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From Freedom Fighters to Governors
Involvement of youth in South African liberation movements in the 20th century.

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Abbreviations

AAC	All African Convention
AAPSO	Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation
AME	African Methodist Episcopal Church
ANC	African National Congress
ANC YL	African National Congress Youth League
APDUSA	African People's Democratic Union of South Africa
APLA	Azanian's Peoples Liberation Army
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BCP	Black Consciousness Programmes
BPC	Black People's Convention
CODESA	Convention for Democratic South Africa
COP	Congress of People
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
DHAC	Durban Housing Action Committee
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions
FRAC	Franchise Action Council
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Union
IWA	Industrial Workers Union
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NRC	Natives Representative Council
NUSAS	National Union of South Africa Students
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan African Congress
PEBCO	Port Elisabeth Black Civic Organisation
SACOD	South African Congress of Democrats
SACPO	South African Coloured Peoples Organisation
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SANAC	South African Native Congress
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SASM	South African Student's Movement
SASO	South African Student's Organisation
SAUF	South Africa United Front
SDU	Self Defence Unit
SOSCO	Soweto Student's Congress
SRC	Student's Representative Council
SSRC	Soweto Student's Representative Council
SAYCO	South African Youth Congress
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNO	United Nations Organisation
WCC	World Council of Churches
ZAPU	Zimbabwe's African People's Union

Abstract

Master thesis is investigating changes in socialisation of black South African youth during anti-apartheid struggle. By using the socialisation theory and its tools such as analysis of set and setting allows to investigate factors which were influencing youth in the second half of the twentieth century. Paper distinguishes three generations of freedom fighters and describes changes in socialisation for each of them. Differences in socialisation process occurred within family, school or peers and influenced black youth. Interpretation of what caused the differences for each generation is made by analysis of historical events to which youth was exposed in particular time. Emphasis on the most important movements and leaders, facilitate following historical description and the way how youth was organising itself. Thesis shows the gradual shift from elite- based organisations to large scale grassroots movements and links in that way three generations of freedom fighters, their differences and similarities in the anti-apartheid struggle.

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Die vorliegende Masterarbeit untersucht Veränderungen in der Sozialisation der südafrikanischen schwarzen Jugend während des Konfliktes um die Apartheid. Unter der Verwendung der Sozialisationstheorie und deren Forschungsstrategien, wie die Analyse von „set" und „setting" der Sozialisation, ist es möglich die Faktoren zu lokalisieren und zu erforschen, welche die Jugend in der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts beeinflussten. Die Forschungsarbeit unterscheidet in drei Generationen von Freiheitskämpfern und untersucht diese, deskriptiv, in Veränderungen der Sozialisation. Unterschiede im Sozialisationsprozess lassen sich beleuchten in den Familien, der Schule und in den Peergruppen. Interpretationen über diese Unterschiede werden aus den historischen Gegebenheiten der jeweiligen Generation gezogen. Bei der Untersuchung dieser Gegebenheiten und den Auswirkungen auf die Sozialisation der Jugend, werden die wichtigsten sozialen Bewegungen und führende Köpfe näher betrachtet sowie dazugehörige Eckdaten der Geschichte eingebunden. Ein spezieller Fokus liegt stets auf der Jugend, deren Einfluss, Rahmenbedingungen und Organisationsmöglichkeiten. Die Masterarbeit zeigt den Weg von elitebasierten Organisationen zu sozialen Bewegungen von unten und verbindet diesen Weg mit den drei Generationen von Freiheitskämpfern, deren Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten im Kampf gegen die Apartheid.

Introduction

Great historical changes are results of people who triggered them. Whether it is a political leader who makes a decision alone or the participants of a mass protest, by such activities, people express their point of view. What makes us to think and perceive the world in certain ways is- according to constructivist approach- socialisation. As individuals during our lifespan we are often given particular social heritage and as we confront if with other ones, it is likely that it is going to be influenced and even changed. Experiences created by interactions within groups such as family, peers or co-workers contribute to constant shaping of people's social heritage which is increasing up to its peak during period of youth. It is the time when an individual's challenging of well-known before points of view represented by the usually elders, is the highest. This fascinating period of life on the one hand is the most promising one- assuming that it carries less responsibilities than adulthood, on the other hand it seems to be full of confusions, because youth's role within society is perceived as a group which is neither children any more, nor adults yet. Arbitrary age measures distinguishing youth from the other groups in society are often misleading and not always applicable to non-western countries. Therefore to localise this group within South African society in the second half of the twentieth century, the descriptive approach has been adopted, which does not cover all variables but still allows to generate certain pattern helpful to distinguish youth as a group from the rest of society in that particular time.

The variables used to better emphasise what is influencing the socialisation process is set and setting, which will be explained in depth in the theoretical chapter. Generally saying, set is the situation around an individual which he can not really change himself, as it is a stable point, such as i.e. skin colour or the environment of growing up. Setting, on the other hand, is a pool of certain conditions which are both influencing and being influenced by an individuals, usually as they are growing up and become aware of that possibility.

Participation of youth in meaningful changes of country's regime in the twentieth century around the world is a well-known fact, giving as an example wide youth support to anti-colonial movements in Africa and elsewhere, Cuban revolution or infamous Hitler Jugend. Focusing on the African youth, one sees clearly, that the anti-apartheid struggle was not an exception, and youth was

gradually more and more engaged with it. What were the factors which stimulated youth towards actions and how youth was organising itself is the main focus of this paper.

While describing historical events in each chapter, one must understand that they are both in the same time: a socialisation set for the future generation and a setting for the current one. Historical background is carrying important role in emphasising state's steps to pursue apartheid's policy and how Africans were challenging them and in effect also shaping, leading to the final victory.

Fascinating change from freedom fighters to governors of the country has been taking place on many levels. It has been started by the ones who recognised that tribal battles with whites do not bring expected results and changed their arms from spears to political meanings, such as negotiations, which is described in the second chapter of the paper. Failure of that strategy was in the same time a socialisation set for the first generation of youth which has been given a possibility to unite on a larger scale under the banner of the African National Congress Youth League couple of decades later. The way towards successful formation of the ANC Youth League in 1948 is introduced in the third chapter, along with historical benchmarks which pushed it forward. However, the first generation of freedom fighters realised that that the state is deaf for their calls for a change which had been emphasised by defiance, and they decided to to intensify actions, which were met with firm state's response. Once detained and arrested leaders of the first generation, a vacuum for the new one to emerge had been created. The apparent silence after numerous detentions and further state's restrictions caused that impatient youth was eager to challenge the setting and led to a phoenix effect – the Soweto uprising of the second generation. Militancy and prolonging riots of the uprising in 1976, was a set for the third generation which has responded mainly in townships on the grassroots level and was one of the contributors to enforce demands of political freedom for blacks.

To follow the engagement of youth in the liberation struggle, I have chosen main organisations and movements due to time and research materials restrictions. I am aware of the fact that it was not solely black population which had been participating the struggle against segregation policy and later on apartheid, and the involvement of different racial groups is also mentioned, but is not researched in depth. Structure of organisations such as the ANC or student's movements, made it more clear to

indicate political changes inside and outside of South Africa, but was also helpful in searching for the non-institutional actors of socialisation, such as family or peers. Therefore by focusing on leaders who were followed by youngsters it is more likely to reflect group thinking in particular times. Using the way of organising youngsters, it is justified to operate in terms "freedom fighter" as the struggle was taking place on both political salons on exile and on he streets inside the country.

Nelson Mandela in his inaugural speech reflected on the role of each social group in the country in the struggle, with youth among them: "We deeply appreciate the role that the masses of our people and their political mass democratic, religious, women, youth, business, traditional and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my Second Deputy President, the Honourable F.W. de Klerk"[1]. Once Mandela- freedom fighter- became the president of South Africa, the linkage between first, second and third generations has been done.

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[1] Inaugural speech of Nelson Mandela, May 10, 1994 Pretoria: http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Inaugural_Speech_17984.html accessed on 30.10.2009.

1. Socialisation Theory.

1.1.   The fact of socialisation process.

Socialisation theory is the tool which is going to be used in explaining involvement of the particularly black youth in the anti-apartheid liberation movements in South Africa. As it is widely used in research of western societies, the necessary assimilation of certain aspects helps to focus on the factors relevant also in the black South African society. Socialisation - most generally saying- is a phenomena which occurs in a life of each individual who lives within certain group which has a particular code of rules and behaviours which are present within it due to so called - culture, tradition, and history. It could be said that one of the broadest group which imposes these rules is a society with its all diversification of acceptable manners of acting within it. There is no purely homogenous society where the same values, rules and behaviour would be assimilated in the exact the same manner by its all members. One could argue that a common variable for all individuals which belong to the same society, is a defined system of rights and duties imposed by the state, namely - a legislation. But even this is depending on a specific political system, whether it is even assumed, that society as a whole supposed to be treated equally. The apartheid system in South Africa did not assumed that, therefore while talking about the 'South African socialisation' it must be mentioned and specified which racial group is meant, since each race in the society had a different rights and duties in the eyes of the apartheid state.

Socialisation, however, is first of all the process which does not end at a certain point of individual's life. According to Elenor Maccoby:

> The term 'socialisation' refers to processes whereby naïve individuals are taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values, and motivations needed for competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up. Paramount among these are social skills, social understandings, and emotional maturity needed for interaction with other individuals to fit in with the functioning of social dyads ad larger groups. socialisation process include all those whereby culture is transmitted from each generation to the next, including training for specific roles in specific occupations.[2]

Adapting the socialisation theory on the South African conditions in the second half of the 20th Century, requires to carefully analyse who is he main subject of socialisation process regarding how in that time 'youth' was defined, who and what stimulate the way of their thinking, or maybe it was a

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2   Maccoby, E., (2008) Historical Overview of socialisation research and theory, p. 13-41, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation- theory and research,* New York, London: Guilford Publications, p.13.

bidirectional process. From the whole socialisation process lifespan the period of youth and emerging adulthood is the most crucial in this paper. There has been a vast number of studies done to define who adult is, and what is directly connected with it, who is that person on a one stage before.[3] However, even among such a number of research it is not really possible to find variables adequate particularly to the situation of Black youth in the 1930s in South Africa. That is why an analysis of *set* (localisation) and *setting* (conditions) of socialisation will be a helpful tool in investigating the factors which in a passive and an active way influence the emergence of the Black South African youth.

1.2 Set of socialisation.

By using the term of set or localisation of socialisation, it is meant to indicate the presence of variables which pre-exist before a person even realizes that an active participation in socialisation is possible. In other words, an individual has no or barely influence to change it, as we do not get to chose our nationality, place of birth, parents and relatives, our skin colour, etc. In the early childhood, we are also not able to shape the traditional, cultural, religious or family patters, as we are recipients of those ones which our primary caregivers will expose us to. Some factors of our set will be permanent- such a skin colour, or country of origin. South Africans did not obviously had an influence on their skin colour and found themselves during socialisation process on a very different positions within the apartheid's system. However sometimes set might change, as the geopolitical situation is changing along with an individual's life – i.e. being born in the communist state but as an adolescent witnessing the change to the democratic one, and analogically: being suppressed by the apartheid's regime, but live during time of its collapse.

While thinking about set it is visible that certain personal features are determinants for particular individual in particular time, however it is possible on the other hand to notice after Maccoby, that:

> To speak of cross - generational cultural transmission might imply that "culture" is something static, encapsulated, and that the new generation is being rubber- stamped in the image of its predecessors. But, of course, cultures can do undergo rapid change under the impact of the new technology warfare, climate change, pestilence, and, in recent generations,

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3   See: Arnett, 1994, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004; Facio & Micocci, 2003; Mayseless & Scharf, 203; Nelson et al,. 2004, In: Arnett, J. J., (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood- from the family to the wider world, from socialisation to self- socialisation, p.208-231 In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...,* p. 216.

contraception.[4]

It is therefore important to investigate those "rapid cultural changes" which occurred in South Africa (i.e. industrialization, labour migration, etc.) and possibly triggered involvement of black youth, which wanted to influence their set.

1.3 Setting of socialisation.

Conditions of socialisation are the patterns of behaviours and activities to which an individual engages himself more consciously than in the early childhood. Interactions with primary caregivers, family, teachers, peers, co-workers, intimate partners, creates mutual stream of attitudes, which might be different to those introduced to a person at earlier stages. Conditions of socialisation are influenced by interactions of an individual with the other individuals in a particular group setting. Mentioned groups influencing socialisation process are called *agents of socialisation*.[5] It it possible to distinguish non – institutionalized and institutionalized agents of socialisation. Researchers are classifying three most important agents of agents of socialisation, namely family, peers and broadly understood 'culture'.[6] Of course family can be also perceived as an institution with certain hierarchy and members playing specific role within it, however because parents or caregivers are most often part of our set, family is not treated as an institution *per se*. Social conditions are the changes which individual experiences as a new 'social settings' through his lifespan.[7] Different agents are gaining different importance for an individual as he grows up, therefore it is important to emphasize role of each of the agents in particular time of an individual's life, until a person reaches crucial in this dissertation point of analyse – emerging adulthood. Since "many agents are involved in the socialisation of an individual, but parents (and religious teachers in some societies) have been thought to be the primary agents responsible for he broad 'moral' socialisation of the growing child,"[8] the first analyse is going to be the once concerning

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4   Maccoby, E., (2008) Historical Overview of socialisation research and theory*, p. 13-41, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...,* p.13.
5   Fingerman, K. F., & Pitzer,L. (2008) Socialisation in old age, p. 232-351, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...,* p. 232.
6   Arnett, J.J., (1995a) Broad and narrow socialisation: The family in the context of a cultural theory. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 57,* p. 617-628.
7   Maccoby, E., Historical Overview of socialisation research and theory, p. 13-41, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...,* p.13.
8   Maccoby, E., Historical Overview of socialisation research and theory, p. 13-41, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...,* p.13.

socialisation within family.

1.3a Family as an agent of socialisation.

It has been distinguished by Diana Baumrid in 1960s, that there are at least three types of parenting an authoritarian style, a permissive style, and an authoritative style[9] and later research proved that most parents mix these parenting styles, as parents adopting style to to particular to child's mood, behaviour, etc.[10] That is why much more effective are studies of bidirectional socialisation, which has been started in the 1950s when Sears argues that parents and children should be researched as a dyad.[11] The deeper understanding of how primary agents socialize their child is the perspective of their relationship, where child changes the behaviour or parents, by brings another setting. As a response to it, parents provide child with warmth and security, since their relationship is the first and remains through early childhood, one of the most important in child's life. Lalible and Thomson suggest four variables which define parent– child relationship: "a relationship can be defined as an integrated network of enduring emotional ties, mental representations, and behaviours that connect one person to another over time and across space."

The definition of what relationship between parent and a child is can be also transmitted on interactions between individual and other agents of socialisation, such as peers, intimate partners or within institutions of which individual is a part.

1. First, each relationship is unique because it is created from the mutual contributions of each partner over time. (…) Parents and children respond not only to the partner's current behaviour but also to the history of their relationship,

2. Second, each partner's behaviour toward the other is also influenced by mental representations that derive from their shared history and the expectations, relational schemas, affective biases, and other representations they have fostered. This is what is meant by knowing, and being known by, another person o whom one is close, emotional engaged, and in regular contact,

3. Third, relationships encompass influences that are both broad (e.g., mutual responsiveness, warmth, and security) and immediate (e.g., routines and rituals, rewards and sanctions, and modelling).

4. Fourth, relationships are dynamic and affective. They change over time owing to developmental changes in each partner as well as the growth of the relationship and

9 Baurind, D., & Black, A. E. (1967) Socialisation practices associated with dimension of competence in preschool boys and girls. *Child Development, 38,* p. 291-327.
10 Grusec, J. E., & Goodnow, J. J., (1994). Impact of parental discipline on the child's internalization of values: A reconceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology, 30, p.* 4-13.
11 Sears, R.R., "A theoretical framework for personality and social behaviour". *American Psychologist 6,* p. 476-483.

the influences of other events in each partner's life.[12]

The third point which seems to be rather exclusive to the very close and intimate relationships with parents in an early childhood or with a romantic partner i.e. during marriage. However, the other points are reflecting the vital relation which comes in older age for an individual – adolescence, when parental socialisation begins to have less and less direct influence on children. Some researchers as a reason would simply see the less amount of time which children spend with their parents[13], and therefore parents start perceiving misbehaviour of children as an intentional response to attempts of their socialisation.[14] Studies about parenthood and child's relations with parents were mostly done in western families, usually with a single child. Therefore the aspects mentioned in the part above were the ones which I would consider as the broad enough, to draw a line of them to other families, i.e. with numerous kinship and relatives engaged closely in an early stage of a child.'s life The basic idea of relationship allows to adapt most of mentioned interactions on the broader than studies which are empirically grounded.

1.3b. Peers as agents of socialisation.

Once a person engages himself consciously in a group, whether is it within individual's community or school, and the time spent with family lessens, another important agent of socialisation emerges- peers. Peers, whether are members of the same community or school, are vital and important part of children's and adolescence's life.[15] Peers can shape emotions and the way an individual thinks. During sociological research, peers were perceived as an important factor in development were visible in psychoanalytic models, where it was noticed that adolescents find a support in establishing relevant relations with their peers,[16] since it could be for them opportunity to explore self-validation.[17] Another research pointed out that relationship with peers is also more equal as with parents, so adolescents

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12 Laible D., & Thompson R.A. (2008) Early socialisation- A relationship perspective, p.181-207, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation*...

13 Collins, W. A. & Madsen, S. D., (2003) Developmental change in parenting interactions. In: Kuczynski :[ed.], *Hanbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp.49-66). CA Sage: Thousand Oaks.

14 Dix, T., Ruble, D. N. Grusec, J. E. & Nixon, S. (1986). Social cognitions in parents: Inferential and affective reactions to children of three age levels. *Child Development, 57,* p. 879-894.

15 Rubin, K.H., Bukowski, W.M., & Parker, J.G., (1998) Peer interactions, relationships, and groups. In: W. Damon (Series Ed.) & N. Eisenberg (Vol. Ed.), *The handbook of child psychology* (5th ed., pp. 619-700). New York: Wiley.

16 Bloss, P., (1967) *The second individuation process of adolescence. Psychoanalytic study of the child. (*Vol, 22), New York: International University Press.

17 Sulivan, H.S., (1953) *The interpersonal theory of psychiatry.* New York: Norton: p.290.

would more freely debate fragile issues among the peer group than at home, and contradictory ideas would stimulate discussion,[18] which also leads to an outcome that adolescents would rather challenge certain point of view when they are with friends, than with non-friends.[19] Such stimulating discussion can also influence a change in the way of how adolescents viewed their social constructs, since they cooperate[20] and uplift or denigrate each other's behaviour.[21] Usually adolescents find themselves most happy in the company of friends and peers,[22] and mentioned process of negotiating opinions among the group, creates more narrow one, consisted of people similar to themselves during *a selective association process.[23]* Such process assumes that similarities were among that group before they have been connected through association process, and leads in the end to an increase intimacy in friendships.[24]

One of the institution which have a strong influence on adolescents is school, which next to educational function, it transmits desired socialisation as, "teachers and other school personnel are socializing adolescents to acquire cultural standards of doing what is required and conforming to or at least cooperating with the direction of authority figures".[25]Further analysis of school influence on socialisation would unfortunately provide results and conclusions for students in western families, where empirical studies took place. However, influence of schooling on adolescent seems to be clear, as schools are the key agent in socialising adolescents through teachers, or even curricula, example of what in South African context can be the introduction of law to change teaching from English to Afrikaans, which will be part of a deeper research further on in this dissertation.

