bring about a peaceful resolution of the conflict:

TABLE 4.1. The Leading Peace and Conflict-Resolution Organizations in Apartheid South Africa

Organization	Acronym	Dates of existence
South African Institute of Race Relations	SAIRR	1929–
Black Sash		1955–
Justice and Peace Commission, SACBC	J&P	1967–
Centre for Intergroup Studies	CIS	1968–
End Conscription Campaign	ECC	1983–1994
Independent Mediation Service of South Africa	IMSSA	1984–2000
Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa	Idasa	1986–
Koinonia Southern Africa	KSA	1986–1992
Project for the Study of Violence	PSV	1988–
Quaker Peace Centre	QPC	1988–

(Taylor, 2002, p.72). These organisations tended to share a number of common socio-economic characteristics in that members were South African, *White*, men who had, for the most part, university educations, and along with this, many of them were Quakers (ibid). As with other NGOs, foreign funding was critical for the survival of these P/CROs, because of the administration's harsh policies and taxes directed at such organisations. Amongst these different organisations there were a number of different objectives. Some groups aimed not only to end violence, but also to establish a 'just peace' (e.g. the Black Sash, and the Justice and Peace Commission of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference); while others promoted conflict resolution and mediation; and some groups (the South Africa Institute of Race Relations and Centre for Intergroup Studies) which aimed to bring together the conflicting parties to create dialogues (Taylor, 2002, p.76). Both, P/CROs and NGOs played an instrumental role in making a nonracial democracy possible in South Africa, although it was by no means an easy journey.

In the 1980s there was radical growth in the number of township-based local associations, most of which were sympathetic to the ANC's cause (Glaser, 1997, p.7). In 1983, the large variety of organisations that aligned themselves with the ANC, came together under the banner of the United Democratic Front (UDF) which worked to coordinate the efforts of different groups to challenge government control measures, it brought together approximately 800 organisations and around 3 million people (ibid; Taylor, 2002, p.70). This included churches, student groups, trade unions, ethnic organisations, and even sports teams, all working together in

order to resist the apartheid regime (Dakers, 2014, p.84). The UDF played an important role in the township uprisings that took place from 1984 to 1987, especially when successive state of emergencies drove many of the organisations underground (ibid). Furthermore, on the 12th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, in 1988, the UDF coordinated massive rent strikes amongst its members (Sonnebron, 2010, p.82). As such, the UDF was able to put significant pressure on the regime because it was able to orchestrate such extensive actions that included an enormous number and variety of people.

Student groups were also very important to the anti-apartheid movement. The Congress of South African Students, which later became the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) emerged in 1979, following the Soweto uprising. This group played an instrumental role in the Free Mandela Campaign that took place in the 1980s. SAYCO was also often responsible for introducing songs, banners and iconography of the underground parties, the ANC, uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK, the armed wing of the ANC), and the Communist Party (Dubow, 2014, p.232). These student organisations also had an important role in collaborating with the different trade union movements. It is also important to note that the student groups involved in the anti-apartheid movement were not only South African, there were also several international student groups involved in the resistance, as will be discussed in greater detail below.

Women's groups were also instrumental in the resistance campaign from the very beginning. In 1952, there were several sustained campaigns carried out by women in protest of the pass laws. The Federation of South African Women was founded in 1954, and was linked to the politics of the ANC; however, it drew on other liberal supporters and was focused on the coordination of non-registration campaigns, pass burning and petitioning. Perhaps the biggest moment for the foundation was the mass demonstration of 1956, where 26 000 women from all over South Africa marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in protest. Unfortunately, the anti-pass campaign was quelled by 1959, however, women's protests largely turned their attention to focus on police raids in townships (Worden, 2012, p.110). Additionally, women were involved in various different civil society movements, not solely the women's groups.

Perhaps the most significant civil society organisations during the 1980s were the organised labour groups. In 1985, the Congress of South African Trade Unions was formed, and it gave much greater power to industrial labour groups, both in terms of political power and workplace strength (Dubow, 2014, p.226). The formation of the Congress of South African

Trade Unions (COSATU) was important to the resistance movement because it coordinated the actions of several independent groups, and brought with it significant political and organisational strength (Dubow, 2014, p.229; Taylor, 2002, p.70). For example, on the 12th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, COSATU initiated the largest strike in South African history (Sonnebron, 2010, p.82). Worker strikes were also very important in bringing about new and more successful organizing methods of native South Africans, who at the time had no right to representation and were under significant police surveillance (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.77). However, even without the authorization of trade unions, workers were organizing strikes to fight the regime. In 1973, the Wildcat strikes took place, where bricklayers in Durban walked off their jobs, after hearing about the strikes many other labourers walked off their jobs as well. Within three months there were 160 different strike actions across South Africa, involving 60 000 workers (Sonnebron, 2010, p.63). This demonstrates that in conjunction with the strategies and tactics of organisations and institutions, the efforts of everyday workers were also instrumental in the resistance movement, and contributed in a meaningful way to civil society's anti-apartheid movement.