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18 Bukowski W.M., & Brendgen, M., & Vitaro, F., (2008) Peers and socialisation- effects on externalizing and internalizing problems. pp. 355-381, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation....*p. 357.

19 Azmita, M., Lippman, D.N. & Ittel, A. (1999). On the relation of personal experience to early adolescents' reasoning about best friendship deterioration, *Social Development, 8 (2),* p. 275-291.

20 Bukowski W.M., & Brendgen, M., & Vitaro, F., (2008) Peers and socialisation..., In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...,*p. 358.

21 Rogoff, B., (1997) Evaluating development in the process of participation: Theory, methods and practice building on each other. In: E. Amsel, & K. A. Renninger [ed] , *Change and development: Issues of theory, method, and application* (pp. 265- 286). Mahwah, Nj: Erlbaum.

22 Larson, R., W., & Richards, M. H., (1994) Waiting for the weekend: Friday and Saturday nights as the emotional climax of the week. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 82,* p. 37-52.

23 Rose, R. J., (2002) How adolescent select their friends? A behaviour- genetic perspective. In: L. Pulkinnen & A. Caspi [ed.], *Paths to successful development: Personality in the life course* (pp. 106- 125), New York: Cambridge University Press.

24 Berndt, T. J., (1996) Transitions in friendship and friends' influence. In: J.A. Graber, J. Brooks-Gunn, & A. C. Petersen [ed.], *Transitions through adolescence: Interpersonal domains and context,* Mahwah NJ: Erlbaum.

25 Arnett, J. J., (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood- from the family to the wider world, from socialisation to self-socialisation, p.208-231, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...,* p. 223.

1.4. Emerging adulthood.

The term 'youth' started to be used in the context of the prolonging of a schooling system in the time between World War I and World War II in industrialized countries, lasting from late teens to mid-20s.[26] The age of school attendance was extended, therefore a new generation of young people– *emerging adults*- in society gained more time for education, peers, and what follows it– more time to be socialized through schools, friends, and therefore also to think how to shape their life once they become adults. Since the definition referring particularly to schooling is not exactly applicable in the same way for the Black South Africans. There are other definitions which are more focusing on the social role of emerging adult, starting with the one suggested by Jeffrey Arnett:

> It has been proposed that, developmentally, emerging adulthood can be characterized as the age of identity explorations, the age of instability, the self- focused age, the age of feeling between, and the age of possibilities these features have received empirical support.[27]

This might be considered a rather sceptical definition which comes out of others created in the past, such as by Keniston who placed 'youth' between adolescence and young adulthood, and was according to his observation of student protests of the 1960s, a period when the "refusal of socialisation" takes place,.[28] Or after Levinson who called it "the novice phase" of development.[29] In the studies nowadays, the influence of the secondary and graduate school, are one of the major institutions in socialisation process of youth. This point seems not to have relevance in the historical analyse of black emerging adults since the scale of school attendance was very low, but nevertheless children attending school managed to challenge setting at certain point, which was meaningful in the socialisation process of the youth.

Questions about who is an emerging adult automatically triggers another one: who is an adult? Mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, socialisation is an ongoing life process, grasping particularly fixed point of the 'settled' life, might seem odd. But that does not change a fact, that in each society being an adult means something else. In western societies it usually refers to self– sufficiency and

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26 Arnett, J. J., (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood..., p. 208, In: Grusec, J. & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation- theory and research.* New York, London: Guilford Publications.

27 Reifman, A., Arnett, J. J., & Colwell, M. J. (2006). *The IDEA: Inventory of Dimensions of emerging Adulthood* . Manuscript submitted for publication: Grusec, J. & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation- theory and research,* Guilford Publications: New York, London: 2008.

28 Keninston, K., (1971) *Youth and dissent: The rise of a new opposition,* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, p.9.

29 Levinson, D. J., (1978)*The season of a man's life.* New York: Ballantine.

responsibility for one's own actions,[30] whereas in non-western cultures, one of the stages of adulthood could be the the ability to take care of elders.[31]

Basic aspects of socialisation, such as culture, history, and life course period, are important for understanding the socialisation of emerging adults today, and it is claimed in the majority of research that "culturally, emerging adulthood exists mainly in cultures that allow their young people a substantial amount of freedom from their late teens through at least their mid-20s"[32] and therefore it is claimed that emerging adulthood in that understanding is "experienced by the majority in economically developed countries but is normative in developing countries".[33] It might seem that such a rough age systematization of when some one becomes an emerging adult is not applicable on the black South African young people in the first half of the 20th century. However one must keep in mind, that reference to the freedom of the late teens is not the only aspect of emerging adulthood; furthermore South Africa was also economically divided into fast growing industrialized regions, along with the existence of traditional rural areas. Concerning cultural variations within the country, broad socialisation where youth supposed to have more freedom and narrow with more strict norms imposed on emerging adults, were also an important factor since in the emerging adulthood socialisation is the broadest comparing to other periods of life, which is often connected to leaving house of parents – which in case of South Africa in the 1930s was due to labour migration, and this will evaluated in the next chapter of the paper.

What is than another definition of socialisation which would be helpful in analysing the stage of emerging adulthood more broadly than just mentioned approach? Joan E. Grusec (2003) gives three specific outcomes of socialisation in emerging adulthood which can be used as variables of investigating that stage of life.

1. The development of self- regulation of emotion, thinking, and behaviour;
2. The acquisition of a culture's standards, attitudes, and values, including a   willingness to accept the authority of others;
3. The development of role-taking skills, strategies for resolving conflicts, and ways of

30 Arnett, J. J., (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood..., p.215. In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...*
31 Arnett, J. J. (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood..., p.216, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of...*
32 Arnett, J. J. (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood..., p.212, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of...*
33 Arnett, J. J. (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood..., p.212, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of...*

viewing relationships.[34]

These outcomes are achieved by the change in perceiving set (localization) by emerging adult and different interactions with agents of socialisation- setting (conditions). Agents such as family, peers and institutions i.e. school, are interpreted in a different way by youth, since the each of the mentioned above outcomes involves evolution of role played by these agents.

Parental socialisation in the period of emerging adulthood changes in the most crucial way, since it is suddenly limited because individuals often leave their parents house due to education or work. It does not mean however, that the influence of parents is over. Relationships between child and parents, family or close community is direct, as it is not on a daily basis, but there is still a sense of attachment and growing respect to the opinion of parents. It is the outcome of treating parent – child relationship as more equal one, and therefore looking at each other more in a partner way rather than hierarchical.[35] On the contrary to what happens in adolescence, this change leads to bidirectional changes of understanding each others' points of view, and responding to the new relationship which emerged.[36]

Another change which occurs in emerging adulthood comparing to the stage of adolescence, is decrease in peers' influence. Emerging adults seem to spend more time on their own or with a romantic partner, and peer groups often shrink to those ones who remain really close friends. In the research of industrialized countries it often explained by the leaving of a college,[37] so it is important to keep in mind, that explaining that change might be different for black South Africans, where friends' network in the 1930s was not perhaps that institutionalized as in western culture due to very limited schooling system for black youth in that time. That leads to the question that if it is mainly schooling which changes interactions between peers, it would be possible to assume that such event took place once more and more black youth went to secondary and upper educational institutions? Could that mean that the stage typical for people in late teens up to mid-twenties people living in industrialized western

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34 Arnett, J. J. (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood..., p.209, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of ...*
35 Fingerman, K. L. (2000) „We had a nice little chat": Age and generational differences in mothers' and daughters' descriptions of enjoyable visits. *Journal of Gerontology, 55B*, p. 95-106.
36   Arnett, J. J. (2004) E*merging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. New York: Oxford University Press.
37 Fisher, J. L., Sollie, D. L., Sorell, G. T., & Green, S. K. (1989). Martial status and career stage influences on social networks of young adults. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51,* p. 521- 534.

countries, was reach by black South Africans emerging adults later? Not necessarily as function of schooling in terms of peer groups were shifted to i.e. migrant workers community. The last main point about evolution of relations with peers is the greater emotional bound with the close circle of friends, so the discussion among them reaches more fragile and personal level of seriousness and importance.[38] At this point, socialisation theory can be used to explain one of the the starting points when black youth started debating their situation and changes in South Africa and discovered that they are a numerous group which possibly think in the very similar way and therefore could start organizing themselves.

In a reference to change of relationships, intimate relationships with partners and marriage seem to have quite crucial role in socializing emerging adults.[39] Through lenses of a marriage, emerging adulthood is understood as:

> The period just prior the marriage for most people, is a low-risk period for physical illness and disease but the highest- risk period of the lifespan for a variety of disorders and injuries caused by behaviour, such as substance use and risky sexual behaviour.[40]

Researchers observed that marriage is decreasing these behaviours, as partners are natural control mechanisms for each other. However, it is often due to the imagination what marriage supposed to be and what kind of norms are shaping this particular relationship.[41]

Institutions shaping socialisation of emerging adults evaluate along with the change in individuals life span. From analysing educational institutions – so far in industrialized countries, it seems that youth has a greater freedom in choosing to educate in a particular field and arrange their classes in more autonomous way, and therefore manage their time in a more independent way. This reference to graduate students has very limited connotations in analysing black South African youth in 1930s, however during the following decades with the increasing number of students that point could be helpful in investigating further than the first generation of freedom fighters. Similar change in the evolution of relationship between emerging adults and parents takes place considering change in

38 Collins, W. A., & van Dulmen, M. (2006). Friendships and romance in emerging adulthood: Assessing distinctiveness in close relationships. In J. J. Arnett & J.L. Tanner [ed], *Coming of age in the 21st century: The lives and contexts of emerging adults,* (pp. 219- 234). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

39 Waite, L. J., & Gallangher, M., (2000). *The case of marriage: Why married people are happier, healthier, and better off financially.* New York: Doubleday.

40 Bachman, J.G., Wadsworth, K. N., O'Malley, P. M., Johnston, L. D., & Schulenberg, J. E. (1997). *Smoking, drinking and drug use in young adulthood: The impacts of new freedom and new responsibilities.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

41 Arnett, J. J. (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood, p.222 In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...*

connection with their teachers and mentors. As at the earlier stages teachers are more likely to control students, studying youth have to increase their level of self control about the process of their education, since the level of knowledge enforcement is lower.[42]

Working environments contribute a significant part to emerging adult's development. In comparison to the jobs during adolescence which are mostly is temporal and not that beneficiary, occupation in emerging adulthood is characterized by a long time commitment, due to a fact that it is perceived as a work which should be pursued in adulthood. Such an approach in light of South African situation would show that younger children would be engaged in occupations which would be still financially or materially supportive for their families, such as collecting of a fire wood, but in later age they would likely become engaged in more profitable jobs. In the historical context, rapid industrialization and therefore booming urbanization created a phenomenon of labour migration. It resulted in putting – living until than together with parents in separate households black youth- away from their parents and placed youth . Exchange within peer group which has been already described occurring between new coming workers who had got in touch with the older and more experienced workers, was as a vital and important source of socialisation.

Nowadays a very prominent part of socialisation research is to focus on the role of media. Present studies treat media as a whole machine which influences and promotes certain behaviours, opinions and consumerist choices. As each medium source, television in particular, expanded their reach on masses, transmission of desired messages on a large scale became possible. Although this view is more accurate in the westernised societies, medium sources were not absent among the emerging adulthood's process in South Africa. Underground newspapers, radio, magazines, and flyers were an important source of information and were promoting the struggle, while on the other side state – owned media i.e. television, newspapers, was propagandising the apartheid's policy. Researchers – although more studies on this topic should be conducted – claim that understanding of media as an important socialisation factor is much stronger in the time of adolescence's than emerging adulthood, when a person seems to be more conscious of the choices he or she makes, and is more aware of the

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42 Arnett, J. J. (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood..., p.223, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...*

media's manipulation.[43] Media were and still are, an important tool to favourite desired messages by different politically oriented groups, and they specific role in the Black South African liberation struggle is about to be examined further on.

Examining of socialisation process form childhood up to emerging adulthood, was a tool which helped to define who the 'youth' is. From numerous research– despite of being mostly focused on industrialized societies– comes out certain profile. Arnett concludes that

> Socialisation is broadest in emerging adulthood in the sense that this is when people have the most freedom to decide for themselves how to live and what to do and when to do it. Parents no longer have as much power as they did in childhood and adolescence, and obligations to a spouse or long-term partner, children, and long-employer have not yet been entered. Emerging adulthood is a self- focused age, when social control is at, an ebb and people have the greatest freedom to focus on their self- development[44]

Of course it is important to keep in mind that some cultures and groups have broad socialisation while other broad and therefore the amount of 'freedom' for emerging adult varies. However, the principal statement that being an emerging adult or youngster is the stage where a person can most freely decide about himself since socialisation process is in that time the broadest – when it gains and loses are not exactly clear yet, which begs the question, why does youth have such a power and is willing to take risks in challenging social set and setting.

Socialisation theory shows that a person is adapting to new setting of socialisation and acknowledging the set in which an indiidual finds himself during particular life span. Mentioned in the chapter agents of socialisation, such as family relations, peers, institutions, etc., create certain matrix which influence one's behaviour, opinions and actions. Emerging adulthood seems to be one of the most intense periods of that process, especially when the set creates so many – in legal terms already – restrictions and divisions, which was the case in South Africa during time of the apartheid.

1.5 Racism as set and setting of the socialisation process.

Facing different actors of socialisation both institutional, such as school or work and non-institutional i.e. within family, there are inevitable changes in set and setting influence on an individual. Mentioned examples of possible transfer of cultural, religious and so on values, it is safe to assume that

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43 Arnett, J. J. (2008) Socialisation in emerging adulthood..., p.226, In: Grusec, J., & Hastings, P., [ed.] *Handbook of socialisation...*

44 Arnett, J. J. (2004) E*merging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties.* New York: Oxford University Press.

certain racial attitude goes with them along. Each racial group in South Africa was confronted with various prejudices and stereotypes imposed through historical experience. white population having strong feeling of superiority pursued the legislation which was subjugating other races who have been placed lower in terms of state's law, and blacks who often during childhood expressed the "fear of the white man".[45] The historical explanation might seems simplistic, however since the moment it was going along with governmental law, it became widely spread through state's apparatus. Racial ideology was therefore expressed not only within certain cultural communities, but was present within education system, labour, church, etc. Designing of separate living areas, only increased racial tensions, and is was followed by growth of prejudices, stereotypes and resentment. Each of the described in this paper generation of youth was growing up in particular racial set transmitted by their relatives and peers along with the one imposed by the state. And in the same time each of the generations was challenging it in some sort of way as the new racial setting has been introduced during their emerging adulthood faze, triggering their contribution within the liberation struggle.

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45 Matthews, Z.K. (1981) *Freedom for My People: The Autobiography of Z.K. Matthews: Southern Africa, 1901-1968,* London & Cape Town: Rex Collings, p. 1.

2. The beginning of the modern political organisation among Africans.

This chapter stresses the entanglements between settlers who came to the present day South Africa and the way how both Afrikaner and British groups viewed position of the native population on that territory. Beginnings of the modern black political consciousness occurred in the Cape, where the interactions between the natives and British have taken place also on the political level. Struggle over the resources and territory between Afrikaners and British and the victory of the second ones, awaked hopes for extension of the political rights on the Boer republics where former Dutch settlers emigrated from the Cape. However, the hopes disappeared in vain, especially after the formation of the Union of South Africa, when the country was still part of the British Commonwealth, but with the independent regarding internal affairs Afrikaner's government, which pursued policy of discrimination and suppression of blacks. Therefore Africans realised that if they want to struggle for recognition of their rights, they must unite above the geographical and ethical boundaries, which stimulated the further development of modern black political movements.

2.1 White struggle for the influence in South Africa.

The arrival of Dutch at the Cape in 1652 and the British taking over the rule in 1806, changed the perception of society, land ownership and the idea of rule with which the indigenous groups obviously were not familiar. As the result of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 where the slave trade was condemned, the British were guaranteed to receive territories of the West Indies and could kept the former Dutch colonies, including the Cape Colony. Dutch settlers were moving from the Cape further to the interior of the land and along the coast, where the first contact with Xhosa groups was made resulted in the very first conflict which was won by the colonialists. As a result the eastern borders of the Cape were secured, and the further import of Slaves to the present South African territory was ongoing.[46] The British authorities after taking over the rule, declared slave trade illegal and in 1834 Africans in the Cape Colony were freed.[47] By that time there has been already developed a feeling of superiority among white groups, which was caused by firstly feeling of European origins and therefore

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[46] White settlers started the import of slaves from Guinea, Angola and later on from Madagascar, East Africa and Southeast Asia.

[47] Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa: the leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela, and Stephen Biko*, Westport, Connecticut, London: Praeger, p. 15.

possibility of imperial expansion which they had been part of. Secondly, the habitus of slave trade and their ability of pursuing colonial settlements.[48] One of the major events which shaped the division of the future politics influencing the status of Africans in the country, was the Great Trek into the inferior of the land by Afrikaners- the descent of Dutch who had arrived in the Cape at the very beginning. Reasons for that mass and risky expedition were the British policy to Anglicize society, starting with implementing the English as a language of instruction in schools, parliament and courts, which created a difficulty for the Afrikaners to claim their rights or receive a proper education. Second was the abolition of slave trade, which was a major change in the way how Afrikaners had viewed the racial order- where whites had been superior and in charge of rule of the once possessed territory.[49] Furthermore, Afrikaners' occupation was usually farming, and in the British Cape Colony, they had not enough land to expand their crops. Therefore in 1835 the first group of Boers, and black slaves, started to trek off in the interior of the land, with guns and bibles. They were called later on *Voortrekkers* which means "Pioneers", found free land, far from the British control, and established so called Boer republics- the Orange Free State and Transvaal, recognised by Britain as independent territories.[50] During the way, there have been conflicts and battles with indigenous people. The most praised one and important for the Afrikaner history from that time, is the Battle of Blood River, where

> On 16 December 1838, 468 trekkers, three Englishmen, and sixty blacks faced between ten thousand and twelve thousand Zulu. In a battle lasting two hours, thee trekkers were slightly wounded and none killed, but three thousand Zulu lay dead. (…) Afrikaner nationalists of the next century considered Blood River the battle that *saved* the trek and secured the victory of Christianity and *civilization*.[51]

This overwhelming victory even more strengthen the believe of Afrikaners that they are the truly chosen nation to pursue their Christian order in new lands. Regional and local battles with whites occurred to be failures for the native's population in South Africa, and the last military attempt by the Zulus in Natal province in 1906 against the unfair land distribution and taxes took place.[52]

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48 Armstrong J. C. & Worden N.A. (1989) The Slaves, 1652-1834. In R.E. Elphic & H. Giliomee [ed], *The Shaping of South African Society*, pp.109-183, Middletown, Cape Town: Weslayan University Press.