There were other civil society organisations acting against the apartheid regime in both the business and religious sectors. The creation and maintenance of anti-apartheid newspapers was also very important to the resistance movement. The *Sowetan* was created as a daily newspaper and managed to maintain fairly significant editorial independence, despite heavy state surveillance. The *New Nation* was formed in 1986, however, its editor and the paper itself were subjected to severe state repression under the state of emergency. In 1988, the *Vrye Weekblad* was also launched, this particular paper was developed by Afrikaner journalists who were sympathetic to the anti-apartheid movement. There were also a number of student-run newspapers that emerged all over the country in an effort to put an end to the apartheid system (Dubow, 2014, p.250). Religious organisations also had an important role to play in the anti-apartheid movement. For example, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was absolutely crucial to the resistance, and in 1984 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts (Lubbe, 2015, p.217).

One specific trend in civil society resistance discussed in the literature is the role of music and particularly the role of pop music. Many South African pop musicians were banned or exiled during the apartheid era; they largely used this opportunity to bring South African music to the world's attention and they specifically focused on the injustices and atrocities of the

Apartheid system (Shoup, 1997, p.73). The use of language was an important part of this particular form of resistance. This was because there were (and still are) a vast number of languages throughout South Africa, and after the elections in 1948 when the National Party came to power, choosing a language to sing in became a highly-politicized choice (Shoup, 1997, p.74). This is due to the National Party require the teaching and use of Afrikaans so that it generally became seen by *Black* South Africans as a form of repression and thus something to be fought against. Furthermore, English was largely seen to be the language of the resistance and in order to distribute their message to the rest of the world, artists would need to release music that was written and sung in English. However, the artists were often able to combine the English with their own local languages (Shoup, 1997, p.75). There were several musicians and artists who were party to the resistance movement and used their art to gain support for the resistance movement. For example, John Clegg was acclaimed as South Africa's leading anti-apartheid pop musician when he and his band released a track titled "We have risen" in 1986. Later on, the band released another song titled "One man, one vote," which had a very direct political meaning (Shoup, 1997, p.83). These South African musicians were especially important in promoting and gaining support for the resistance movement on an international scale, and demonstrate another way in which civil society was able to fight against the system in a creative and constructive manner.

Another interesting group that launched a resistance against the apartheid government, was the ex-servicemen who had recently returned to South Africa following the war. While fighting, many of the servicemen had experienced increased hope that in the post-war world, there would be a reconstruction of South African society, along more egalitarian and democratic lines. This group experienced a great deal of shock when they returned home from fighting against Fascists in North Africa and Europe, and found that once again they would be fighting against Fascists, except this time it would be on their own land (Dubow, 2014, p.45). As such, in 1951, the War Veterans' Torch Commando was established and sought to oppose the oppression of *Coloured* voters and the further constitutional changes that might occur. This group had 250 000 members at its peak and was able to mobilize tens of thousands of people in nighttime rallies. Its one downfall was that the organisation was heavily rooted in the idea of war-time nostalgia and the War Veterans' Torch Commando was unable to develop a legitimate plan for the future of South Africa and so it was dissolved by 1953 (Dubow, 2014, p.46).

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5.3 Civil Society Resistance to Apartheid outside South Africa

There were various forms of international resistance to the apartheid regime, which took place in conjunction with national acts of resistance. The transnational resistance movement began in 1958 at the All Africa People's Conference in Accra, when the South African Congress Alliance called for an international boycott of South African goods. The International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICTU) and the anti-colonial Committee of African Organisations in London both responded to this call, and the international resistance campaign grew from there (Thorn, 2006b, p.250). In 1961, the United Nations passed a resolution that declared South Africa's racial policies to be unacceptable and in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Thorn, 2006a, p.7). However, it was following the extreme violence of the Soweto Uprising, and throughout the 1980s, that the anti-apartheid movement began to gain significant international attention and include international civil society organisations as well as political bodies (Sonnebron, 2010, p.80). Furthermore, the end of the Cold War, meant that the Communist threat was less significant on the global scale, and could no longer be used by the international community to justify the oppression of apartheid (Thorn, 2006a, p.2; Guelke, 2005, p.189). There were of course political moves, where many national governments applied pressure to the South African government by placing sanctions on the country (Sonnebron, 2010, p.82). This included economic, cultural and sports boycotts and sanctions, as well as disinvestment and divestment tactics (Thorn, 2006a, p.60). It is also interesting to note that, US-AID, the American government's development agency, was one of the main sources of funding for P/CROs based in South Africa during apartheid, and any available funding to these organisations was an important factor in helping the resistance (Taylor, 2002, p.73).

In addition to these governmental acts, there were also several initiatives taken by civil society around the world. In the United States citizens were extremely against the apartheid regime and pushed for American companies to remove, or divest all of their funds in South Africa as a way to put pressure on the apartheid government (Sonnebron, 2010, p.80). In 1965, Students for a Democratic Society began a protest against Chase Manhattan Bank's loans to South Africa, and this was followed by several additional protests by different universities demanding that their shares in companies with subsidiaries in South Africa be sold (Thorn, 2006a, p.61). British students launched a similar campaign against Barkley Bank, demanding

that ties to South Africa be severed (Thorn, 2006a, p.62). The globalization of the anti-apartheid movement was largely dependent on the actions of South African organisations, and it became more of a movement of international solidarity (Thorn, 2006a, p.50).

Sporting events were also an important component of the international resistance movement. Sports had enormous followings, especially with *White* South Africans, and so demonstrations and campaigns at or focussed on sporting events, were able to reach a large audience (Guelke, 2005, p.193). For example, in 1962, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee was formed, it was exiled by the apartheid government quite quickly, however, the committee did manage to get South African banned from participating in the 1964 Olympic games. There were also a number of campaigns against South African rugby and cricket teams during the 1960s and 1970s, which basically put an end to South Africa's international sporting presence (Thorn, 2006a, p.62).

In addition to the above acts of international solidarity, Britain initiated a cultural boycott in 1961, when the Musician's Union forbade its members to perform in South Africa (Thorn, 2006a, p.63). This was followed by the formation of Artists Against Apartheid in Britain in 1986. This organisation was very important for promoting and maintaining the cultural boycott, and was also instrumental in the organisation of the Free Mandela concerts played at Wembley Stadium in 1988 and 1990 (ibid). The Free Mandela concert that took place in 1988, was a twelve-hour event on Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday to draw attention to the resistance movement and the efforts to release Mandela from jail. There were various singers, bands, actors and comedians who entertained over 75 000 people in the stadium, while another 600 million people watched the show on TV in sixty-seven countries around the world (Dakers, 2014, p.87). This was a huge movement of international solidarity, to try and aid the resistance movement in their battle. The actions of these international groups were largely inspired by the actions of South African organisations; however, it goes to show the extent to which civil society was involved in the resistance movement.

5.4 The Transition

The end of apartheid came about for a number of different reasons. The regime had been slowly weakening for several years and the pressure from the international community was mounting significantly. From the 1980s onwards there was a weakening and liberalization of the

apartheid regime, as well as increased access to funding made available by international/foreign organisations, which meant an enormous expansion in the NGO sector in South Africa (Habib & Taylor, 1999, p.73). President Botha had contemplated negotiations to put an end to the civil war-like atmosphere that was South Africa, however, he only wished to engage in negotiations that would allow him to win (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.110). From May 1988 and forward, a series of meetings took place between the government committee and Nelson Mandela in order to come to a mutually acceptable, and maybe even beneficial agreement. In august 1989, President Both resigned and was replaced by President de Klerk. At the opening session of parliament in February 1990, de Klerk rescinded the banning orders on the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Pan-African Congress and 31 other organisations (Clark & Worger, 2013, p.111). Evidently, de Klerk's policies were going to be a massive shift from the policies of the past, with this initial act, de Klerk was demonstrating that South African politics were about to undergo immense changes (Sonnebron, 2010, p.85). This time marks the beginning of the transition to democracy. As such, South Africa's relatively 'peaceful' transition to a rights-based constitutional democracy has been highly praised on the global stage, despite years of violence to arrive at this point (Robins, 2008, p.2).

In May 1990, both Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk signed the Groote Schuur Minute. This was a pledge that both the ANC and the South African government would end the violence and begin to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the conflict (Sonnebron, 2010, p.85). On April 27th, 1994, South Africa held its first truly democratic election, there were a few violent incidents, however, for the most part it was a fairly peaceful event at which 90% of all registered voters, over 19 million people, turned out to vote (Sonnebron, 2010, p.90). From this election, the ANC gained 63% of the popular vote, however, this was 3% short of two thirds of the vote, and so the constitution stated that the ANC would have to work with other political parties to draft the new constitution (Sonnebron, 2010, p.91). The following year, in 1995, parliament passed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, which was intended to help South Africans heal from the injustices of apartheid, as well as to investigate the human rights violations that occurred between 1960 and 1994 (Sonnebron, 2010, p.95). The passing of this act was the beginning of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the beginning of a chance for an attempt at some degree of healing.