49 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 16.

50 Thompson, L. (1969b) Co-operation and Conflict: The High Veld. In: M.Wilson & L.Thompson [ed] *The Oxford history of South Africa* (vol. 1, pp. 391-446). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

51 Giliomee, H. (2003) *The Afrikaners- biography of the people,* London: Hurst &Co, p. 165.

52 Gibson, R. (1972) *African Liberation Movements: Contemporary struggels against white minority rule.* London: Oxford University Press.

The political situation in the Boer Republics, Natal and in the Cape Colony was different, since in the Boer republics Africans were denied any kind of equality with whites in spheres of ownership, legislation, and they supposed to carry passes in order to confirm and justify their presence in the white areas where most of them was working. Cape Colony and Natal authorities established a system of qualified franchise based on wage or property ownership. However it was tightened with the annexation of Transkei, highly populated by Africans, and as a result made it very difficult in practice for blacks to vote and withdrawal of many Africans from voting rolls[53] These changes were one of the stimulants for the blacks to organise against, as their setting of social and political role had been decreased.

One of the most important events shaping the South African political, economic and social landscape, was the discovery of Gold in Witwatersrand in 1886, diamonds in 1887 and 1870 next to Kimberly, within the Orange Free State territory. The struggle over the resources led to the Anglo-Boer War. Conflict between British and Afrikaners took place earlier during the War of Independence in 1881, won by the Boer republics, and as the result of which British decided to pursuit the idea of South Africa consisting of federations under their rule. However, the Anglo-Boer War (also known as the South African War, 1899-1902), escalated as a result of increasing tensions over discovered resources in Boer Republics. As a result, the "white man's war"[54] over the resources of the native people, gave them hope the victory of British would extend the voting franchise on the Boer republics. In the end, the victory of British subjugated two republics under their rule and established two British colonies Cape and Natal, and most importantly- did not pursue any policy of implementing or requesting the black voters franchise in Boer republics Transvaal or Orange Free State. Therefore the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 was the momentum of unification of four different provinces which had a separate policy towards African people. The new constitution forming this body did not consider the membership of blacks in the Union Parliament.[55]

Struggle between Afrikaners and British for the resources and land of indigenous people was the force of changes in mobilization of blacks since they had recognized that the military struggle against

53 Simons J. & Simons, R. (1983) *Class colour in South Africa, 1850-1950,* London: International Defence and Aid Found, p. 31.
54 Thompson, L. (1975c) The compromise of Union. In: M.Wilson & L.Thompson [ed.] *The Oxford history of South Africa,* (vol. 2, pp. 325-364). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
55 Davenport, T.R.H. (1977) *South Africa: a modern history,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

whites has not brought any positive outcome. The previously described above differences in the way of treating the natives in the both British and Boer territories is the benchmark which shaped the further politics towards African's group living within both of places. The discovery of gold has led to the increased exploitation of blacks, and came along with the weakening of the tribal resistance in those areas. Cooperation of the whites and entanglements between South African authorities and the British Crown along with tensions within English and Afrikaans speakers has created a heterogeneous and diversified landscape within which the first modern black political organisations had emerged.

2.2. The prelude of modern black political post-colonial consciousness.

The afore mentioned fact of the different political situation in four different provinces let to a various actions taken by blacks to claim theirs rights in the time of increasing racial discrimination. It is safe to say, that the birth of the modern black political consciousness had started in the Cape, where the blacks were able to participate in elections, and therefore influence to certain extend political landscape. Once the voters franchise– which was equal for all races of the colony- was tightened, African population noticed the loss in the possibility of participation. Since the tribal struggle with whites was not successful, Africans- especially in the Cape- in order to be able to share political power with whites, had to organise themselves in a political movements in order to negotiate, debate, influence and demand what they had though were their rights. They thought what through improvement of their institutional development, they will be able to gain recognition in the western political terms.[56] The Cape, by being the most liberal one from all provinces, in spite of tightening franchise voting rights, was a vital source of the birth of an idea, that assimilation of the blacks and acting within the institutional system, will sustain and lead to the further political recognition of Africans.[57] Since the introduction of the Voters' Registration act 1887[58] many protests were held but were ignored. It was the first time the Cape Africans heard from the Minister of Colonies on behalf of the British Queen, that the Cape is self- governing, which made an external intervention very difficult. Other signals about the change in the legislation of the natives have been made. In the Eastern Cape Africans were required to

56 Odendaal, 1984: 1-5, in Grobler.
57 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash? : A short history of black protest politics in South Africa 1875-1976,* Pretoria: Acacia, p.7.
58 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p.8.

pay taxes, but as most of them were not able to do so, the state was taking parts of their land instead, as a debt pay-back.[59] The successful delegation against the extension of the pass-law and modification of it into the Vagrancy Act, proved that the policy of negotiations with whites can bring some positive changes. This vision of making policy through negotiation was present in the minds of the black elite of the Cape, and supported by the missionary education system to which most of them was attending.

The expansion of the missionary schools gave birth to the new black elite, weakened tribalism and gave possibility to their students to gain education in the schools and universities overseas. They had become centres for of ideology combining the African ambitions and western style of life, and promoting idea "to work with and through the institutions of the white-dominated colonial political system in order to achieve better representation of African interests".[60] This approach explains the frequent accusation of the beginnings of modern black politics as conciliatory and without any pressure towards Cape authorities. In terms of education, along with the missionary schools, the influence from abroad which had stimulated the black seed of nationalism was coming from the United States of America. One of the future African National Congress leaders- John Dube, has founded the first African-run school, the Ohlange Institute in Natal. He created it after the fashion of the Washington's Tuskegee, where he was attending himself.[61] However promising it appeared, such education was rather still an exception within the institutionalised education system, and the missionary school have remained the main source of transmitting knowledge, attitudes and therefore socialisation for the young black elite in the Cape for many next decades.

With this idea of struggle for rights, and playing by rules of British, another early aspect of modern political awakening became visible, namely the African press. Many newspapers and magazines were established in the Cape, by mainly Christian missionaries, with the title "Inadaba" in Lovedale as the most important one, published between 1862- 1865[62]. However, the first African-owned newspaper "Imwo Zabantsundu", had been established by John Tengo Jabavu. This was the main source of shaping

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59 Grobler, J.,(1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.9.
60 Karis, T. & Carter, G.M. (1972) [ed.] *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882- 1964* (vol. 1-4). Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, p. 5.
61 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.17.
62 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?..*, p.11.

African public opinion, just like its founder.[63] A couple of titles also were published in the northern Cape, Natal, including the title "Indian Opinion" established by Mohandas Ghandi in 1903.[64] Although there is no evidence about the publication of newspapers in Boer republics, the awakening of the black political consciousness was getting closer with the mining boom around the Johannesburg expanding blacks' settlements around it. Once the masses of Africans were living next to each other and working together, it has been the matter of time until the modern political consciousness is going to emerge.[65]

Another sign of the African modern political awakening, were numerous splits form the established by Dutch and British Christian churches. Africans recognised that although the narration of missionaries tells about the equality, brotherhood, in a church the blacks were reminded about the segregation within the society. The disappointment resulted in a foundation of numerous independent African churches, such as Ethiopian, Zionist and Apostolic churches.[66] The first Ethiopian Church was found in South Africa in the circumstances of the Methodist conference in Pretoria in 1892,[67] from attendance of which the African missionaries were excluded. They had resigned from the Methodist Church and establish their own one- "Ethiopian Church".[68] The Ethiopian Church was calling for the unity among Africans, independence from whites and even if it was difficult to pursue in the given by that time socio-political conditions, it definitely strengthen blacks political consciousness and demands. Along the Ethiopian Church, there have been a numerous others such as the first independent black church- Nehmiah Tile's Thembu Church established in the early 1880s,[69] African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in the United States of America, established by black Americans in South Africa in 1816,.[70] However the leaders of other churches criticised AME for attempting of subordination Africans to Americans.[71] Another religious split happened within the United Free Church of Scotland in 1879,

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63 Switzer, 1979: 4 in Grobler.
64 Grobler, J.,(1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.12.
65 Fourie, 1979- Grobler.
66 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.13.
67 Gibson, R. (1972) *African Liberation Movements: Contemporary struggles against white minority rule.*
68 Moeti, 1981: 161- 163; Roux, 1978: 79- 80 in Grobler.
69 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.14.
70 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.15.
71 Verryn, n.d.: 27-31 in Grobler.

when the Presbyterian Church of Africa under the leadership of Pambani Mzimba was created[72] along with an emerge of some independent churches in the Natal province. Although not all of these splits were created in opposition to whites, the vast majority of the new African Christians' organisations was operating based on the ideology of racial prejudice. The involvement of the church supported natives' consciousness in the sense of enjoying the same liberties as the whites.[73] The recognition of changing conditions was also noticed by Indian population especially in Natal province where the Natal Indian Congress was found. The leader of it, Mohandas Karamchad Ghandi launched the passive resistance campaign which later was an inspiration for Nelson Mandela. Coloured population organised itself within the African Political Organisation launched in Cape Town in 1902 under the leadership of Abdullach Abdurahman.

2.3 The way towards the country-wide solidarity.

The incorporation of Africans in the white society resulted in a number of emerging modern black political organisations, starting with those who were given certain political rights since the beginning in the Cape Colony. There has been general disappointment of the Cape blacks after the Anglo-Boer War and British victory who did not extend the franchise voting rights on the Boer republics. On the contrary, British kept the colour bar law, which set a clear message that within the South African politics, the whites will not risk further disputes over the black issues. On the other hand British authorities being concerned about the black perception of the deny of franchise in the Boer republics, appointed Natives Affairs Commission in 1903. The Commission was supposed to analyse the position of South African blacks[74], and eventually as a result of voting the franchise was extended but in the way which would not give any possibility of "weakening in any way the unchallenged supremacy and authority of the ruling class, which is responsible for the country and bears the burden of its government".[75] It became clear that there will not be any legislation which would actually allow the black population to change and influence politics in practice, but to just keep them happy with preserving the stable white election system.

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72 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.17.
73 Walshe, 1970: 12-14; see also Shepperson, 1960: 303-308, and Marks, 1986: 43-44) in Grobler.
74 Healdlam, 1933: 451-453 in Grobler p.20
75 SANAC Report, 1905: 95-96, in Grobler, p.20.

In the Cape the person who represents the faith in the phenomena of whites being advocates of natives, was a journalist John Tengo Jabavu. He belonged to the black elite who could participate in voting, owned a property and received a western education within and outside of South Africa. Nevertheless, in the time of already existing Union of South Africa, he and other activists organised protest demanding extension of voting rights to different provinces and other black groups, such as tribal members who could not vote due to the communal land ownership.[76] Along with Jabavu's approach of gradual liberation through education, there had been a group within the same elite, who filled the vacuum of organisational landscape in the Cape province. Xhosa speakers after the foundation of a newspaper "Izwi Labantu", formed in 1898 an organisation which gave support to the white Progressive Party against the Afrikaner Bond in the elections the same year- the South African Native Congress (SANC).[77] The SANC's policy was challenging Jabavu's optimistic view in the matter of transmitting the Cape system as a model to all other provinces after the unification in 1910. Therefore although it was still elite driven institution, its sceptical point of view pushed forward searching of bigger, even nation wide support within the all black social classes and than only elite one in the Cape.[78] It was the beginning of the broader thinking, going beyond the people and environment known before Other organisations such as Transkei Native Vigilance Association and the Transkeian territories African Union created by the falling apart tribal chiefs in that time, neither survived a long time, nor challenged the new approach of the SANC.[79]

SANC was quite successful in establishing its branches in other provinces: Transvaal Native congress in 1903 It managed to remove tribal tensions among the members which consisted of both Soto- and Nguni-speakers.[80] Along TNC in Transvaal existed also the Transvaal Native Vigilance Association, or based in Johannesburg Transvaal Natives Union and the Transvaal Native Organisation established in Pretoria. These organisations were trying to put the blacks rights in the spot of public attention by i.e. publishing newspapers. Protests in Natal against numerous legislation laws were the

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76 Kuper, L. (1975) African Nationalism in South Africa. In: M.Wilson & L. Thompson [ed.] *The Oxford History of South Africa* (vol. 2, pp. 424-476). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
77 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash? : A short history of black protest politics in South Africa...*, p.21.
78 Odendaal, A. (1984) *Black protest politics in South Africa to 1912.* Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble.
79 Odendaal, 1984: 44-46, in Grobler p.21
80 De Villiers, 165: 16-17 in Grobler, p. 22

result of the Natal Native Congress, which emerged from the oldest political organisation in the province- Funamalungelo in 1900.[81] In Natal on the contrary to the Transvaal, the ethnic divisions between Natal and Zulu chiefs, caused the lack of cohesive and unified policy.[82]

The self- governing guarantee for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony[83] by Britain, and decision of the keeping the colour bar law in the republics, was one of the most important waking-calls for the blacks from all provinces that the whites will not risk the relations among themselves to satisfy and support political ambitions of Africans. Blacks from the Boer republics were disappointed, and Cape blacks started to have doubts whether the franchise system in their province is going to last.

The major challenge for the demonstration of the cohesive point of view in the black politics at within the first decade of the 20th century, was the draft of the Union of South Africa. The document was assuming the incorporation of the entire South Africa into the Commonwealth, but with its own government and the independence regarding home affairs. Furthermore, the draft of Constitution was written solely by the whites. The black opposition therefore turned into the phase of addressing the problems which emerged as a result of the white strategy and supremacy in the South Africa. The draft of the Constitution was condemned in all the provinces, and the call from the Orange River State colony for a meeting of all representatives from all provinces echoed in the whole country.

The meeting of representatives of African organisations and influential leaders of all provinces took place in March, 1909 in Bloemfontein as the South African Native Convention. It was the first joint meeting from most important African leaders and chiefs from the country, who were debating the draft of the Union Constitution. The Convention proved that Africans are capable of solidarity regardless of the belonging to the different tribes and ethnicities. The document which was later on adapted as a resolution stated, that SANC accepts the idea of the Union itself, but with the British to be responsible and in charge of implementation equal rights for the blacks on its territory. The resolution stated that the colour bar law in the draft of the Constitution unacceptable. Resolution demanded equal rights for all people,[84] regardless of the skin colour, class or religious background, and furthermore

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81 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.23.
82 SANAC III, 1904: 860-866 in Grobler, p. 24.
83 Orange Free State name was changed after the Anglo-Boer War
84 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.29.

emphasized the need for equal participation and privileges for blacks in the governmental structures of South Africa. The resolution has been addressed in the form of letter and sent to the governments of the four colonies, which have ignored it. In May, 1909, the draft was approved by the National Convention, and a short time afterwards by the governments of all four colonies, and finally by the British parliament.

The black struggle to stop the ratification of the Constitution in its original version, led to numerous delegation of African leaders overseas. Huge hopes were laid on Schreiner deputation, purpose of which was to present the disadvantages and injustice face of the Constitution draft in London. The deputation's members- besides its organiser W.P. Schreiner who was former Prime Minister- were activists from mainly provincial branches of the SANC. In spite of the meetings with parliamentarians who could just express their sympathy[85] and increased attention in the press and Aboriginal Protection Society,[86] Britain did not risk the reconciliation after Anglo-Boer war, and the Constitution, called the South African Bill- was passed. This brought to the end the era of belief, carried until than by the liberal Africans, in whites as advocates of their cause. Although the SANC and Schreiner's deputation activities were failures in the end, they proved and started joint modern black protest politics which required the self-action.

The most important outcome of the African-driven joint opposition after the failure of the Schreiner's deputation and fading importance of the South African Native Convention, was the establishment of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912, by Pixley Ka Isama Seme. After his return from Oxford law school he was involved in the Convention, but soon with his three colleagues- also lawyers- he became involved in formation of the organisation which would effectively engaged and cover blacks from all provinces of newly established Union of South Africa. It is worth noticing that the SANNC was created and run mainly by the lawyers, however on on the other had they have been a group of professional which was able to communicate in the language of institutional legislature, and were able to name their demands in the notions of civil rights, land

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85 De Villiers J. H. Papers, MSC 7, Box 6-Q-Correspondence, unsorted: Letter from Crewe to de Villiers, 30 July 1909, South African Library, Cape Town, in Grobler, J., *A decisive clash?...* p.33.

86 Schreiner W. P. Papers File 11 (7.1.) Charles Dilke- W. P. Schreiner, 24 May 1909, University of Cape Town, Jagger library, BC 112, In Grobler, J., (1988) p.31.

ownership, economic disadvantages, and so on.[87] SANNC was officially founded on the conference 8 January 1912 in Bloemfontein, where representatives of mainly black *intelligentsia* and chiefs from four provinces were present. The branch structure started by the South African Native Congress was continued, and s as a result the five provincial offices were created: a Natal Native Congress, Transvaal Native Congress, Orange Free State Native Congress, Cape Native Congress, and Transkei Native Congress. The centre of power was consisting of chiefs forming the upper chamber, and the rest of blacks creating the lower one.[88] The first elected President was John Dube from Natal , along with six vice presidents, General Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer. Furthermore, seven most prominent chiefs were elected Honorary Presidents. In that way, SANNC managed to combine representatives of the traditional structure of power with established black elite. SANNAC adopted numerous resolutions demanding change of particular laws such as the Native Land Bill, or extension of the Compensation Act on the Black workers and was calling state for providing state's higher education for Africans.[89] While discussing the claims of the SANNC, one must acknowledge the fact, that this organisation had politically moderate shape, and as Marks writes, it was "a cautious, largely middle-class body of educated Africans who were hardly representative either of the new and growing proletariat in the town, or of the tribesmen in the rural areas".[90] But it is also hard to deny that SANNC contributed to the great consolidation of ethnically differentiated Black population, which was also visible in using multiple languages of almost all ethnic groups in the country in the SANNC mouthpiece newspaper-"Abantu-Batho",[91] what could only strengthen the emerging modern nation-wide political consciousness.

The mosaic of the numerous modern black organisations which were primarily local or at most regional were able to overcome the boundaries both physical and ideological. It was necessary for the formation of a unified body which could handle the burden of being the representation of the South African black population in the times of the emerging state favouring racial segregation in all aspects.

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87 Hodgkin, 1968: 140, in Grobler.
88 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.37.
89 Grobler, J., (1988) *A decisive clash?...*, p.36.
90 Marks, 1963: 410, in Grobler.
91 Roux, 1978: 111, in Grobler.

3. The birth of the First Generation of freedom fighters

The following section investigates how the modern black politics, mainly the African National Congress (ANC), dealt with the issues of the increasing restrictions firstly of a segregationist policy changed later on into official apartheid's legislation. Until the formation of the Youth League, SANNC was representing and consisting of educated mostly abroad black elite emerging mainly from the Cape, and the organisation was still searching for the British support in the cases of racial violations within the political, economic and social sphere. However, certain changes within the ANC itself challenged the old leadership and used the vacuum of the potential supporting groups which did not have a body representing their voices. The Union's government pursue legislation which was limiting and in the end practically banning political activity of Africans. This called for a new strategy starting with the delegations to Britain, protests and passive resistance campaigns. This chapter introduces the new state laws and SANNC reaction to them, followed by the part focusing on changes within the organisation itself and strategies used in the struggle inspired by the newly emerged Youth League, along with the description of the setting youth had faced in that time.