5.5 Truth and Reconciliation

Parver and Wolf (2008, p.62) write that "restorative justice through truth commissions can serve as a beneficial alternative to traditional justice systems while providing an opportunity for both state and civil society activism." From this it can be sustained that truth commissions can be an important factor in rebuilding a peaceful society and that civil society is an important part of this process. Truth commissions are also a good place to start the process for lasting reconciliation, as it promotes public discourse about the previous injustices (ibid). South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation is one of the most celebrated instances of transitional justice to date; Santa-Barbara (2007, p.182) writes that the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission was a "remarkable moral invention in which amnesty from state punishment was granted for full disclosure of truth about wrongs committed… genuine remorse at times elected forgiveness" (Wallensteen, 2002, p.153). Additionally, Rothstein (2004, p.112) argues that "the balance between pragmatism and idealism shaped the TRC into an extraordinary example of restorative justice." The validity of these acclamations of success and celebration are a matter of significant discussion and debate, as it is argued that the TRC failed to provide full forgiveness or truth to many of the victims, and as such many wounds remained unhealed (Rothstein, 2004, p.112). However, this is a topic that lies beyond the scope of this thesis. As such, the following discussion will examine the particularities of this commission, in order to better understand the role that civil society played in this process.

To begin with, to reconcile means to come back together, or to once again work in harmony together. More specifically, Joanna Santa-Barbara defines reconciliation as: "the restoration of a state of peace to the relationship, where the entities are at least not harming each other, and can begin to be trusted not to do so in future, which means that revenge is foregone as an option" (Santa-Barbara, 2007, p.174). As such, the process of reconciliation consists of the transformation of a relationship, with anger and resentment being

foregone for forgiveness. The intention of (South African History Archive, 2017).

reconciliation is to heal those things that have been harmed by the conflict, such as the harm suffered by victims, the offender's propensity to hurt others, the relationships between different parties, as well as the relationship between the offender and the greater society (Santa-Barbara, 2007, p.176). The process of reconciliation itself consists of uncovering the truth of what happened, acknowledgement by the offenders of the harm done, an apology to the victim, forgiveness, some form of justice, the development of a plan to prevent recurrence, the resumption of constructive aspects of the relationship and an effort to rebuild trust for the long-term (ibid).

In the case of South Africa, the Interim Constitution of 1993 addressed reconciliation in the following way: "The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society. The adoption of this Constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgressions of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge. These can now be addressed on the basis that there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for *ubuntu* but not for

(South African History Archive, 2017).

victimization" (Wilson, 2001, p.99). According to this constitution, the main function of the TRC was to grant amnesty in a spirit of understanding, for politically-motivated acts during the apartheid time.
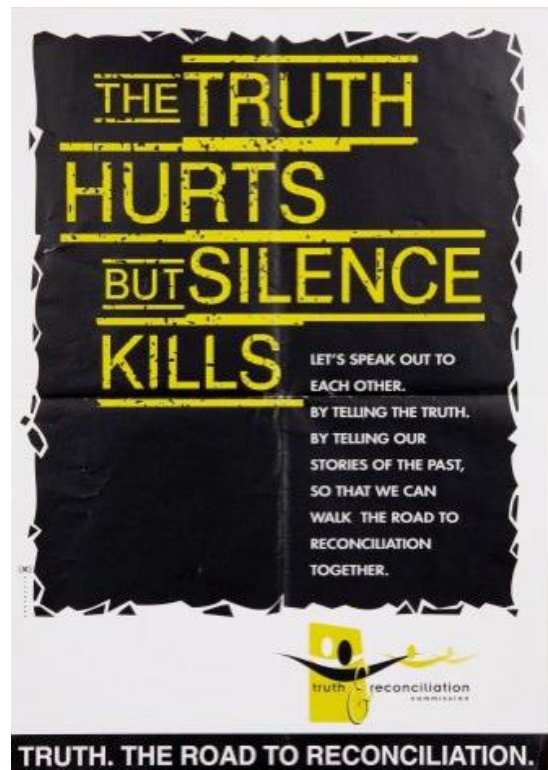
5.6 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa

There were a number of reasons for the implementation of a truth commission in South Africa, rather than a traditional trial system. However, the primary reason for this decision was

due to a lack of resources. Establishing trials for all those who committed crimes during apartheid would have been an extremely timely and expensive process (ibid). Furthermore, the end of apartheid meant that there were power changes in all central institutions and so considerable social change occurred. Another factor in deciding to pursue the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was the critical pressures from both NGOs and the international community (Rothstein, 2004, p.114). However, there was also the question of accountability for repression and war crimes throughout the apartheid era and these issues are what brought about the need for innovative justice institutions, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Wallensteen, 2002, p.144). It would have been nearly impossible to establish criminal cases for all those who committed human rights violations during apartheid, largely because of certain failures in the justice system (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.64). Reconciliation is also deemed to be an important factor in democratization, thus the implementation of a truth and reconciliation in South Africa was thought to aid in the likelihood that South Africa would achieve democratic consolidation and a new political culture (Gibson, 2004, p.6). However, there are also criticisms of truth and reconciliation commissions and especially criticisms of granting amnesty as it removes the punishment for engaging in human rights violations, which is the main deterrent of participating in such activities, this was the most controversial element of the TRC. Also, the