3.1. Activities and challenged effectiveness of the SANNC.

With the establishment of the Union of South Africa, its Prime Minister became Louis Botha, who was in favour of colour bar in politics. Some sources claim that British in the moment of handing the power to Afrikaners believed that they could establish the black representation in the government.[92] This naïve vision was revealed shortly after the establishment of the Union, when the new government passed system of laws which were aiming in the subjugation of the blacks. Starting with the Mines and Works Act in1911, which along with Apprenticeship Act (1922), was limiting and making it finally impossible for the natives to obtain any skilled positions. The "Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 made breaches of contract by African labourers (…) a criminal offence"[93] This was followed by the Industrial Conciliation Act (1924) which "excluded by definition of employee persons whose contract of service were regulated by pass laws, or who were recruited by labour agents".[94] However, the most

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92 Burger, J. (1943) *The black man's burden*. London: Victor Gollancz, p.26-27.
93 Kuper, L. (1975) African Nationalism in South Africa. In: M.Wilson & L. Thompson [ed.] *The Oxford History of South Africa* (vol. 2, pp. 424-476). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.438.
94 Kuper, L. (1975) African Nationalism in South Africa. In: M.Wilson & L. Thompson [ed.] *The Oxford History of South Africa.*

controversial act in the early phase of the South African government, was the Native Land Act of 1913, which was forbade the ownership of private areas by the blacks, although majority of the natives was living on the privately owned white farms. People who were living on what was considered 'European' areas suddenly lost their ownership rights. Most of all, the Land Act was in fat limiting land ownership for Africans to less than 12 per cent, in spite of the fact that they have been more than 70 per cent of the total South African population, whereas whites who were owning the rest of the land comprised around 20 per cent of the population.[95] Furthermore, the pass law system which- was based on requirement of carrying a pass in the white areas by blacks who could be present there only in if they had been working there- had been extended in the Natives Urban Areas Act in 1923, the Native Administration Act in 1927, and finally the Native Services Contract Act in 1932.[96] Last grievance of the official political rights of the blacks, was so called Hertzog Bills- the Representation of Natives Act from 1936, were the franchise voting system in the Cape was removed, bringing to an end the privileges of the last black South Africans in the country.[97]

How the SANNC react towards these restrictions and changes? The first serious challenge was definitely the struggle against the Land Act, and the congress held in Johannesburg in July, 1913. It was decided to send a delegation to the United Kingdom to claim appeal in front of the government and make the black South Africans' situation a spotlight for the public opinion's attention. The second point was achieved to a relatively good extend, and the delegation received lots of attention from the press and human rights organisations including the Aborigines Protection Society.[98] However, in the most important matter, the delegation failed to influence the Land Act, since Britain recognised the Union of South Africa as a self-governing body which is capable of pursuing domestic policy in the way it wants. Furthermore, the Union's involvement the First World War stipulated the economic downfall of the country, and brought to an end claims of the Africans, which despite of failure of stopping the Land Act legislation, declared to the Union's government and to the UK, "unwavering loyalty (…) and

95 Plaatje, S.T. (1969/1916) *Native life in South Africa: before and since the European war and the Boer rebellion,* New York: Negro Universities Press.
96 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa: the leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela, and Stephen Biko.*
97 Kuper, L. (1975) African Nationalism in South Africa. In: M. Wilson & L. Thompson [ed.] *The Oxford History...*
98 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p.43.

that we [SANNC] will do all in our power to assist them in their difficult duties".[99] Therefore after the war against Germany was declared, black South Africans joined military forces and noticed, that blacks from other countries on the contrary to them, were fully armed and were used as a fighting soldiers serving along with the whites.

After the First World War, the issue of the Act was again discussed within the Beaumont Commission which deny to once again define the just and clear land distribution lines, since the areas of demarcation were already blurred.[100] Another delegation of the SANNC to the Versailles where the Peace Treaty after the First World War was signed, also failed. British representatives present in the Versailles did not meet with the deputation, and the meeting with the British Prime Minister in November 1919 resulted in two letters sent by him to the South African government. In a response, government had undermined natives credibility and was treating them as a representation of the all blacks across the country,[101] as no intervention in the home affairs of the independent Union of South Africa could be pursued. Despite again receiving public attention in the press,[102] both delegations were clear failures. Even if there was some sympathy among the British parliamentarians, they were powerless.[103] Blacks needed a new strategy, and the SANNC due to lack of effectiveness had to change as its power and credibility in position of being a vital political organisation able to cope with the Afrikaner's government were clearly undermined.

3.2 The slow fall of the 1920s and the outcome of the Second World War.

Feelings of disappointment and frustration blew the SANNC even further away from the group of potential supporters- black workers. Organisation failed to recognise the needs of the working class, since its leadership was consisting of the Cape black elite and agenda did not cover the direct issues of workers. The first strike which took place in 1915 did not lead to formation of a trade union to which Africans could belong- this happened in the year 1917 with establishment of the Industrial Workers of

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99 Central Archives (Pretoria), NA file 2232/14/F1121, Anglo-German War 1914, unnumbered: Resolution, Vryheid Branch, SANNC, 22 August 1914, In: Grobler, J. *A decisive clash?,* p.44
100 UG 19, 1916: 1-4, in Grobler.
101 Central Archives (Pretoria), NTS file 8/326, SA Native Congress Deputation to England, unsorted: Comments upon the Minutes of the Deputation to D.Lloyd George, 21 November 1919. by E. R. Gathrone\, n.d. And Suggested draft reply amended by Smuts, undated, In Grobler, (1988), p.47.
102 Willan, 1984: 233-234, in Grobler.
103 Willan, 1984: 246-281, in Grobler.

Africa (IWA) which was a split-up part of the anti-war white movement.[104] IWA along with the Transvaal Native Congress managed to organise a strike among black municipal workers in Johannesburg in June 1918 in which they had demanded higher wages.[105] Although the strike was suppressed, the next one was bigger in scale. This was the African miners strike in February 1920 and spread in other places across the country. Police reacted with violence killing many Africans, which was condemned by both educated and working black class representatives.[106] Far from the interior of the country, in the Cape Peninsula an organisation representing docksers workers- the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) in 1919 emerged. ICU led to a strike in December the same year demanding of to remove industrial colour bar and wage increase.[107] Strike has tremendously increased ICU's membership.[108] Although the ICU was the biggest black organisation before the Second World War, the conflict within leadership which became too detached from members and ended with the brutal and violent riot between Africans and police in Durban in 1929.[109]

Another organisation which was concerned about the workers was the Communist Party of South Africa CPSA). This party was founded in Cape Town in 1921, and on its Congress three years later in 1924, party declared to accept members of all races,[110] which was very progressive at that time. The party was established by whites under the leadership of William H. Andrews, but quickly its membership was dominated by Africans, among which were many prominent future leaders of black politics, such as Moses M. Kotane (he became General Secretary in 1939[111]) or J. B. Marks (who was the Provincial President of the Transvaal ANC in 1950[112]). Jackie Grobler notices that "the requirement of Africans was so effective that by 1928, according to sources of CPSA itself, it had 1700 members, of whom 1600 were Black".[113] Lots of CPSA members were belonging also to the ANC, since its president at that time Josiah Gumede was sympathising with Communists, and tried to start cooperation between

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104 Jhohnsone, 1979, in Grobler.
105 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p.52
106 UG 34, 1922: 1-2, in Grobler.
107 Marquard, L. (1969) *The peoples of policies of South Africa* (4th edition). London: Oxford University Press.
108 Wickins, 1972: 238-295 in Grobler.
109 Mouton, 1985: 173 in Grobler.
110 SACP, 1924 in Grobler.
111 Bunting, 1975 in Grobler.
112 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 62.
113 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?....,* p. 62.

them and the SANNC[114] (by that time already named ANC). In the end he became the President of the League of African Rights in 1929 formed by CPSA with no chances for re-election within the ANC since chiefs and elites were sceptical towards communistic ideas of class equality and were threatened of loosing their hierarchical position.

SANNC in the second decade of the 20th Century faced frequent changes in the leadership,[115] and although it was recognised as a still important political movement, the government was ignoring its requests about implementation of numerous Acts described above. On the conference in 1923 the name of the SANNC was changed to African National Congress (ANC), and the extension of the Natives Land Act- the Urban Areas Act- was debated and condemned. The new Act's objectivity was to remove Africans from mixed areas in towns due to fast and increasing urbanisation process, and place them on the outskirts of town, in so called townships.[116] After the Act was implemented, the new legislation started to be even more threatening and extending the list of black grievances. The Smuts's governments lost in the Union's parliamentary election, and he was replaced by former general from Anglo-Boer War, J. B. M Hertzog. Coalition in the new government consisted of National Party and Labour Party, which speed up the process of racial segregation. Hertzog proposed four bills in 1926, of which two in the end were implemented in 1935. First one assumed the formation of the Native Representative Council, which was consisting of twelve Africans, six of which were chosen by the people and the rest by the government. Crucial was the placing of the black Cape voters on the separate roll, where they could vote for the white representatives, and as a result taking over the last bastion of the Black direct participation in the official politics, even if it was a theoretical one for tremendous majority of them. Second bill called the Native Trust and Land Bill assumed the foundation of a trust which would buy a land in designated for Africans areas, which in fact was restricting and making it even more difficult for the natives to occupy and settle in the country. Both Bills were passed in June 1936 with overwhelming majority of votes,[117] regardless of the condemnation by all black organisations, including ANC. The initiative of the mainly coloured movement African People's Organisation called for a Non-European

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114 Nelson, 1975: 45-46 in Grobler.
115 Three presidents: S. M. Makgatho (1917-1924), Rev. Z. R. Mohabane (1924- 1927), and Josiah T. Gumede (1927-1930).
116 Davenport, 1978: 340, in Grobler.
117 Van As, 1965: 198-199 in Grobler.

Conference in 1927,[118] was the first meeting of African, Indian and Coloured representatives. Further conferences were continue criticising and expressing discontent of the current governmental policy, while the parliament was keeping ignoring the initiative. Another hope was the All African Convention (AAC) called by Z. R. Mahabane, which should be a platform for a meeting "of chiefs, leaders and representatives of all shades of religious, educational, economic and political thought among African people".[119] The Convention was supposed to gather the opposition of the Hertzog's Bills.[120] Finally, in December 1935 in Bloemfontain, around four hundred representative had met, choosing D.D.T. Jabavu a chairman, who still couple of years ago was in favour of letting the British to be advocates of the blacks grievances.[121] Others prominent leaders also took part in formation of the leadership within the Convention, such as A. B. Xuma, H. Selby Msimang, J. S. Moroka, Z. K. Matthews, Dube and of course Mahabane himself.[122] During the Convention, representatives found unacceptable formation of the Natives Representative Council, along with the Native Land Trust which was a threat to the livelihood of rural population, and the resolution about the general trend by the governmental legislation aims at the suppression and alienation of Africans.[123] The executive committee held meetings with Hertzog where the resolution were submitted, however he pursued with the Bills' legislation anyway. At that point, Cape liberals had to acknowledge that for the Afrikaner's government, they are no different than black mining workers or domestic helpers. On the Convention in mid-1936, the Programme of Action was adopted which should give the possibility of using the legal means of power to influence blacks politics[124] and therefore by the year 1937 in the Native Representative Council members of the AAC executive committee had their six seats.[125] Overall, the AAC members became a part of a body against which they had primarily formed the Convention. It managed however to break to certain extend the barriers between elites and workers. Educated Cape blacks realised that the threat of loosing political meanings also leads to the loosing of education possibilities and therefore disturbed

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118 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?... ,* p. 65.
119 Karis, 1973:4 in Grobler.
120 Sampson, A. (1958) *The treason cage: the opposition on trial in South Africa.* London: Heinemann.
121 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?... ,* p. 66
122 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?... ,* p. 66
123 AAC, 1935 in Grobler.
124 AAC, 1936 in Grobler.
125 Karis, 1973: 10-11 in Grobler.

the liberal ideology promoted by the Christian humanism,[126] that education will set them free.[127] Convention was a meeting uniting people of many races against the common enemy, which in that period of time, the ANC failed to face.[128]

The ANC during 1930s was weak as never before, and the crisis was partly cause by an ineffective leadership of Seme and his successor Z. R. Mohabane. Mohabane also failed as an active leader who was supposed to blow a wind of change into the ANC. Historians generally agree that "for the first years of the 1930s, the ANC was unsuccessful in reconstituting its unity even to the extend of meeting regularly to pass resolutions and to organise the deputations that had been the focus of its activities in the 1920s".[129] And in the end of the decade, the ANC as a political organisation had become "nearly moribund".[130] The federal structure of the ANC was causing troubles regarding regular meetings with all representatives, lack of founds which meant problems with hiring stable staff, had caused the ill functioning of the movement limited to the middle class activists.[131]

However, the awakening came with the new President General- Dr. A. B. Xuma in 1940. He drew more concrete agenda for himself as a President and for the ANC itself. Jackie Grobler collected them in several points:

> He began by compromising a lengthy exposition of the ANC's aims in the political, economic, social, educational and related fields. It was published in a various newspapers and included to a plea to Africans to join the ANC and work for the attainment of those aims, which were generally quite moderate (Xuma, 1941). Secondly, he visited big urban centres in SA, blowing new life into local branches of the ANC and smoothing over the differences of opinion which divided the provincial branches. Thirdly, he managed to induce an impressive number of African intelligentsia to join the ANC. Fourthly, he succeeded in rebuilding the organization's finances. By the end of Xuma's first term as President General (December 1943) the ANC, which had no money when he was elected, could coast of a positive bank balance of £800. This meant that a permanent ANC office could be opened in Johannesburg (De Viliers, 1965: 131-132). Finally, the ANC accepted a new constitution [..][132]

The new constitution made possible for anyone to join ANC regardless the race.[133] Furthermore, the Second World War blew some hope, firstly after Hertzog's replacement by again Smuts (who supported the joining of the country in the war) and the victory of the Allies of which the first significant

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126 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 26
127 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 44
128 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 68
129 Karis, T. & Carter, G.M. (1972) [ed.] *From protest to challenge...,* p. 154.
130 Karis, T. & Carter, G.M. (1973) [ed.] *From protest to challenge...,* p. 81.
131 Walshe, 1970: 218-238 in Grobler.
132 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p.80.
133 ANC, 1943 in Grobler.

document was the Atlantic Charter drew by the Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. The reason for hopes was Smuts's declaration that the bill of rights incorporated in the Atlantic Charter will be a base for the post-war South Africa. Xuma called for a formation of the African Charter which would contain also a bill of rights in order to formulate a role of the blacks in the post-war South Africa. The African Charter was accepted at the ANC conference and sent as a booklet overseas.[134] Xuma as a President General participated in the first General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation in 1946 to raise awareness of getting worse and worse conditions of blacks in South Africa. Also the ideology of newly formed United Nations was challenging the racial order in South Africa, emphasising the freedom of each individual. Xuma supported the international the cooperation between ANC and the Pan African movement started ad the Pan African Congress meeting in England in 1945 where many prominent African politicians were present[135] and submitted many resolutions condemning racism.[136] Xuma's efforts to sort out and revitalise ANC had been a moderate success and contributed to blacks stimulating cooperation with other political bodies.

Generally speaking, the end of the Second World War created more potential supporters of unified black politics. It was caused by the increased industrialisation (due to the need of war material and therefore bigger amount of resources). Young blacks were emigrating to the mining areas to find there a job, and the gathering of people from different geographically and ethnically groups stimulated urbanisation and detribalisation. As Grobler sums up:

> The Atlantic Charter helped to shape Black perceptions as to the rights of people and nations, and the international contacts secured by the ANC as a result of the war- for example, the United Nations organization and the Pan African Congress- contributed to an immediately noticeable self- confidence among Black leaders. The nature of their demands immediately became more assertive.[137]

It is therefore noticeable that once recognised demands needed to be introduced to a larger than educated elite group and expend to the masses of workers gross of which was formed by newly detached from families and exposed for a new socialisation factors group- the youth.

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134 Xuma, 1945 in Grobler.
135 i.e. Kwame Nkrumah from the Golden Coast, Dr Azikiwe from Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya and Kamazu Banda from Nyasalad.
136 Padmore, c1945 in Grobler.
137 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 82.

3.3 Formation of the ANC Youth League.

The Natives Representative Council swas upposed to be a vital advisory body representing standpoint of Africans and shapes state's policies regarding the black population. However the government failed many times to consider the council's advice, not to mention acting on it. The peak of frustration around council's members, was the decision of the government to send police troops against striking miners in 1946 what has caused numerous victims.[138] The Council failed to fulfil its mission as negotiating and influencing governmental decisions concerning blacks body, although one could ask whether such belief was not naïve since the moment of Council's creations. Its members, including former enthusiast of liberal politic- Z. K. Matthews, became aware of the fact, that the solely negotiating approach is helpless concerning change of Afrikaner's legislation towards natives. Former enthusiasts of gradual liberation like Matthews by participating in the NRC proved that he is willing to cooperate and act within the legal institutions provided by the state. However, since they had been proved inefficient, weak or even influential only on the paper which established them, elites needed a new angle of struggle which would engage masses.[139] In 1942 the first official document which was an approval of the formation of the youth wing within the ANC and was presented on the annual ANC conference in Johannesburg. A year later, ANC called for establishment of the youth committees in all provinces to spread the new spirit around the country. In the the first significant document issued by the Johannesburg committee, titled "Congress Youth League Manifesto", which was expressing new-Africanist approach. It emphasised the lost of the faith in whites advocacy of natives problems, and the time for blacks to stop holding grievances and take their destiny in their own hands, describing the need for the national unity:

> League will be a co-ordinating agency for all youthful forces employed in rousing popular political consciousness and fighting oppression and reaction. It will educate the people politically by concentrating its energies on the African home front to make all sections of our people Congress-minded and nation-conscious.[140]

The conference in September 1944 in Johannesburg established the provincial- Transvaal branch- where the Youth League was officially found, with Anton Lembede as its first President, Oliver Tambo as

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138 Wilson, cited in Matthews Z.K. (1981) *Freedom for my people...*
139 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 48.
140 CYL, 1944 in Grobler.