lack and mistreatment of women's testimony, particularly those testimonies referring to gender crimes, is another contentious aspect of the TRC (Rothstein, 2004, p.113). In post-apartheid society in South Africa, forgiveness, repentance, and reconciliation were arguably the basis of the religious-based Truth and Reconciliation Commission led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.54). There was also the integration of the justice system along with the standard disclosure system typical to TRCs, the system of impunity was largely created out of a certain necessity for it (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.63).

The decision to implement the TRC was taken democratically, by a parliamentary decision rather than a presidential decree. On May 19th, 1995, then

(South African History Archive, 2017)

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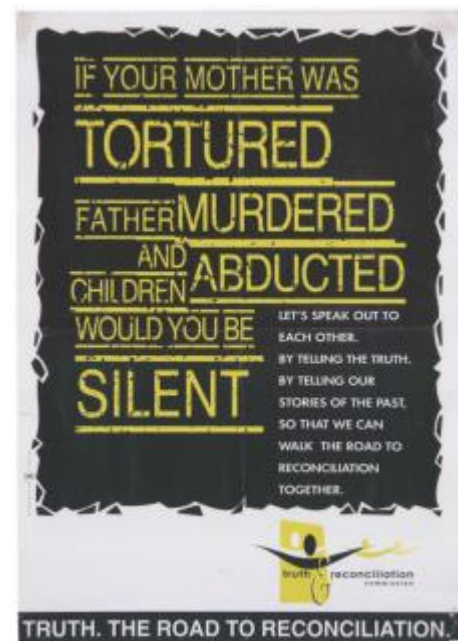
President Nelson Mandela signed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Bill, which was passed through parliament in July that same year, and became the legislation that enabled the existence and implementation of the TRC (De la Rey & Owens, 1998, p.258). Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who quickly became symbols of hope for peaceful democratic transitions, were very important in shaping the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and were significant advocates for taking the path of restorative justice, as opposed to punitive justice (Rothstein, 2004, p.112; Robins, 2008, p.2). Nelson Mandela selected seventeen representatives to serve on the TRC and the commission was led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Sonnebron, 2010, p.96). The commissioners were made sure to be a diverse mixture, including people from different ethnicities and professions, as well as a number of NGOs (ibid). The TRC was the key mechanism to promote the establishment of a new political culture and to aid in the healing of South African society. It began in December of 1995 and was divided into three different committees: The Human Rights Violations Committee, the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee and the Amnesty Committee. The Human Rights Violations Committee held fifty hearings in town halls, hospitals and churches across South Arica. The committee took over 21 000 statements and published a report in 1998 that produced findings on the majority of the 21 298 cases brought before it, and even went so far as to name perpetrators in a number of the cases (Wilson, 2001, p.21). Unfortunately, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was the weakest of the three committees as the TRC did not actually have its own fund to distribute money, symbolic memorials and even covering medical costs for victims and survivors. The committee was forced to rely on the President's Fund for any reparations, however, this meant making unbinding recommendations to the fund, and hoping they would be met (Wilson, 2001, p.22).

The core objectives of the TRC were:

(1) establishing as complete a picture as possible of the gross violations of human rights in the past through investigations and hearings; (2) facilitating the granting of amnesty to those who met the relevant legal requirements; (3) establishing the fate or whereabouts of victims, restoring dignity by giving victims the opportunity to relate their own accounts and recommending reparations; (4) compiling a comprehensive report with findings and recommendations (Gready, 2011, p.4).

A significant element of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was that it reaffirmed "that South Africa adopted the widely-accepted view that, under international law, apartheid [was] a crime against humanity" (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.64). Furthermore, the reports originating from

the TRC said that "for at least 3.5 million *Black* South Africans it [apartheid] meant collective expulsions, forced migration, bulldozing, gutting or seizure of homes, the mandatory carrying of passes, forced removals into rural ghettos and increased poverty and desperation" (Taylor, 2002, p.69). Reparations were important for the reintegration of victims and it reduced the likelihood of renewed physical conflicts by officially recognizing the harm suffered by the victims (ibid). The commission was also an important forum for healing South African society, however, it is arguable how successful this was as a healing and recovery process. The TRC was able to produce a relatively detailed history of the injustices of the apartheid era, and revealed the implication of over four-hundred individuals in human rights violations. The TRC also considered over 7000 requests for amnesty, which were submitted by police officers, soldiers and other citizens who had committed violent acts in the name of the apartheid regime. The commission was guided by the principle that amnesty could be granted if the offences were motivated by political gain, and not by personal gain (Sonnebron, 2010, p.96).

There were of course challenges with the TRC, and it did have some shortfalls. It is generally considered that the TRC did help to heal some wounds of the apartheid era, however, it did not achieve complete reconciliation and this can be seen in the current state of relationships in South African society, specifically between the different races (Sonnebron, 2010, p.98; Gibson, 2004, p.1). It also varies considerably amongst different South Africans, the degree to which they feel reconciliation was achieved (Gibson, 2004, p.17). However, the TRC is generally heralded to be a great success. The argument being that the TRC helped to create a more shared collective memory of apartheid and made it clear that there were crimes committed by both sides, however, the clearest conclusion of the TRC being that apartheid was a crime against humanity (Gready, 2011, p.73). This creation of a new collective memory of the apartheid era, is an important element in the nation's ability to heal and move forward from this time of terrible injustices.

5.7 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Civil Society

It was important to also have civil society involved in the Truth and Reconciliation because it would provide the cultural context and understanding of different community attributes (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.54). It is also important that civil society work with state functions, and not instead of them, in order to contribute more fully to a sustainable peace and

functioning democratic society in the future (ibid). Furthermore, NGOs are often able to fill the gaps in some decision-making processes and can serve as a liaison between international voices and local communities (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.70). Civil society is also important in building a peace culture because it is often the case that civil society is more connected to women, children and oppressed minorities (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.72). Therefore, civil society is important in being able to ensure that all voices, especially minority ones are heard throughout the peacebuilding process.

In the case of the TRC in South Africa, civil society had a relatively high level of involvement in the implementation of this process; NGOs and other civil society members played an important role in drafting the idea of the TRC, as well as in creating the founding legislation for the TRC (The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act) (Parver & Wolf, 2008, p.63; Gready, 2011, p.64). The NGO called Justice in Transition, served to facilitate early debates between civil society and the government in the development of this piece of legislation (ibid). As well as giving input in the legislative process, a wide range of NGOs were consulted in the selection process for the commissioners, in order to prevent too narrow a selection. This was done in the format of a committee appointed by then President Mandela, which included members of NGOs and political parties to make the nominations for different commissioners (Gready, 2011, p.65). The TRC was unusually public and very focused on participation from all actors, and especially focused on the inclusion of civil society (Gready, 2011, p.64). In particular, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was especially dependent on civil society, as it looked to these organisations for help with policy development, and the monitoring of said policies as well as their implementation. Additionally, many of the hearings that took place during the TRC specifically sought out input from NGOs or other civil society groups, in order to gain a better understanding of the events that had occurred and a wider perspective in general (Gready, 2011, p.66).

In conjunction with this cooperation, there were also some challenges between the TRC and civil society. There tended to be a fairly uneven relationship between the different parties, and there was also a lack of coordination between civil society groups themselves. Furthermore, NGOs were still dealing with a lack of funding, and were even losing staff members to the TRC, so they were operating with relatively reduced functions. There was also a complex management structure to the TRC, which made communication and participation somewhat challenging.

Furthermore, both the TRC and civil society organisations wanted to maintain their independence and there were certain conflicts based on accusations of biases (Gready, 2011, p.66). Despite these challenges, civil society organisations had a very important role in the creation and in the process of the TRC. Furthermore, since the end of the TRC, some civil society groups have embraced this notion of storytelling as a method for healing, and have continued to focus on truth-telling as an important aspect of their work. For example, in Cape Town there is the Institute for Healing of memories and on a national, provincial and local level there is also the Khulumani Support Group (Gready, 2011, p.170).

5.8 Post-Apartheid Civil Society

The conditions created by a peace agreement are very important for the future development of a post-conflict society. Internal conflicts necessitate the complete reconstruction of societies, but this reconstruction must be based on principles that are inclusive, provide broader participation in state affairs and offer a sense of security to both leaders and citizens (Wallensteen, 2002, p.169). Additionally, an active civil society, the existence of numerous independent civilian-based organisations that are actively pursuing civilian values and are holding the new government accountable, is important for the maintenance and growth of a peaceful society, especially within the realm of a democratic system. Additionally, a strong civil society can be an important barrier for military control in a vulnerable, post-conflict society (Wallensteen, 2002, p.160). In the case of South Africa, a robust civil society was seen as a way to ensure an accountable and responsive democratic system in the post-apartheid era (Shubane, 1992, p.33). Shubane (1992, p.38) also argues that it is of crucial importance that post-apartheid South Africa build and foster a strong and vibrant civil society, for the best chance at a sustainable peace and democratic system.