Secretary, Walter Sisulu as Treasurer A. P. Mda as organiser and Nelson Mandela and David Bopape as members of the executive committee.[141] Lembede was a creator of the ideology which became trade mark for the ANC YL for the next years, namely the ideology of African Nationalism- Africanism. The opinion, that only Africans can save themselves marked exclusive engagement of natives in the black politics, which ANC YL considered as an only right approach.[142] ANC YL changed the perception and aspirations of the ANC as it was known by that time, from the organisation characterised by at most moderate ideology into the outspoken one with defiant militancy, and YL helpied in the end in re-establishing ANC as the most black political organisation.[143] The ANC YL had a vision of uniting black youth from the country and mobilise them into a mass movement struggling for national liberation.[144] It is important to investigate the reasons for a formation of the ANC Youth League and how this particular group was different form the 'old guard' which they had criticised in their political statements.[145]

Youth League issued the "Basic Policy of the CYL" in 1948, where couple of important statements had been made concerning political and economic freedom, access to education with a plan of one hundred percent of literacy, new land distribution, equal distribution of the South African wealth, rights for workers ad other groups regardless of the colour bar. Finally, a standpoint was taken towards white population which was supposed to removed their domination of the continent and "assist in establishing a free people's democracy in South Africa".[146] In the same year, the winning of the National Party in the parliamentary elections started the time of the apartheid, when the segregationist policy became the country's main legislation. As with the end of the Second World War black South African population could feel certain winds of change due to international recognition of human rights, formation of the UNO or formation of the Atlantic Charter. Nationalists noticed fears of the Afrikaners and transmitted them into a political power and willingness to keep the colour bar system in the

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141 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 88.
142 Lembede, 1946 in Grobler.
143 Raboroko, 1960 in Grobler.
144 Mda, 1948 in Grobler.
145 CYL, 1948 in Grobler.
146 CYL, 1948 in Grobler.

country as stable as possible justifying it the old narration of white superiority.[147] It was a trigger for faster pursuing planned by the Youth League process of changes. The idea of designing ANC's own Programme of Action was a new approach, since the organisation was usually acting in a response to state's policy, without its own agenda. Program of Action condemned the apartheid as a South African state's system, and a demand of the black representation in all levels of power was made. The Programme suggested establishment of founds, national press which could inform and spread propaganda, to form a council which would be responsible for new ways of struggle (such as boycotts, strikes, etc.), and lastly the Programme proposed to launch economic, educational and cultural strategies which would uplift black population.[148] The Programme was adopted on the annual ANC conference in 1949, where the representative of the 'old guard'- President Xuma, was replaced by the Youth League's candidate- James Moroka who was in favour of the policy change. Furthermore, Walter Sisulu was elected the Secretary General, starting the new era of the ANC's policy.[149]

Within the first years of the Youth League, the Africanist approach was dominant, and so was reluctance towards the Communists. As the first leaders claimed, the Africans must liberate themselves alone and were sceptical to an idea of cooperation with different races or political groups. However, the beginning of the 1950s brought changes to the primary assumptions. Firstly, the ANC YL President Anton Lembede who was in favour of the exclusive Africanism approach, died and Nelson Mandela replaced him on the leading position. of the ANC YL. Mandela himself was at the beginning reluctant to cooperate with the Communists, but came to an understanding that "the ANC was formed and build up, not as a political party with one school of political thought, but as a Parliament of the African people, accommodating people of various political convictions, all united by the common goal of national liberation."[150] Another reasons for a change was living a room by Moroka for other black politicians within the ANC who did not support the idea of Africanism, which had definitely reduce the Youth League's approach. Finally, more and more blacks who were already members of the Communist Party of South Africa, became influential members of the ANC, such as J. B. Marks who

147 Thompson, L. (1985) *The political mythology of apartheid.,* New Heaven: Yale University Press.
148 ANC, 1949 in Grobler.
149 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 91.
150 Mandela, N. (1973) *No easy walk to freedom.* London: Heinemann, p. 180-181.

was involved in the central committee of the CPSA, was elected the President of the Transvaal branch in 1950, and Moses Kotane who was serving on the executive committee of the ANC was also Secretary General of the CPSA.[151] The political face of the ANC had changed and the organisation was on the cusp of a new political age which was an outcome of the new ANC YL generation.

Why the young generation of the new ANC future leaders was so much different than their precursors? To which extend they had been socialised in a different way or what kind of socio-political changes influenced their way of thinking? Previous chapter was describing the rise of modern black political consciousness which was in the same time creation of a set within which for the first generation of freedom fighters has grew up. In that time they could not influence it, but as they have become emerging adults they faced increasing restrictions- the setting. On the field of education and labour- which was often putting them in a position of migrant workers, verified their set from the past and triggered need for its change. The most popular platform of expression new ideas was the ANC Youth Leagues (YL).

Definitely one of the main differences influencing the setting during the live span of the first generation of the ANC YL leaders, was the fact that education which was still helpful for the 'old guard', i.e. for Matthews or founders of the ANC themselves, was useless in the case of Black elite's struggle, not mentioning workers. Young generation's setting was already different, since the numerous governmental Acts restricted and with Hertzog's Bills banned their direct political participation and the one replaced by the government- the Natives Representative Council (NRC) was a passive body with who's opinion authorities did not had to count. Youth witnessed this seizure of the franchise rights of their educated fathers and could not help not noticing that the ANC itself was also not sufficient in its methods of struggle. Young activists started claiming that almost fifty years of moderate negotiations and delegations overseas did not bring any meaningful outcome except for a clear message that whites are not willing or able to help, even if some declare differently. Finally, the ANC seemed for the emerging young leaders, as an organisation which on the one hand were led a group of "privileged few" who were playing a "dual role": they had been warning the government about consequences if the white

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151 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 92.

authorities will keep privileges for themselves which would be joining the masses, but in the same time, restraining the mass protests themselves.[152] Those few "privileged" lost their last rights with the Hertzog Bills, and could no longer persuade masses about the need of a gradual change since elites were not convinced about it themselves. It was the youth who started to feel responsible for the masses who were missing representation who would engage with them and use as a potential supporters for the change. Youth League wanted to make ANC such an organisation. They claimed that all the blacks- now even the educated ones- are equal targets of the segregationist state policy. Therefore since the government ignored warning of few representatives, it should be expected now from the masses to speak up, and the old ANC leadership should join and support it or let the new generation pursue with their vision.[153]

Concerning the change which influenced young leaders way of thinking about the masses, especially in this meaning workers, was the fact of increasing industrialisation and urbanisation.[154] This phenomena caused detribalisation, often broke or changed socialisation which has been transmitted through the family and relatives. Moreover, the change caused putting many people from different ethnically and geographically regions of the country in one spot- a township. Some of them- like i.e. N. Mandela- were also emigrating to Johannesburg to work or gain education since in that time blacks form especially rural areas had very little institutionalised education.[155]

Part of the Youth League leaders during their education in Fort Hare, where some of the 'old guard' such as Matthews were teachers, had similar experiences. However, students had been already aware of the fact that gradual liberation through education is not sufficient and requires new, although still blurry and not concrete by that time, direction of struggle.[156] Institutionalised education centres were a vital source of new socialisation, as students once recognised the need for a change, started to form debating groups, like Social Studies Society[157] or Student's Representative Council (SRC).[158]

152 Karis, T. & Carter, G.M. (1973) [ed.] *From protest to challenge...*, p.305.
153 Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 51.
154 The population of Africans in urban areas had risen from one million to more than 2.3 million between 1936 and 1951 (Karis & Carter, 1973), which is the increase of an urbanisation level among the black population from 18.9 percent to 27.1 percent during the same years (Gerhart, 1978), In Juckes, p. 49.
155 In the mid-1930s, more than two-thirds of African children received no education at all, and not even 2 percent of those who did, managed to pass there more than primary years (Hoernlé, 1939), In Juckes, *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 54.
156 Karis, T. & Carter, G.M. (1973) [ed.] *From protest to challenge...*
157 Karis, T. & Carter, G.M. (1973) [ed.] *From protest to challenge...*
158 Benson, M. (1980) *Nelson Mandela.* London: Panaf Books.

Participation within such multiracial groups, where Indians, Coloureds, blacks and sometimes even whites were present, had definitely shaped the idea of multiracial direction of the ANC YL policy pursued by Mandela as its president later on.

3.4 Peaceful resistance and the Congress Alliance.

Refreshed and rich in a new strategy- Programme of Action, ANC started to become more visible and active on the black politics' stage. The Afrikaner's attempt to make South Africa a "white man's land"[159], was pursued by the continuation of the legislation which was aiming at the subjugation of the blacks. Nationalists gained power in May 1948, as Juckes listed, they had started to pursue new restrictions immediately:

> The same month, the traditionally unsegregated first-class trains in the Cape Town area were segregated. This was followed with a law prohibiting marriage between races (1949); the Group Areas Act (1950), restricting races to particular areas and segregating ownership, occupation, residence and trade; the Population and Registration Act (1950), forcing all individuals to be classified by race; and the Immortality Act (1950), extending a 1927 law forbidding sex between blacks and whites to sex between whites and Coloureds. The Bantu Authorities Act (1951), elaborated in 1959 in the Promotion of Bantu Self- Government Act, laid the foundation for tribal self-government in reserves aside by the government for each black ethnic group. In 1961, the government extended this homeland policy to include also those blacks temporarily residing in urban areas. (…) Later Nationalists legislation included the Native Laws Amendment Act (1957), which controlled interracial association; the Bantu Education Act (1953), which segregated schools and guaranteed lower educational standards and minimal funding for black school; and the Extension of Universities Education Act (1959), segregating tertiary educational institutions by race.[160]

Basically facing such a catalogue of laws, ANC had to change the route from negotiating to defiance. It started with the protest organised by the The Council of Action on 1 May "Freedom Day" (or May Day). Despite the fact that the Youth League keeping in that time its Africanism exclusivist approach, and was very reluctant towards an idea of organising the protest with the CPSA and APO[161] were also involved in it. On the 1st May, many Africans stayed at their homes. In many townships protest and demonstrations were held, however by the evening the violence between protesters and police erupted, leaving first deaths of the protest.[162] It was the moment when the YL had to acknowledge that next to their correct understanding of people's readiness for action, protesting people had not been concerned

159 De Villiers, R., (1975) Afrikaner nationalism. In: M.Wilson & L.Thompson [ed.], *The Oxford history of South Africa* (vol. 2, pp. 365-423). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
160 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa…,* p. 69.
161 Karis, 1973: 406 in Grobler.
162 De Villiers, 1965: 178, 289 in Grobler.

about the particular ideology which was the subject of disputed between the leadership. Participation of the masses in the May Day protest, made some YL leaders, such as Mandela or Sisulu, aware of the fact that for the masses exclusivist approach in politics was not important and they had realised that on the contrary- the future strength was lying in the multiracial masses. As a result they had abandoned Africanism.[163]

The state decided to prevent potentially threatening opposition organisation such as the CPSA by banning it after the May Day through releasing the Unlawful Organisations Bill, which was changed later into the Suppression of Communism Act:

> Opposition to government policies was controlled with the Suppression of Communist Act (1950), where communism was equated with treason, which in turn was equated with antigovernment action. Together, the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act (1930), the Public Safety Act (1953), and the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953) effectively controlled protest and civil disobedience and allowed banning, banishment and detention without trial.[164]

Luckily, many of African activists from CPSA were involved in the ANC where they could still influence and popularise Communistic propaganda, whereas white members of the CPSA became involved and in founded in 1953 South African Congress of Democrats (SACOD),[165] which was a political platform for mostly white liberals.

The next event, called the National Day of Protest, was established on 26 June 1950. During this action the Youth League took an active part along with the ANC itself and the SAIC (South African Indian Congress). It had been a day in memory of those who lost their lives during the May Day. The joined committee of both organisations encouraged African workers to stay at home. Within different provinces there had been various responses: some authors[166] claim that blacks were confused and not ready yet to fully engage themselves in common action hand in hand with white Communists and Indians, also the participation itself in the protest could cause them on the one hand lost of the job, and on the other risk of being accused of collaboration and beaten up by the supporters of the protest.[167] However, gaining more alliances for the ANC was the new strategy and soon another racial

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163 Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p.74.
164 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 69.
165 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 93.
166 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,*
167 Northwestern University, Melville J Herskovitz Library, Africana Manuscripts 5, Lavinia Scott Papers, Box 4, folder 1:Letter from Lavinia Scott to Dearest Family, 25 June 1950. in Grobler, (1988) p. 95

group, the mainly-Coloured Franchise Action Council (FRAC) formed in Cape Town in 1951. It was a direct response against the government's law of removal Coloureds form the voting lists.

Next step after the one-day protests actions, was the broad strategy- the Defiance Campaign started a year after the National Protest Day, on 26 June 1952. A Joint Planning Council formed from the ANC, SAIC and FRAC representatives, and the leaders of them wrote letters to the government to repeal Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.[168] Once the government ignored letters again, the orderly planned breaking of the law started. The defiance campaign was in to a large extend inspired by the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign launched by Mohamas Ghandi in the first decade of the century, and later in the 1940s by two Mandela's class mates at the Fort Hare University.[169] It was hoped that the Defiance Campaign will be a sufficient measure in order to help change state's approach, as prisons would be filled with volunteers breaking the law, the administration of the state apparatus would not be possible. However as at the beginning the volunteers were punished for breaking the laws (i.e. sitting on a bench with sign "white only" on it), they had been punished according to a justice code, but as the weeks went by, state introduced harder measures. Finally, mentioned already the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act both of 1953, successfully paralysed any kind of public protest activity. Although the campaign was suspended in the early 1953, and it fail to prevent from implementation of the Acts, Campaign became a symbol of a change and heroism and brought increase membership of the ANC. With Mandela becoming a president of the Transvaal branch, Z. K. Matthews in the Eastern Cape, and the Albert Lothuli as the ANC's President from 1952 onwards, the alliance between the new generation and the 'old guard' of the ANC was established with the common view point of how to pursue the future of the organisation's politics. Another benefit from the Defiance Campaign was the international recognition of the dissatisfaction of the 'non-white' citizens of South Africa, and it was a subject of the UN General Assembly in 1952, where the governmental suppression of the campaign was condemned.[170] In the United States, the Americans for South African Resistance

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168 SAIC, , 1952 in Grobler.
169 Karis, T. & Carter, G.M. (1973) [ed.] *From protest to challenge...*
170 UN, 1972 in Grobler.

and the United Citizen's Committee for Solidarity with South Africa were found, which were supporting families of prisoners and making a statement of solidarity.[171]

In the meantime, another strategy had been implemented, emphasised by A. P. Mda earlier, but by that time the defiance campaign gained broader support. However, in January 1953 Mandela decided to implement the strategy called the M-Plan, which was supposed to prepare the ANC for the underground activity.[172] The M-Plan- was preparing for the banning of the ANC, as it was seen that such moment will come sooner or later, since there have been some signs of increased repressions- i.e. banning of the Communists. Tasks of the M-Plan were to prepare organisation for potentially underground activities, increase its security, extend those modes of operation which had already been adopted, and try to enable a mass movement to operate in in illegal conditions. Walter Sisulu saw the M-Plan as "actually intended to go into effect when banning orders began to take place".[173] The M-Plan was implementing also something new to the general ANC hierarchy: a submission to the ANC's authorities. Formed in the early 1950s Congress Volunteers launched the National Volunteer Corps which would help out in fulfilling the top-down approach of Mandela: 'Te idea was to set up organisational machinery that would allow the ANC to take decisions at the highest level, which could then be swiftly transmitted to the organisation as a whole without calling a meeting'.[174] The transmission of orders was coming through a formation of the smallest unit- the cell consisting of ten houses, and than streets forming a zone. Zone steward would report to the secretariat of the local ANC branch. Next level was the reporting to the provincial secretary.[175] That way, people would work together closely within well-known neighbourhood. They were also holding meetings of ten people, as the bigger public gatherings were illegal. It could strengthen the understanding of the ANC policy which was spread from one person to another leading to the knowledge and information transmission to keep ANC's cohesion. In that way some people who did not have a proper formal education were

171 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 102.
172 Suttner Raymond (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976 -a social and historical study,* Auckland Park: Jacana Media, p. 20.
173 Sisulu W. (2001) *I will go singing: Walter Sisulu speaks of his life and the struggle for freedom in South Africa.* In conversation with G. M. Houser and H. Shore, New York, nd, p.80.
174 Mandela, N. (1994) *Long walk to freedom: the autobiography of Nelson Mandela,* Boston & New York: Little Brown, p.134.
175 Mandela, N. (1994) *Long walk...,* p.135.

carrying a role of lectures. As Suttner notes: "A similar process had happened or would happen elsewhere- in the Communist Party in its early night schools and in the underground, in the MK camps, in trade unions, on Robben Island and in the UDF".[176] It shows that youth were socialised through peers and elders' education through all that different times, which influenced their setting. However, the M-Plan was difficult to implement for most of the branches due to not sufficient resources and its sudden change of the organisation's structure for which members have not been ready yet. Furthermore, "the country returned to some semblance of normality, and many did not think it necessary to take the precautions when an immediate clampdown did not happen".[177] In 1955 the ANC Executive Committee pointed the M-Plan a failure, but after the banning of the ANC in 1960 its idea became revitalised.

Battle against the Bantu Education Act which had placed missionary schools under the state's jurisdiction under the Minister of Native Affairs- Verwoerd,[178] was crucial for the activist youth. Act was cutting the founds for them using the narration that natives do not need the general and broad education: "The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour (…) For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community (...)"[179]. ANC called parents to withdraw their children from schools in a protest, but some of families were afraid of such a step, since the minister threatened that they will not be admitted to schools again. Still, some parents decided to withdraw their children form school, and sent them to the 'Cultural Clubs' which were declared later on illegal.[180] The African Education Movement created in 1955 was not successful either, since there was not enough financial and human resources to to cover the amount of potential students. Due to the the upcoming Treason Trial during which the mass arrests were held, ANC had to stop further actions concerning the Bantu Education Act, which still managed to awaken many parents and prominent church leaders about the alarming treatment of the blacks as a citizens of

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176 Suttner, R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 27.
177 Suttner, R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 29
178 Brookes, 1969: 47-48 in Grobler**.**
179 Quoted in Christie & Collins, 1984: 173 in Grobler.
180 De Villiers, 1965:315- 327 in Grobler.

the second category.

The peak of the new path of multiracial cooperation was the formation of the Congress of People, which took place on 25-26 June in 1955 at Kliptown. After the numerous meetings with representatives of the ANC, the SAIC, the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO), South African Congress of Democrats (SACOD) together with the South African Congress of Trade Unions, formed Congress Alliance.[181] Before the meeting many volunteers have been sent to ask in their neighbourhood factories, farms, and households people about people's demands. From those scraps of papers, the Freedom Charter was drafted after selection of demands into categories has been made.[182] Of particular interest is that the final draft was written by an anonymous subcommittee,[183] that numerous copies were printed and that no correction could have been made. It is one of the reasons why some claim that the Charter presents the non-racial, humanistic and Christian social order characteristic for Matthews and the liberals[184] The Congress itself was a meeting of a great meaning: "The COP was the most spectacular and moving demonstration this country has ever seen; through it the people have given proof that they have the ability and the power to triumph over every obstacle and win the future of their demands".[185] For the first time people were asked to speak up and realised that they had common ideas about their rights and the future.

The Freedom Charter showed new goals for the new generation of the opposition, marked multiracialism as the one opposed to the state's ideology- apartheid. Finally, the young generation could clearly notice that the system within which they had been living and the one described in the Charter are so tremendously different, that it increased the need to fight for the one they have demands for. The Charter cast a new, positive, alternative and apartheid-free vision of South Africa. The state however did not share that point of view and the present at the Congress secret police alarmed government about the treason statements which according to them had been emphasised in the Charter. In September 1955 houses of the prominent Congress Alliance members were searched and in December 1956

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181 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 108.
182 Lodge, 1983: 70-71 in Grobler.
183 Some claim that the possible author was a member of the South African Congress of Democrats- Lionel Bernstein. In Grobler, (1988) p. 109.
184 Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p.85.
185 Mandela, N. (1973) *No easy walk to freedom,* p. 55.

"virtually everyone who had been involved in any political activity perceived to be antigovernment[186]" was arrested. The trial went for over four years, and in the end none of the accused was found guilty of treason. The Treason Trial brought to some extend international publicity interest in South African case, and developed bounds between imprisoned leaders. On the other hand, it prevented from the contact between them and supporters, which caused that "younger, inexperienced leaders took over much of the organization".[187]

Overall, the birth of the first generation of freedom fighters blew new stream of the politics. The first generation managed to move the ANC from the negotiating strategy to more active one, promoting still peaceful defiance campaign. By being witnesses of the political, social and economic changes which faced their fathers, they had to realized that the 'old guard' needs to be replaced and shift to militant strategy is necessary.

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186 Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa,* p.89.
187 Meer, F. (1990) *Higher than hope: the authorized biography of Nelson Mandela,* New York: Harper & Row.

4. The Soweto uprising as the sign of the Phoenix effect.

Second generation of freedom fighters experienced the change of the set from possibility of legal expression their grievances for illegal militant activities. Facing mass arrests and detentions, they have found themselves without neither a strong leadership nor strong structures which although have been slowly rebuilding, were doing it too slow for them. Change of- once again- educational setting by acts regulating universities and their student's organisations, and other restrictions, resulted in student's explosion combined with the Black Consciousness ideology. Second generation of freedom fighters which triggered the Soweto upraising challenged their parents' set of quietness and operating on the small scale which was case after the Rivonia trial.

4.1 Split within the ANC and formation of the Pan African Congress.

While the Congress was growing in support establishing new alliances and gaining sympathy from organisations abroad, there has been a group within the ANC which was not happy with the solutions proposed by the organisation's leadership. Ideology of African nationalism which triggered the formation of the ANC Youth League was still visible and represented by a group of the ANC members. They perceived abandoning of the programme of action or the M-Plan in the mid 1950s and following strategy of the defiance, as treason of the African interests. This point of view was represented by the chairman of the ANC YL Orlando branch- P. K. Leballlo, who with his followers were nursing distrust and challenging cooperating with the ANC groups, with no distinction whether it was the SACP, SACOD or SACTU.[188] Overall, they had been criticising message of the Freedom Charter and its multiracial character, emphasising the "orthodox-nationalism" in their magazine "The Africanist", asking rhetorical questions such as: "To whom Africa belongs? To whom resources of Africa belong?". The split between Africanists and ANC became official on during the ANC annual conference, in November 1958, when Leballo and many of his supporters did not have valid credentials and could not participate. They had decided to form their own organisation- the Pan African Congress (PAC). which happened to be in Orlando from 4 to 6 April 1959. Leballo and Josias Madzunya of the Alexandra township were leaders, while elected President General was Robert Sobukwe from the University of

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188 Gerhart, 1979: 154 in Grobler.

Wiwatersrand.[189] It can be said that the leadership of the PAC was consisted of educated small middle class.[190] Some scholars would see this increase of people's support for PAC's activity in the fact of imprisoned ANC leadership in that time.[191] PAC grew after some time and became an organisation which managed to challenge ANC's multiracial approach and managed to stay for some time on the modern black liberation movements map.

In order to be recognised as a separate and independent movement, PAC pursued with the anti-pass campaign, which was already planned also by the ANC and Bishops Committee of Ambrose Reeves on 31.03.1960. However, PAC decided that if it wants to gain supporters, it has to act faster and called blacks to leave their passes at home and report themselves to the nearest police station on 21st March. The purpose was to fill up prisons and that way paralyse police actions. In some cities no action was taken,[192] but in some township there has been a laud response. On the day of the campaign, surprised police in Bopholong discovered outside the crowd of around 3.000 Africans, and reacted by using the tear gas and batons, killing two Africans. In the Langa township in Cape Peninsula a crowd of people throwing stones was a reason for the police to start a fire and also killing two Africans, but the biggest riots or rather massacre occurred in the Sharpeville township. Beginning in the early morning not knowing exactly what is expected from them crowd of around 5000 people[193] surrounded the police station and did not disperse- like the one in the neighbouring Evaton- by squadron of planes, which in fact only brought more people to the place. Police felt threatened as the fence began to sway:

> Deciding to arrest the ringleaders, Pienaar and Spengler [collonels who came as reinforcement] hauled three PAC men over the fence into the station yard. But when the gate was opened to bring in a fourth organizer, dozens of demonstrators surged through it. The police staggered back amid a shower of stones. A black constable yelled: 'Run! They are going to shoot!' Two shots rang out, followed by a deafening burst of gunfire. Stopped by the frantic shouting and arm- waving of Spengler and Pienaar, the shooting lasted twenty seconds. But by then 743 bullets had been fired.[194]

By that time, 69 Africans were dead and 180 wounded, mostly with the bullets in their back.

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189 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p.120.
190 Gerhart, 1979: 223 in Grobler.
191 See Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...*
192 No protest held in Durban, East London and Port Elisabeth.
193 According to the police crowd consisted of c.a. 20.000 people, while demonstrates and some authors (see Juckes) estimate number of c.a. 5.000. in Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the African National Congress,* London: Grafton Books, p.119.
194 Holland (1989) *The struggle: a history of the ANC...,* p. 120.

Government reacted by declaring a State of Emergency, which allowed for suspects to be arrest and keep in detention any suspect for 180 days or until termination of the emergency, prohibiting of all public meetings, except from the religious ones and finally banning of the PAC and ANC on 8 April 1960 under the charges of the Suppression of Communism Act.[195] The international community condemned and criticised the events from Sharpeville. White population was scared and threatened of the sudden expression of black grievances. Many Afrikaners started to purchasing weapons, others planned to leave the country and were applying for visas to Canada or Australia.[196] The country's economy suffered problems with reluctance of the foreign investment which although came back to the normal terms of operating in the country, still contributed to the economic isolation.

For many Africans, Sharpeville was a clear sign that the defiance did not bring expected results and many were wondering along with Mandela himself: "Is it politically correct to continue preaching peace and non-violence when dealing with a Government whose barbaric practices have brought so much suffering and misery to Africans? With equal monotony the question is posed: Have we not closed a chapter on this question?"[197] Blacks felt helpless an realised that negotiations with the government were closed by the state, and that peace defiance was ignored.

For the youth it meant once again change of the political setting: from the state where they could still express their grievances to certain extend, into a system where each form of debating, consulting and reflecting current situation was banned. Once again they had witnessed disappointment of their parents and themselves by the promise of making the change possible by peaceful methods. Without doubt, Sharpeville contributed to personal change of leaders such as Mandela, Tambo, Sisulu and Joe Slovo. Influence on the youth from the township of the massacre, was the radicalisation towards usage of method of struggle means to combat apartheid's inequalities.

4.2 The period of militancy and its decline- the Rivonia Trial.

The ideological differences between ANC and PAC were also reflected in the new military strategy formed by both organisations. But before further descriptions of their activities, it is important

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195 Karis, T. & Carter, G.M. (1977a) [ed.] *From protest to challenge...*
196 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 124.
197 Mandela, N. (1973) *No easy walk to freedom*, p. 105.

to acknowledge some facts from the internal and international affairs which also influenced the decision about introduction of the military struggle within black protest movements. Firstly, on 5 October 1960 white electorate decided to change the Union of South Africa to a republic. Still peaceful response was given to that event and the All-In African Conference took place where blacks criticised change of the system without considering voice of the majority of the population. Meeting took place in Pietermaritzburg on 25 and 26 March 1961, and resulted in a formulation of a letter to the Prime Minister which was as usually ignored. Secondly, the Algerian victory of the rebels over the French colony and successful revolution led by Fidel Castro on Cuba, encouraged and changed perception about the possibilities of the militant struggle and encouraged Africans to follow the way.

Official formation of the Republic of South Africa in May 1961, caused that blacks were afraid the increase of violating their rights, and therefore left no other choice for the ANC leadership than founding a military wing of the organisation. Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) meaning the Spear of the Nation was formed by few banned members of the ANC and SACP such as Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo or Nelson Mandela who became its leader.[198] Umkhonto was an independent organisation, but politically aligned with the ANC, and its headquarters were based on a small farm Liliesleaf next to Rivonia. It had been decided that the target of the group would be structure of apartheid itself, monuments, government's buildings, etc. Umkhonto was aiming to become a professional sabotage organisation and therefore needed some places to train recruits and obtain certain founds for it. These were the reasons for Mandela's trip around African continent and to London. He successfully managed to established necessary contacts with numerous African leaders who promised him logistical and financial help. His personality was attracting youth around him, as he was showing the spirit of readiness all the time, and therefore the hopes of the youth had been built around him.[199] Mandela was cough in July 1962 by the police as he came back and was sentenced imprisonment for five years.[200] However, Raymond Mhlaba replaced Mandela and there was no thread of cease Umkhonto's actions. The first sabotage took place in the anniversary of the Battle of Blood River, on 16 December 1961 when many explosions had

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198 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 129.
199 Bruno Mtolo, 1966: 39-41 in Grobler.
200 Karis and Carter, 1977: 666-667, in Grobler.

damaged electrical installations and government buildings in Port Elisabeth, Durban and Johannesburg.[201] Within next months actions of sabotage took places in various places destroying infrastructure and communication lines, making the life harder for the police and government.[202] Bombs had been made in the Johannesburg flat of another MK activist- Jack Hodgson, and former members in interviews describe that they would often caused major problems for the state sometimes accidentally, such as stealing half tone of the dynamite in Natal or destroying the "main communication as well as the overhead telephone lines linking the Vaal Triangle and Johannesburg".[203] Umkhonto was attracting many youngsters, and after the careful selection and recruitment process, many of them had been sent to to Tanzania of Ethiopia for education and military training. During Umkhonto's activities there had been cases of getting caught and than death sentence, but even in those last moments, fighters did not abandon their ideology struggle for freedom.

Umkhonto we Sizwe would probably continue to pursue its successful sabotage actions, however on 11 July 1963, police raid the Lileslief farm, led to arrest of the almost whole High Command: Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein and Bob Hepple, getting access to all plans and documents. Arrests started the so called Rivoia Trial, as a result of which, Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Dennis Goldberg were sentenced to life imprisonment under the charges of high treason.[204] Further arrests of remaining activists in October 1964, ceased the internal sabotage of the Umkhonto. Terrorism and sabotage proved in the end to be counterproductive as state was justified to use even more force than before to suppress the struggle,[205] and brought ANC on the edge of dependency on a military wing abroad, as the structures within the country were heavily damaged. However, military actions gave a concrete response to the youth expectations in providing them with training and sent message to the state, that the struggle will continue by all means.

Not only did the ANC members notice that increasing polarisation of the society calls for usage

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201 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the ANC,* p. 132.
202 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the ANC,* p. 142.
203 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the ANC,* p. 139.
204 Karis and Gerhart, 1977: 659-660 & 673-678.
205 Grundy, 1973: 189 in Grobler.

of militancy means, but so too did PAC. In 1962 Leballo established Poqo (meaning "pure" or "alone") which was PAC military wing. Headquarters in Johannesburg and in Langa were responsible to the main one in Maseru. However, their means of struggle were very different than the one emphasised by the ANC. Poqo was using a terror win trust among blacks and threatened whites. Poqo planned a mass murder of whites,[206] while Umkhonto was aiming at the monuments of the apartheid with no life losses. While people of different races could belong to Umkhonto, Poqo was exclusively for Africans, and their weapon was *panga*, and not the indirect and harming infrastructure home made bombs.[207] Often while the police was occupied with tracking Umkhonto's activists, Poqo's started its training in Paarl which was the first terror target. From 21st to 22nd November, around 300 Poqo's members armed in knives and axes entered the city, but most of them was caught by the police. However those who they escaped attacked some white peoples' houses and murdered white civilians. The next action took place in Transkei where the chiefs appointed by the government were killed, and five whites murdered by Poqo's soldiers. Declaration the state of emergency led to the arrests of over 3.000 people, which ended the organisation's activity in the region.[208] During the Poqo's press conference in Maseru, police managed to confiscate a list with almost all names of PAC and Poqo's members, and the last attempt to attack the police station in King William's Town failed, bringing to an end Poqo's activities in April 1963.[209] Leballo emigrated to Tanznia, and president Sobuwe remained on Robben Island until 1969. From that moment on, PAC as well as the the ANC mainly focused on the activities abroad.

Both organisations responded to the increasing segregation within the society by militant activities. However, they had acted through very different ideologies, which triggered sabotage on the one side and terror on the other. It is therefore important to notice the possible differences in the narration between both movements. ANC had longer pursued policy of defiance and decided to use military power only when numerous attempts of peaceful negotiations with the government failed. PAC tried to organised an anti-pass campaign which ,due to lack of proper assistance, ended with the Sharpeville massacre, and their next step was already military terror targeting not only whites but also

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206 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 134.
207 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 134.
208 Le Roux, 1977: 248-254 in Grobler.
209 Le Roux, 1977: 257-263 in Grobler.

the black population. And although both organisations were focused on the "international battlefront",[210] it was mostly the ANC which stimulated the contact with the youth within the country by sending them abroad for education or training in Umkhonto. But before the analysis of the internal situation in the post-Rivonia South Africa, the activities of the exile should be emphasised, since they had influence the setting of the international perception of South Africa.

4.3 Advocates of the African cause on the international battlefront.

Movements which found the Congress Alliance and PAC itself, were active on the international stage, by their involvement in many conferences, putting the situation in South Africa in the spotlight and during process cooperating of foundation numerous associations overseas. "International battlefront" is a term used by Elliot-Bateman, within the five elements which he called "battlefronts of people's war" where next to the cultural-spiritual, political, economic and social, and military, the international one according to him is "a hight priority battlefront because success here often decided the issue".[211] There are no doubts about the meaningful outcomes of activities of the Congress members on the exile, since they were able to used the intentional atmosphere after the World War II, and the anti-colonial and anti-racism spirit were dominating ones. Movements on the exile along with emphasising how apartheid treated native citizens of the country, in practice were calling also for the political and economic isolation of South Africa, and hoping to upset white population in the country, or at least businessmen.[212] South Africa's apartheid became condemned and isolated within sport, criticised by artists, actors, particular country's government's as well as international organisations, such as the UN and British Commonwealth, church movements, labour movements, etc.[213] African movements formed a body which was representing their interests called the South Africa United Front (SAUF). Founding organisations of SAUF were the ANC, PAC, the South-West Africa National Union, and the South African Indian Congress, with offices based in London, New York, Accra, Cairo and Dar es Salaam.[214] The SAUF survived eighteen months and was effective on the fields of popularising the apartheid's case

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210 Elliot- Bateman, 1974: 314-317 in Grobler.
211 Elliot- Bateman, 1974: 314-317 in Grobler.
212 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 141.
213 Cobbett, W. & Cohen, R. [ed.] (1988) *Popular struggles in South Africa,* Trenton: Africa World Press, p.2.
214 *Contact,* 11 February 1961: 7 in Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 143.

and black grievances, but because of differences between PAC and ANC, it did not survive. From 1960, SAUF tried to convince representatives from other African countries that South Africa should not be re-admitted into the Commonwealth, but stayed isolated, and successfully persuaded the British Prime Minister of this standpoint. In the meantime, from 1963 on, the UN pursued effective legislation condemning and banning racial discrimination. The declaration in 1973 on the General Assembly accepted that countries recognised by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) "were the 'authentic representatives' of the overwhelming majority of the South African people".[215] Most effective in the reporting and promoting of the African cause was the Special Committee Against apartheid, which assisted both ANC and PAC. The OAU founded in 1963 was since its very beginning criticizing the apartheid system as exploitive and neocolonialist. Organisation assisted officially during formation of numerous committees and unofficially through its leaders supporting in facilitating i.e. ANC activities outside the South Africa. Also the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1968 decided to launch a campaign under the Programme to Combat Racism, which called for the isolation of South Africa and provided financial and legal help to the apartheid's prisoners and their families.[216] It can be said that the bigger success of the blacks abroad, the harder internal policy of Afrikaner's government became.

ANC started their activities in an organised way with the Morogoro Conference in Tanzania in 1969, where the necessary division between what kind of strategy will be pursue within South Africa and which activities should be continued abroad Furthermore recomposition of the executive committee (number of members was reduced), setting up the Revolutionary Council to which -as to the ANC in general- everyone regardless of race could join- and finally adopting the "Strategy and Tactics".[217] The ANC was also involved in the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), and in 1974 Oliver Tambo was elected to its presidium. The major success of the AAPSO was launching the World Conference Against apartheid in Lisbon in 1977.[218] With no doubts cooperation between the ANC and Zimbabwe's African People's Union (ZAPU) was also helpful, which made it possible route from Rhodesia (than) to South Africa. In Europe emerged numerous Anti-apartheid

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215 Heunis, 1986: 151 in Grobler.
216 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 147.
217 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 148.
218 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 149.

Movements which have been started in London,[219] but afterwards were transmitted to other countries, i.e. Austria, France.[220] Also the World Peace Council supported ANC by calling for boycott of South African goods and its isolation on all political, economic and cultural fields.[221] ANC was successful enough to influence blacks in South Africa by sending their magazines printed overseas, smuggling news and reports, or simply by letters, and therefore it was easier to support and understand the uprisings in 1976.

The activities of PAC were also intense but not that smooth as the ANC's. Firstly, PAC experienced a split within the leadership between Leballo and two actively working on exile independent senior representatives Nana Mahomo and Peter Molotsi . The attempt of the PAC to reorganise in Tanzania and than to enter South Africa through Mozambique failed. PAC established Revolutionary Council in Lusaka, Zambia in 1967, and OAU demanded from them to mount actions against South Africa until 1968, under threat of cutting of the founds from OAU.[222] The operation of smuggling some members of the PAC into South Africa failed, members were caught and Zambia forbade PAC to operate on its territory, while OAU ceased its founds. However, the cooperation between PAC and the UN was more productive than with the OAU: PAC tried to influence decision about expulsion of South Africa from the UN, but interestingly the veto from Britain, United States and France blocked that attempt.[223] PAC's contribution to the promotion of the anti-apartheid cause within the UN was the establishment of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination which was on 21st March in the anniversary of Sharpeville massacre. Logistically, by mid- 1970s, PAC faced financial difficulties to sustain its mouthpiece "The Africanist News and Views" in terms of collecting article materials and distribution of newspaper itself. It is noteworthy the PAC's military organisation changed apon exile from Poqo to the Azanian's People Liberation Army (APLA), and its name expressed the PAC's ideology, that South Africa was never 'properly' decolonised, since the power was changed form one white man to another with the British giving Afrikaners independence.

219 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 142.
220 Sauer, W. (2008) Austria and South Africa during apartheid, In: South African Democracy Education Trust (Hg.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa.* Vol. 3: International Solidarity, Part I, Pretoria, pp. 630-640.
221 Indiana University Library, African Studies Pamphlet Collection, unsorted: "The struggle for national liberation in Africa", Document adopted by WPC Presidential Committee Bureau, September, 1975. in Grobler, (1988) p. 150.
222 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 153
223 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 155.