In the early 1990s, as democratic transition was taking place in South Africa, intellectuals, activists and generally those opponents of the old apartheid system, became interested in the notion of civil society as an important element in the investment for a democratic future (Glaser, 1997, p.5). In March 1992, hundreds of civil society groups (who were sympathetic to the ANC) joined the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) (Glaser, 1997, p.7). The purpose of SANCO was to give national presence to civil society, especially in terms of constitutional negotiations, as well as to redistribute funds amongst the

groups (ibid). In 1993, SANCO formed an electoral agreement with the ANC, which lasted for the national elections in 1994 and the local ones in 1995, which aligned the organisations within their membership with the ANC (ibid).

When the National Party lost power in 1994, the environment for NGOs changed rapidly. Many NGOs integrated with state institutions or took up positions as watchdogs for the new state (Habib & Taylor, 1999, p.76). In 1995, the ANC introduced an entirely new legal environment for NGOs, making their existence and operations much easier than it had been under the apartheid regime. In 1996, Nelson Mandela wrote that "Non-governmental organisations played an outstanding role during the dark days of apartheid. Today, many people who received their training within the NGO sector play important roles in government" (ibid). This demonstrates the sentiment that NGOs did have an important role during apartheid, during the resistance to apartheid and that they would continue to have an important role in the democratic future of South Africa. However, there has been some issues with relationships between NGOs and the state, this is largely due to a lack of clear and consistent policy. Furthermore, some NGOs felt that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission failed to really build a strong working relationship between the state and civil society (Habib & Taylor, 1999, p.78). Furthermore, following the democratic transition, NGOs transformed into three different types: formal NGOs, informal survivalist agencies and social movements (largely responsible for responding to the effects of neoliberalism) (Habib, 2005, p.678).

In 1994, the newly elected ANC government put forth the Reconstruction and Development Programme, which called on civil society to be a part of the new nation building process.

> *The democratic order we envisage must foster a wide range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society on the basis of informed and empowered citizens.... Many of these NGOs play an important capacity building role in regard to CBOs and the development process. NGOs are also engaged in service delivery, mobilization, advocacy, planning, lobbying and financing. Thus, NGOs have an important future role in the democratization of our society* (Republic of South Africa, 1994, p. 120–121, (cited in Warshawsky, 2013, p.4)).

Additionally, with the ANC's rise to power, the government decentralized many aspects of poverty alleviation and economic growth to smaller, local institutions and non-governmental actors. This was done through Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996, White Paper on Local Government in 1998 and the 2000 Municipal Systems Act (Warshawsky, 2013, p.1). Furthermore, the government made civil society organisations (CSOs) legally viable

through the 1997 Nonprofit Organisations Act, the 1997 Lotteries Act and the 1998 National Development Agency Act (Warshawsky, 2013, p.2).

Following the end of the apartheid era in South Africa, there was also a rise in civil society theory, which constitutes "the conviction that there is no longer any purchase in the idea of one-party government, the conflation of state and civil society, and the denial of civil or political rights in the name of economic development" (Fine, 1992, p.19). In the case of South Africa, this theory assumed that civil society and the political leadership of the ANC would be able to work together to ensure the transformation of society for the better (ibid). However, there have been some tensions between civil society organisations and the state since the end of apartheid, despite many of the instances of political mobilization coming from partnerships between NGOs and social movements (Robins, 2008, p.21). There is some frustration on behalf of CSOs, that the government has lower capacity than expected to create long-term social change (Warshawsky, 2013, p.2). There are additional tensions stemming from the state's enforcement of its power over the local state and non-governmental actors, meaning that true democratic participation is being limited (Warshawsky, 2013, p.11). Furthermore, the nation faces a new set of challenges as there has recently been a rise in a new type of non-governmental organisation. The emergence of street gangs and the use of 'popular justice' through vigilantism is increasingly a concern for South African authorities (Petrus, 2015, p.30). Despite the end of the oppressive and harsh apartheid regime, South Africa continues to face various social, political and economic challenges.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Segregationist and racist practices and policies existed in the region of South Africa from the first arrival of European settlers in 1652. However, it was in 1948, that one of the most oppressive and racist political regimes to ever exist was elected into power in South Africa, and institutionalized these racist policies and created a system based on white supremacy and the oppression of *Coloured*, *Indian* and *Black* people. The detailed description of the apartheid regime in Chapter 4, demonstrates and explains the extent to which the system impacted society, and the racist structures that were created during the apartheid era that continue to affect race dynamics and the societal structure today. These apartheid policies created a nation state that automatically gave the upper hand to *White* South Africans, while ensuring very low economic, political and social standards for the other race groups. The creation and execution of such a system continues to affect South Africans on a daily basis.