The term "Azania" according to PAC's members originated from blacks, althogh in fact it comes from Persian language meaning "slaves from Africa".[224] Overall, the PAC's role on the exile is perceived as a minor one[225] and organisation failed to take official part in South African internal actions in the 1976.

As for the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the exile activity from 1960s onwards, was mainly focused around the activities of its office in London, from where they had been calling British workers and businessmen to withdraw investment form South Africa, explaining the exploitative character of their work there. SACTU cooperated with ANC, SACP, and was often using the UN as a field to condemn and call for actions against South African government.[226]

Another Congress Alliance, the South African Communist Party (SACP), was closely cooperating with the ANC, which was visible in founding together Umkhonto we Sizwe. SACP regardless of banning did not stop organising their underground conferences and at the one held in Johannesburg in 1963, the new programme was adopted. "The Road to South African Freedom" expressed the view that liberation of the country was directly linked with the liberation of workers, and to achieve both, the capitalism system must come to an end. Influential leader Joe Slovo escaped from South Africa on the eve of Rivonia arrests, and operations of the SACP on exile were supported by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the KGB.[227]

Lastly, a movement worth mentioning is the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) which contributed to formation in 1961 the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA).[228] Based in London, APDUSA was spreading the message of struggle through non-cooperation with and boycotting of Afrikaner's government. NEUM was particularly concerned about the rural Africans- a group which seemed to be forgotten to certain extend by other movements. Although APDUSA managed to increase support for the South African blacks i.e. during participation of its members in the lecture in the USA in 1970,[229] they did not had a substantial influence within the country or afterwards. From most of the movements which were established or forced to fled South

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224 Dube, 1983: 4-17 in Grobler.
225 Lodge, 1983: 311-317 in Grobler.
226 United Nations, 1977 in Grobler.
227 RP 90, 1981: 52 in Grobler.
228 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 158.
229 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 158.

Africa after the Rivonia Trial, in fact only ANC and SACP were able to influence and conduct some actions, than just vegetate on exile.[230]

For youth the shift of activities on exile on the one hand meant an absence of the leaders from the day-by-day South African reality, on the other hand, it motivated them to try to take some actions on their own. Second Generation which was confronted with imprisonment and detention of the previous leaders experienced rising bitterness and increasing segregation imposed by the state, led to an increase in radicalism.

4.4 An apparent silence of the ANC in the country after Rivonia Trial.

In the meantime, it might seem that inside South Africa, the activities of the ANC were temporary suspended, and no political movement took place in the period after the Rivonia trial up until to the Soweto uprising. Literature describes the contribution of the Black Consciousness Movement, which definitely contributed to the Uprising, but does not explain the gap of why it was the ANC who became its inheritor. Numerous publications and evidence might give impression that the arrested and emigrated members of the ANC in the early 1960s lost their influence. During research I came across different publications which after description of the Rivonia trials jumped to the conclusion of sudden increase in the ANC activities right after the Soweto uprising, stating that "the first phase of violent resistance was over and for another decade the country was quiescent'.[231] Also statements like the one delivered by Mr. Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu- the Black Consciousness member:

> ...nobody wanted to talk about politics because people were afraid of Robben Island to the extent that police needed to do very little to intimidate people. When you talked about politics, your parents would say that you would finish up on Robben Island- forget about politics (…) there were no politics at all between 1960 and 1968 (…) people (…) were afraid.[232]

It shows already that on the one hand there had been parents who would prefer that their children would not engage themselves in any political activity while growing up, while Robert Suttner proves

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230 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?..., * p. 159.

231 Thompson, L. M. (2001) *A history of South Africa,* London: New Heaven, p. 211, see also Manson A., Mbenga B., Peires J., 'The Afrikaner Nationalists in Power' in Giliomee H., & Mbenga B. [eds.], (2007) *New history of South Africa,* Cape Town, p. 341.

232 Indiana University Library, African Studies Pamphlet Collection, unsorted: Speech given by Mr. Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu, Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa, to the Assembly of the IUEF held in Geneva, 22 November 1976 in Grobler, (1988) p. 160.

that there had been quite a prominent group which was thinking otherwise. It is possible, that the understanding of the ANC 'politics' is quite different in the period between Rivonia Trial and Soweto. It was because the movement after loosing tremendous majority of its prominent leaders who were imprisoned or were forced to leave the country to be safe, had to change its profile and reorganise. Suttner noticed the gap in describing ANC policies and investigated the apparent silence which characterised that period considering Congress activity. There is no doubts that Rivonia caused temporary suspension of the ANC's operations against the state *per se*, but the arrests did not touched all supporters, sympathisers and members of the organisation. Furthermore, the little evidence of that period is also a result of the miniscule media coverage of the ANC and if such one took place, it had a negative message. Lastly, the attention was the last thing which the ANC would need in the early 1960s after the banning, since it was necessary to put the reminiscence of the jigsaw puzzles together in order to create some cohesive body. It is important to emphasise that although the movement was banned, it was still present in the daily activities of people, within communities and families, even smuggled in the good night songs.[233] Supporters of the ANC who carried its spirit after 1963, did not have to be its official members, but by i.e. hiding trainees of the Umkhonto they behaved as such ones. The character of the organisation was to a large extend in the hands of women now, since most of their husbands were in prison or emigrated.

Albertina Sisulu along with John Nkadimeng (who later on became the General Secretary of SACTU), managed to communicate despite the distance between them, and established a committee which was facilitating departure of Umkhonto's recruits for military training and education.[234] At the same time, Winnie Mandela founded a groups which was focusing on the political education, history of the ANC and Marxism. The organisation was basing on the M-Plan, and Mandela's wife group was popular among young people as well as those already involved in the ANC.[235] Basically, it is safe to say, that after the shock of Rivonia arrests, the very first phase of the domestic actions focused on was connecting what has still remained from the ANC inside South Africa, and it was pursued in a very

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233 Gasa N., 'Amandla: Songs of life and the struggle', *Sunday Independent*, 13.07.2003 in Suttner.
234 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...*, p. 63.
235 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...*, p. 64.

careful and required much patience way.

From the beginnings, there has been a linkage between people who were restoring cells of the ANC, and young members who wanted to join Umkhonto. Committees connected to the one founded by A. Sisulu and Nkadimeng spread from Transvaal to Natal, OFS and the Western Cape. The main cell in Soweto thanks to couriers was in touch with others, and had links with the leaders abroad as well as awareness of the situation on the Robben Island about which the newly released prisoners were reporting. Ex-prisoners themselves, admitted that once released, they knew where to go and whom to meet.[236] It is also interesting to track the state's repressions. In the end of 1969, there had been 831 convictions under the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act (1968) and the General Law Amendment Act, and others. This number compared to the 1604 arrests[237] which had been claimed to be so destructive in number to cause a 'major breakdown'[238] does not appear small. People were charged for possession of the ANC cards, public gatherings, conspiracy against the state, recruitment and facilitating the military training abroad.[239]

Socialisation for youngsters was, besides the contact with the ex-prisoners within the small committees, also taking place on the larger scale by carefully chosen tools which were spreading ANC propaganda. While the ANC on exile was gathering supporters for their ideology, it was important to strengthen atmosphere within the country itself. This was done by the Radio Freedom which was operating from five neighbouring countries in almost all South African languages, which was a huge advantage for the listeners in a country such as like South Africa, where the rate of illiteracy was high. The radio, by emphasising concrete tasks for particular social group- including youth- was inspiring to continue struggle by broadcasting i.e. revolutionary songs.[240] In addition radio, many pamphlets, flayers were both smuggled and printed inside the country, and spread in a spectacular way as i.e. shower from the roofs, or the pamphlet bombs. Flags on the roofs in major cities, stickers or broadcasting of the speeches or ANC songs from hidden spot in the inner city, were reminding people that ANC is present:

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236 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...*, p. 66.
237 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...*, p. 65.
238 Dingake, M. (1987) *My fight against apartheid.* London: Kliptown Books, p. 75.
239 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...*, p. 65.
240 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...*, p. 69.

> I remember some of them at Mowbray bus stop. They used to refer to them as 'bucket bombs', pamphlets that were just blown during the pick-up hour, right in the heart of town, in the main streets. They did a good work, I must say- they really worked. There was also a heavy publicity on it, press and the like, and blacks again discover, look the ANC's alive. And the method which was used was really sophisticated- as a result, it was said these are well -trained people. People said, 'Ah, our boys are back', because we were told that there are some people who went outside to train and they'll be back one day.[241]

ANC was working hand in hand with the SACP in publishing the magazine "Vukani!/ Awake!"[242] which was one of the outcome of establishing underground media within the country. In the mid-1970s, the most visible black politicians were chiefs of the so called Homelands, which were supposed to be independent native areas. There were former ANC members and supporters, and some chiefs were willing to assist in providing shelter or logistics during the transport of the Umkhonto's members, or even sending there their own sons. Population of rural areas along with the active participation was also successfully infiltrating other organisations.[243] Suttner emphasises another important aspect of rural areas, namely the influence of the former prisoners. There is no doubt that elders had been a vital part of the socialisation process in that period:

> ...the apartheid government unwittingly assisted in organisation by banishing troublesome opponents to the bantustans of former political prisoner to the rural areas from which they had originally come. The influence of people banished under apartheid legislation was important in spreading the message of the ANC, establishing structures and initiating activities. They helped to mentor potential leader, inspire new recruits, and sustain the spirit of opposition within the local communities where they settled.[244]

In an interview with Mongezi Radebe who became an activist, but was originally from a village, he describes an elder woman in his township Heilbron, who used to be a member of the ANC Women's League: "She was explaining its historical significance and why we should be proud of it, and why we should take on from where they've left it. And that's how we started understanding a lot of things politically".[245] Another example is a former Robben Island prisoner conducting the military training and political education in the Northern Transvaal.[246]

The period from 1964 to the Soweto uprising was a quiet time for the ANC in terms of

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241 Interview with Revd Fumanekile Gqiba In Frederikse, J. (1990) *The unbreakable threat: non-racialism in South Africa,* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, p. 124.
242 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 71.
243 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 73.
244 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 75.
245 Frederikse, J. (1990)*The unbreakable threat...,* p.159.
246 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 77.

visibility in front of the eye of the state. It does not mean as described above, that the Congress was gone. On the contrary- the rebuilding of structures and patience paid off after Soweto. However, one must be aware, that ANC and SACP did not had a monopole on the youngsters socialisation. Surely, ANC managed to influence many youngsters by sending them to Umkhonto's camps outside the country. But for most of youth who was not aware of the continuity of the ANC struggle or perceived it too slow, the sustainable work an reorganisation of structures did not seem like a efficient way towards liberation. The new generation of youth after the banned ANC, had emerged and has been a crucial force leading to the Soweto Uprising, which shaken the apartheid's stronger that it was expected.

4.5 Rise of the national "Black Power!".

To explain the growth of the youth activity from late 1960s to Soweto Uprising, one must acknowledge the changes within their important part of socialisation, namely education. In 1959 Bantu Education Act was extended to secondary school and the Extension of Universities Act challenged the continuing path of racially mixed education on certain universities, by establishing the one-race universities and forcing the existing one to admit only one racial group decided upon by the state. Before the Act, black students were able to study a the University College of Fort Hare (where mainly African students were involved within the total number of 378 in year 1957), at the University of South Africa or at the mainly 'white', English-speaking universities, where i.e. at the University of Cape Town in 1957 was studying 456 black students and at the University of Wiwatersrand had the same time number of 214 African students.[247] Act was aiming mainly in the English-speaking institutions to prevent further 'racial mix', and demanded to create separate colleges, where each racial group[248] would belong, and appointing a white person as principal. Narrowing students' recruitment only two groups : Xhosa and Fingo, was for the University College Fort Hare a breakdown. Fort Hare was a legendary place where professors and students were both former and future leader of the struggle. One of them, mentioned already Matthews, saw Fort Hare's role as a very significant one:

"Right here, within the boundaries of South Africa, not in some island... off the mainland,

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247 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 160.

248 i.e.: the University of Cape Town, University of Wiwatersrand became exclusive for whites; the University of the North and the University of Zululand were for African groups; the University of Western Cape for Coloured; the University of Durban-Westville for Indian.

but right within South Africa, Fort Hare has striven to show during the last 40 years that it is possible for people of different racial backgrounds, different cultural backgrounds, different political affiliations, and different faiths, to live together in amity. I believe this unhappy country will not become a happy country until that lesson is learnt."[249]

Fort Hare professors, including Matthews, had been told to chose between keeping their position at the university or ANC legitimation, have chosen the second option and lost their jobs which was a very personal act of defiance.[250]

Another important intervention in the life of youngsters and their families, was mentioned already briefly the idea of the Black National States, called bantustans or homelands, and Africans were against such 'Balkanisation' of their country. The South African economy started recovering from the recession after Sharpeville pretty quickly and attracting the foreign investment, due to its cheap labour, richness in minerals, making it the fifteenth in terms of trading nation in the world[251] in the late 1960s. State carried out the idea of extending segregation from already urban areas, educational and public sphere to the level of 'separate development', making them citizens of independent states, which still would be subject of state's authority. They supposed to be "independent homelands where blacks of a particular tribal (ethnic-linguistic) grouping could develop their own institutions, with the full political rights that foreign countries demanded for South Africa's black majority"[252] and first such homeland was formed in Transkei in 1963. Overall, the establishment of homelands meant relocation of over three million Africans were forced to move to the designated areas, where was no industry, communication, poor quality soil, not mentioning lack of minerals and other resources which could potentially attract the investment.[253] Some chiefs thought that only cooperation with the state might improve the situation, but some, as previously outlined, were using their position to facilitate the underground activities.

State's new increase in restrictions required new answer. However, it took couple of years to form a new structures which would challenge apartheid. Youth found themselves in the situation where Bantu education was extended at the university level, and for many of them, there had been also major

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249 Matthews, Z.K. (1981) *Freedom for My People...,* p. 197.
250 Matthews, Z.K. (1981) *Freedom for My People...,* p. 197.
251 Johnson, R.W. (1977) *How long will South Africa survive?,* New York: Oxford University Press, p. 28.
252 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 112.
253 Horrell, M. (1973) *The African homelands of South Africa,* Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.

geographical change of set due to establishment of Bantustans which were additions to the other grievances suffered already in the earlier years. Youth were organising themselves at the universities at first within present mainly at the English-speaking colleges, the National Union of South Africa Student organisation (NUSAS). NUSAS was founded in 1924 by white students, but with strong multiracial profile. Therefore once many Black students found themselves on the separate universities, where NUSAS was forbidden, they started to feel a lack of the body which would express their claims and grievances. Furthermore, some of them- including future founder of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)- Stephen Biko, experienced segregation within claimed to be multiracial NUSAS. By dividing accommodation during conferences between white and blacks, often patronising tone and realisation that even with the best results Biko will not be able to assimilate within the university, but rather serve the state's idea of separate development.[254] Biko, like previous leaders (i.e. Matthews), was socialised by his parents that education is very important part of struggle, and this parents had faith in the traditional Cape approach that it will make possible to gradually change the society.[255] However, during his education, he had already witnessed "the change-over from mission schools, to schools under the control of the Bantu Education Department",[256] within which Biko could have tasted the bitterness of its creator's (Verwoerd) message: "What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it [*sic*] cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd".[257] Facing the same change during his secondary school, he still followed the idea transmitted by the older generation about cooperation, and at the university he joined NUSAS. Within the organisation he tried with people willing to influence and explain that segregation policy is so deeply root in the society, that is present even within the multiracial organisations like NUSAS.[258] He faced the problem, that "our [Black] understanding of our situation in this country was not coincidental with that of these liberal whites",[259] which tough him that multiracial cooperation at that stage of polarised society is impossible. NUSAS failed to response to the militant tensions of the early 1960s, increasing frustration of its black members, and in 1967 it was declared

254 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 117.
255 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 119.
256 Beard, T.V.R. (1972) Background to Student activities at the University College of Fort Hare. In: H. W. Van der Merwe & D. Welsh [ed.], *Student perspectives on South Africa (*pp. 156-173), Cape Town: David Philip, p. 161.
257 Hirson, B. (1979) *Year of fire, year of ash.* London: Zed Press, p. 45.
258 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 127
259 Woods, D. (1979) *Biko*, New York: Vintage Books, p. 179.

illegal outside the white campuses. On the NUSAS conference in 1968 in Johannesburg, Biko persuaded African delegates that they should leave NUSAS. As an alternative he persuaded them to join the Univeristy Christian Movement, formed a year earlier and still legal on the black campuses. At the conference of black universities representative which took place in Natal in the end of 1968, the South African Student's Organisation (SASO) as all-black student was formed with Biko as its president and Barney Pityana, Harry Nengwekhulu, Aubrey Mokoape, J. Goolam and Strini Moodley were co-founders.[260] SASO was emphasising the ideology of the Black Consciousness, believing that blacks are feeling psychologically suppressed by whites and first these borders should be remove, to pursue with the struggle. Therefore, SASO was an exclusive black in the sense of "non-white" organisation, since SASO believed that presence of whites would only be a reminder of the mental suppression. Generally, whites were encouraged to influence their own communities. This shift within the struggle can be explained by the increase of state's restrictions and while previous leaders i.e. Mandela still could see the potential success of negotiations and multiracialism. Biko's own experiences let him to believe that those objectives on which Mandela could rely in the past were vanished by the apartheid system. Biko's rejection of the NUSAS and other white groups firstly proved to still hesitating blacks that only solidarity among non-whites is possible to later on struggle effectively with the system which was fundamentally segregated. Secondly he managed to buy some time by attacking the organisation to which government was opposed, and was able to spread the BCM ideology.[261]

Message of Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), was encouraging people to celebrate their blackness, realise their black unity, and once the individual would challenge the social scheme, he would start to change it. At first the idea of black exclusiveness was welcomed by the government which had seen in it the continuation of the apartheid's assumptions.[262] Some chiefs were also in favour of the BCM although they had misinterpreted it as a movement which celebrates the traditional black rule. Chiefs seemed to forget that in fact they have been cooperating with the system a collapse of which BCM in the end wanted to achieve. Newspapers were also enthusiastic about the BCM, praising the

260 Gerhart, 1978: 261 in Grobler.
261 Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 136.
262 Nettleton, C. (1972) Racial cleavage on the Student Left. In: H.W. Van der Merwe & D. Welsh [ed.], *Student Perspectives on South Africa* (pp. 125-137), Cape Town: David Philip, p. 131.

system of homelands as the one which gives an opportunity for such movements to exist separately and gives a rise the idea of "self-esteeming people who have to make their own contributions to the uplifting of their respective communities or nations"[263] as well as the supporter of Africanism. Lastly, the Ethiopian Church of South Africa was also a big supporter of the African exclusivity represented by the BCM.