The above discussion in Chapter 5, gives a detailed description of the different ways in which civil society was involved in the fight against the apartheid regime and in the construction of a constitutional democracy. The political opposition to apartheid was an important component of the resistance movement, however, with banning orders on many political leaders and organisations, it became an increasingly challenging path of resistance. The less-talked about actions of civil society organisations also played a crucially important role in this fight for justice. From the beginning of the resistance, township groups and labour strikes were important symbols of resistance against the regime. However, following the Soweto Uprising in 1976, there was a rise in national and international organisations and groups devoted to the fall of apartheid. These groups included NGOs, peace and conflict resolution organisations, township-based organisations, student groups, women's organisations, the trade union movement, newspapers, religious organisations, artists, and ex-servicemen. Each of these groups had a specific role in pressuring the apartheid government and creating a society that could no longer be governed by said system.

These different organisations, and especially those under the umbrella organisation of the UDF, coordinated their actions in order to implement the greatest amount of pressure on the government. This was largely done through demonstrations, protests and worker strikes. On the international level consumer, cultural and sporting boycotts also put pressure on the regime and drew significant attention from Afrikaners because these actions were directly linked to

Afrikaner areas of interest. Civil society organisations were able to bring together people from all race groups in South Africa and to create mass movements that made it difficult for the government to maintain its racist policies, or threatened the financial security of the regime. The pressure created by these civil society organisations and their acts against the regime, were very important in the eventual reforms and downfall of the apartheid regime.

Furthermore, NGOs played an instrumental role in the development of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. These organisations put significant pressure on the government to pursue this channel of justice, instead of a more traditional punitive system. Civil society organisations also had a role in the legislation that called for and outlined the TRC. Civil society was also involved in the appointment of the commissioners for the TRC, despite there not being any legal obligation to include them in this process. Additionally, TRC committees looked to NGOs, especially, for help with policy development and the monitoring of these policies. From time to time, civil society organisations were also involved in the hearings of the TRC, in order to provide alternative, more holistic perspectives regarding certain events.

From the discussion in Chapter 5 it is clear that civil society was extremely important for the anti-apartheid movement. These organisations provided alternative routes, and brought together people from all sects of life in South Africa, in order to fight against and pressure the government to make changes. Despite extremely harsh administrative, political, economic and legal conditions, civil society organisations persevered and continued to find alternative routes to resist the National Party government and the apartheid policies. In a challenging political environment, where political and civil society organisations were banned and restricted in their movements and actions, many organisations continued to find ways to join and maintain the anti-apartheid movement. These organisations were instrumental in the fight against apartheid, and staged many critical actions in the quest to quell the regime.

The research presented in this thesis demonstrates the extreme importance of civil society organisations in the conflict resolution process, both in terms of bringing a conflict to a point of mediation or negotiation, as well as in the process of rebuilding, following the end of a conflict. Although South Africa and the case of apartheid is a unique and specific scenario, this research offers some additional insight into the impact that civil society might have in other conflict situations, and the positive effects these organisations can have on attempts at peaceful conflict resolution. These organisations and groups offer a different forum from which to participate in

resistance movements, and offer additional perspectives and opinions on how to manage a conflict situation. Civil society is a way for people from all different opinions, races, and classes to come together and unite in a common movement. As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, civil society groups are built on heterogeneity, and are often united by a common cause. Such as in the case of South Africa, there was an enormously diverse civil society involved in the resistance movement, but it was their belief that apartheid must end, that brought them together. Furthermore, in post-conflict societies, civil society is an important forum to ensure transparency and accountability from the new government. Despite some challenges between the state and civil society in today's South Africa, this does not take away from the incredibly important role that these groups played in the fall of apartheid. Civil society organisations marked the coming together of 'ordinary,' 'everyday' people to fight the injustices of apartheid. Civil society groups continued to fight despite banning orders, despite threats against their leaders, and despite near impossible conditions to survive in, and yet civil society organisations maintained and fed the resistance. These groups put crucial pressure on the apartheid government and were part of the movement that brought the eventual downfall of the regime.

From this case study, it is possible to argue that civil society organisations played a central role in the resistance movement, the eventual fall of apartheid, and in the peacebuilding process that followed the end of this conflict. Although the specifics of this case make it challenging to generalize, this information indicates that civil society could play an equally important role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes in other contexts and regions of the world. For example, civil society organisations, and especially women's groups were highly involved in the end of the Liberian civil war, also the case of the Arab Spring demonstrates the role that civil society can play in conflict situations. This is an area which of course requires additional research and monitoring, and it would be very interesting to make a comparison amongst different contexts to understand the role of civil society depending on the various conflict situations. However, in the case of South Africa, civil society organisations were definitively instrumental components of the anti-apartheid movement and were key actors in the establishment and execution of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and it is possible that this could be applied to other conflict cases as well.

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