BCM was claiming to be a student movement, but it was about to change while its membership was growing[264] and SASO was establishing its branches at the Black universities, as well as the South African Student's Movement (SASM) based in Soweto, which later on playing a main part in the uprising.[265] BCM started to change into political movement. Meetings which took place from 1971 were encouraging Africans from different educational, religious and cultural institutions and triggered the establishment of the Black People's Convention (BPC) held in July 1972.[266] As an outcome of that meeting, the Black Community Programmes (BCP) were established. These were the grass-root projects, which were running i.e. literacy programmes, or providing medical assistance for local communities.[267] Furthermore, BPC adopted militant direction within SASO. The strikes in industrial areas of Durban, which might appear to be result of the SASO action, had instead most likely been a spontaneous action after which workers came back to factories.[268] However, from that moment on, the state started to fear the BCM which could find an alliance with workers and urban blacks, and in March 1973 the first banning orders had been imposed on BCM leaders, including Biko who was restricted to his hometown- King Williams Town.[269] Despite the banning, Biko was still active in this local community within the BCP, started to study via correspondence and to cooperate with white newspaper editor- Donald Woods, who was running a column where BCM could express its viewpoint.[270] The military trend of SASO became visible with the rally in Durban when SASO was protesting against governmental permit for Portuguese rally right after the FRELIMO (Front for the

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263 *South Africa: A year of great decisions,* (Africa Contemporary Record, vol. 4) (1972), London: Rex Collings, p. 11.
264 According to *„1972 Survey of Race Relations in South Africa" (1973),* estimated SASO membership on the campuses in 1972 was between 4.000 and 8.000.
265 Gerhart, 1979: 296-197 in Grobler, p. 165.
266 Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 165.
267 Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 139.
268 Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 143.
269 *Afrikaner Politics in trouble: South Africa, 1973,* (Africa Contemporary Record, vol. 6) (1974), London: Rex Collings.
270 Woods, D. (1979) *Biko,* p. 83.

Liberation of Mozambique) won the independence in Mozambique.[271] Police raided many BCM leaders, and the trial started in the mid-1975 until the end of the next year, and was used by the BCM as a political event, treating accused as martyrs of the cause. Biko's testimony during the trial- although he was not arrested- was a clear political statement and received a large publicity. BCM by the mid 1970s was already clearly emphasising the condemnation of the collaboratives bantustans chiefs, and calling for action against apartheid.

Officially there is no evidence of the cooperation between BCM and ANC or PAC. However, some youngsters directly linked to the ANC had chosen to join the BCM, such as daughter of Albertina and Walter Sisulu- Lindiwe: "I felt that mama and Nkadimeng and company were just concerned with setting up structures. They were not involved in any action. Their lack of activity confirmed my idea of a dead organisation".[272] Also for the people who joined the ANC after being members of the BCM, had their concerns:

> When I say we wanted to meet the ANC, we wanted to join the ANC, it does not mean that we didn't have any reservations- we did think they were a bit slow. Even after having spoken to them and appreciating the problems they were facing, we still felt that. But we felt that to make them fast we had to actually help them: join the ANC and try to put our enthusiasm into the ANC.[273]

Also for some ANC members, the BCM orientation was too radical and they had been aware of its limitations.[274] Therefore the relation between ANC and BCM was blurry and unofficial. However, while the ANC was focusing on rebuilding structures, BCM filled the niche for largely unemployed and impatient young township people. After the relatively quiet in terms of spectacular sabotage actions, and large-scale defiance campaign led by the ANC in the past, it was now mainly youth who managed to pull together such a power which created a *momentum* making them for the state unstoppable.

4.5 The Soweto uprising as a Phoenix effect.

The snowball effect of the increasing state's restrictions and governmental attempts of trying to ban BCM members combined with another educational law imposed, created an explosive mixture of

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271 Juckes, T.J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 146
272 Sisulu, E. (2002) *Walter & Albertina Sisulu - In our lifetime,* Cape Town: David Philip. p. 235.
273 Frederikse, J. (1990) *The unbreakable threat...,* p. 115.
274 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 77.

grievances for already mentioned students, as well as school children and their parents. In 1974, the Department of Bantu Education wanted to enforce the law about teaching in secondary schools half of the subjects in Afrikaans language. Before that, the law existed, however it was not implemented and language of instruction was English and a local dialect. From February 1976, pupils started to confront principles in their school about that issue, destroying textbooks and boycott of classes. Implementation of the Afrikaans was also difficult in the matter of technical assistance, since most of the teachers did not speak it. since they did not wanted to be tough in the language of perceived oppressor. Furthermore, as the Principal of the Orlando Hight School in Soweto, T. W. Kambule said, that his students "seem to have a mental block about studying in Afrikaans (…) as little as ten years ago young blacks tries to emulate whites. Now they have absorbed the *Black is beautiful* concept, and have even rejected their English names for African ones".[275] SASM on 13 June formed Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), calling for a boycott of the winter exams, and preparing the peaceful demonstration against the new law for 16 June. In the march which passed Soweto schools participated around 15.000 students[276] with their determinate parents. March was tried to be stopped by 1.500 policemen[277] but as the police confronted the crowd, the SSRC was not any more in power to direct the demonstrators. In the clash between police armed in tear gas and ammunition and students equipped in banners and stones, at least two schoolchildren were killed just that day. Riots continued and spread around the many township in the country where many frustrated Africans joined the revolt in Cape Town, Natal, Tansvaal, Orange Free State. The Congress joined the Soweto Uprisings with all the means they had available in the country and abroad, liberal white organisation were organising consumer boycotts and demonstrations.[278] The uprising on the one hand spread violence and hate, but on the other generated certain understanding from whites toward African grievances, as they had become aware of the results of the racial polarisation in their country. Johnson notes, that "the white Establishment was, in fact, more deeply and publicly split than ever before".[279] The state responded by

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[275]Legum, C. (1973) A republic in trouble: South Africa, *1972-1973,* (Africa Contemporary Record, vol. 5) London: Rex Collings, p.13.

[276]Hirson, B. (1979) *Year of fire, year of ash.*

[277]Holland, H. (1989)*The struggle: a history of the A*NC, p. 181.

[278]Hermer, 1980: 165-178 in Grobler.

[279]Johnson, R.W. (1977) *How long will South Africa survive?*

continuous arrests and by June 1977, there had been 21.534 prosecutions, of which 13.553 convictions, of whom almost 5.000 were children under eighteen years old.[280] The uprising and its actions were expression of also other grievances and survived for over two years. Its result, next to tremendous number of killed and disastrous condition of economy, was a withdraw of Afrikaans as a language of instruction, permission for private house ownership for Africans in urban areas and beginning of electrification in Soweto.[281] However, the anger and frustration of youth did not stop after the Uprising, in spite of temporary cooling down. The Second Generation of freedom fighters managed to change the pattern of political activity:

> activists in the Black townships, combined with their proven ability to undertake political campaigns, contributed towards a redefinition of authority relationships both in terms of the family order and the state. Within the family order, the determination displayed by Black youths led to them being regarded with awe and fear by the older generation. It also brought about reversal of political initiatives between the generations, in the sense that often the cues for political action flowed from the youths to their parents rather than the other way round.[282]

The youth experienced its power and realised that the strength is in unity, which was approached in the post-Soweto by the ANC which recovered inside the South Africa and was ready to guide the next generation of freedom fighters.

280Benjamin in Mandela, N. (1985) *Part of my soul*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
281RP 106/1979: 549-552 in Grobler.
282Grobler, J. (1988) *A decisive clash?...,* p. 173.

5. Freedom fighters become governors.

Soweto uprisings and elsewhere were triggered by the impatient youth which was accusing their parents for passive attitude and practically no protest since 1960s when the state of emergency was introduced. Major occasion for political demonstration which contributed to bigger flame of protests, was the funeral of Stephen Biko, who died in detention after being cough breaking his banning order. Thousands of Africans and supporters of anti-apartheid struggle were present, as well as large attention outside the country was given to that event. Furthermore, the Durban strikes in 1973 were a clear sign of re-emerging activism of workers, and contributed to increase of political awareness within both trade unions and student's organisations. The government banned in September 1977 all BCM, taking the legal platform for youth and others to express their grievances. Chapter follows historical events which created a specific setting for youngsters who were often missing political guidance and were combating with apartheid in their own- mostly violent- way. The decade of the 1980s witnessed change of how movements were organised so far, taking officially organised structures to the grass roots, often spontaneous activities. In the end of the day, such actions made townships 'ungovernable', and youth contributed significantly to that. As a result of younsger's mobilisation and increasing sanctions within the international scene, as well as growing discontent of the whites about the situation within the country, the government was forced to first acknowledge the official opposition as a negotiating partner and finally repeal apartheid's laws.

5.1 Grassroots movements unite.

On the political landscape of the black protest movements, in 1979 there has been one which was founded by workers, Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), along with these founded by students: Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)[283] and Congress of South African Students (COSAS). Many grassroots civic organisations such as the Port Elisabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO), the Soweto Committee of Ten which was an umbrella organisation empowered local population. Movements around the specific causes like Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC) or supporting particular community, i.e. around 'squatters' emphasised concrete grievances.[284]

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283 Karis, T. & Gerhart G. M. [eds.] (1997) *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa 1882-1964,* vol.5: *Nadir and Resurgence 1964-1979,* Pretoria, p. 326ff.
284 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 152.

In 1980 students were continuing boycotts at the universities and high schools, and the ANC's present was marked by a sabotage attacks. It was also a time, when the ANC officially broke the cooperation with mentioned *Prime Minister* of the KwaZulu/Natal homeland- Buthelezi, who was a leader of organisation originally founded in 1920s as a cultural one- Inkatha Ye Sizwe.[285] During 1960s it was under the ANC control, but Buthelezi started to confront ANC policies and turned it into his personal power base, and in the end changing it into a political party.

There has been a recognised need for a formation of cohesive organisation which would improved cooperation of numerous new movements and coordinate the struggle on many different fields and within various communities. First time the idea was debated by Congress in 1981, and two years later in 1983 the head of World Alliance of Reformed Church- Dr Allan Boesak- called for a meeting in Mitchells Plains township near Cape Town on 20 August.[286] It was a response to government's attempt to introduce law involving Coloureds and Indians into parliament, keeping the exclusion of Africans, since it has been another try of 'compromise' and not virtual step towards withdrawal of the apartheid. It had been decided that it is gonna be more effective to form a "popular front" rather than political organisation, and therefore be open on numerous ideologies, united however in the one purpose: the liberation of South Africa from the apartheid. Overall 650 organisations[287] represented by over 12.000 members,[288] launched the United Democratic Front (UDF), the biggest political movement in South African history.[289] Boesak expressed the brief idea of the UDF with "three little words, words that express so eloquently our seriousness in this struggle: *all, here,* and *now.* We want all our rights, we want them here and we want them now".[290] Overall, UDF was a platform of cooperation for both experienced activist and youth, since students were a large majority of representatives. It was also expressed in the division of the leadership, as the elected President was 69 years old Archibald Gumede and the General Secretary 31 years old Popo Molefe. UDF was a body who was enthusiastic about the Congress ideology and was in favour of adoption of the Freedom

285 Callinicos, A. & Rogers, J. (1977) *Southern Africa after Soweto,* London: Pluto Press, p. 165.
286 Lodge, T. (1992) *All here and now: black politics in South Africa in the 1980s,* London: Hurst&Company, p. 49.
287 Juckes, T. J. (1995) *Opposition in South Africa...,* p. 156.
288 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the ANC,* p. 199.
289 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the ANC,* p. 199.
290 Lodge, T. (1992) *All here and now...,* p. 51.

Charter, therefore creating a body through which ANC could influence and pursue its policy objectives. UDF was also basing on the local, regional and national branches, with the National Executive committee (NEC) as ruling body. After the events of 1976, the ideology of the BCM which was replaced with more pragmatic actions which would be focusing on particular causes. This approach made possible for the UDF to reach virtually all grievances, even in remote rural areas, where students in schools were especially active in promoting and linking their community with the urban branch. The phenomena of the UDF was its 'umbrella organisation' character, which encourage people to star their local committee, often without the UDF's knowledge.

The first campaign in which UDF was involved, was the campaign against constitution which as mentioned, assumed creating of the tricameral parliament. Campaign's objectives were to persuade to Coloured and Indian community that accepting the seats in the parliament, they become collaborationist and break the unity among all "non-white" races in South Africa. Numerous demonstrations and festivals occurred around the country, explaining and demonstrating the unity. The launched in December 1983 a "Million Signatures Campaign" aimed in propagandising the UDF's constitutional objectives in local communities and townships, basing in its first phase on the historical aspects of the great characters such as Mandela. Overall, the campaign was successful, in spite of white electorate accepting the change of the constitution, as only almost one third of Coloureds voted and less than one fifth of Indians decided to select their representatives to the tricameral parliament.[291] However, the main leaders of the UDF were put in detention under the Internal Security Act, and movement became more dependent on their regional and local branches, since the national operation was weakened. However the scale of the movement was so large, than the remaining levels of cooperation could still pursue its actions. The decade of 1980s was an economic downfall for South Africa, which caused a raise in prices of food and other products, while the state was still keeping high expenses for the police and military. Expenditure per black student was very low and therefore the chances of passing exams or finding a job were scarce in comparison to whites. Therefore growing unemployment made the already hard life of Africans in townships even harder,[292] and they were not silent about it.

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291 Lodge, T. (1992) *All here and now...,* p. 61.
292 Marx, A. W. (1992) *Lessons of struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990*, New York&Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 151.

5.2 Townships speak up and state responds.

After the Soweto uprising, many young people fled the country and were joining the Umkhonto. Therefore those who started to coming back in the mid 1970s and later, were already influenced by the ANC's policy of multiracialism and aware that Umkhonto is not a military, but political force, however I will elaborate on it in the next part focusing on the establishment of the ANC's "hegemony". It is however important to acknowledge that township youth involvement before mainly in the BCM was "like the ANC Youth League before it, BC set out to end black submissiveness rather than to challenge the established power directly",[293] which was changed in the decade of the 1980s. Youngsters once challenging the apartheid's order were no about to stop their activities and from 1984 many violent events had been marked on the township's map of South Africa. They had been initiated locally, but spread nation-wide, often by "comrades" who were young people who grew during 1970s, witnessing Soweto uprising and now they have seen themselves as carriers of the revolutionary spirit. Equipped in the stones and home-made bombs, they were facing armed police which killing some of them during riots, was giving more and more reasons to another violent reaction creating in that way a vicious circle.

Event which was also focus of the UDF's critique at first, was the change of state's financial policy towards local township's delegates. Cutting the subsidies caused that black municipal councillors raised rents, taxes, civil services, etc. First significant outbreak of violence occurred in the Vaal on 3 September 1984, in the day when Botha became country's first state president. Comrades attacked property in Sharpeville and police responded killing 31 people, injuring around 300. Funerals of the victims were as usually- political statements, where the Congress flags were visible and liberation songs sang. Furthermore, in October state moved police and soldiers into township, raiding over 20.000 houses and arresting couple hundreds of people, what caused further protests. To the pool of grievances contributed outcome of the biggest since thirty years stayway organised by the UDF and its affiliates, particularity COSAS and FOSATU on 5 November uniting students and workers. Stayway caused severe losses in business sector, as 6.000 people did not go to work, demanding withdrawal both the

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[293] Marx, A. W. (1992) *Lessons of struggle...,* p. 70.

army and councillors from township, freezing the bus and rents due to economy recession and finally, release of political prisoners.[294] People who participated in the stayway got lay off from work, which clearly was a reason for further protests continued until the end of the year. An example of the spontaneous and grassroots initiative was protest of squatters in Crossroads near Cape Town in the beginning of 1985. Around 60.000 squatters were supposed to be moved from occupied area into the destined homeland. People surrounded themselves with the hips of trashes creating a barricade which they had set on fire once police arrived. In the fights 18 squatters were killed, and 26 policemen were injured from stones.[295] As a result, police arrested and detained many activists, who might not even participate in the Crossroads fights. State was trying to prevent the demonstrations on the twentieth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March by introduction of the banning order for public meetings on that day. However in Langa township (close to Port Elisabeth), a group of overall 4.000 people gathered in a funeral procession. As they've been walking in the direction of the white town Uitenhage, police organised a road blockade which did not stop the crowd. As a response police opened fire and another deaths stimulated counter violence, since most of the victims were shot in the back.[296] The clashes with police continued during the first half of the 1985, and on 20 July Botha introduced the state of emergency in the most of the districts in the country and prohibition of the mass funerals. In the same month, police arrested hundreds of people including children, arresting and detaining them in different parts of the country, often without charge, which brought fury to Soweto as youngsters wanted to go to court for their friends trial, and since police would not let them, the responded by burning houses, destroying shops, etc. Violence continued in autumn as young poet was hang in the detention causing riots in Soweto and Johannesburg, followed by riots in Cape Town in October, and bombs explosion in the shopping mall during Christmas time. Beginning of 1986 was marked by the police attempt to stop meeting of 500 trade unionists near Johannesburg, by numerous arrests and raids in townships, followed by the escalation of violence in Alexandra township.[297] Meeting was an outcome of the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in December 1985, which

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294 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the African National Congress,* p. 202.
295 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the African National Congress,* p. 204.
296 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the African National Congress,* p. 206.
297 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the African National Congress,* p. 220.

for the first time united half million of workers, electing thirty one years old Jay Naidoo -former BCM activist- its President. Basically the disappointment of the state's successful detaining and banning in 1987, triggered the change of perception among many blacks who felt frustrated, resentment towards white liberals, and their leaders who had privileges and were travelling and sending children to schools abroad. This led to a change from solely anti-apartheid struggle to combined anti-apartheid and anti-capitalist one, carrying the BCM ideology and active spirit and mass movement approach of the Charterists.

UDF influenced to a large extend by Charterists experienced internal conflict with AZAPO who were opposed to the call for unity and recognition of the unity of the UDF along with the ANC and its allies. AZAPO split from the UDF, the regular fights between two groups erupted, supported by the state's propaganda favouring AZAPO and distributing often fake flayers to keep the antagonism within both groups alive, distracting them in the same time from the common enemy. Finally in January 1987, both groups signed agreement, and the UDF adopted the Freedom Charter to prevent further ideological disputes. However, it did not help the movement to effectively survive and UDF was banned in February 1988.[298]

Similar violent scenario happened between blacks favouring the policy of the Congress and therefore also the UDF, and supporters of the chief Buthelezi. Brutal fights between "comrades" and members of Inkatha took places in various townships, mainly in the Natal. Since Buthelezi was the chief appointed by the state as a leader of homeland, government was content about the violence between both groups, often using it in a narration that fights in the townships are in fact taking place between two black ethnically different groups. Struggle between UDF and ANC versus Inkatha and other right-wing villains was bloody and brutal. One of the forms of punishing cough members of each other group was so called "necklacing", when the victim would have placed the poured with petrol tyre around neck which was than lighten up. Viscous circle also within the black fighters was alarming for the ANC, which during meeting in July 1985 in Zambia reviewed its policy and searched for the way to guide "ill-trained youth in township, which were involved in street fights".[299] Increasing of the

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298 Marx, A. W. (1992) *Lessons of struggle...,* p. 175.
299 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the African National Congress,* p. 206.

Unkhonto sabotage which was still aiming in the political targets and not in human lives, education of the ex-prisoners and present ANC activists within the township about multiracial aspect and increasing number educated in the ANC spirit youngsters from Umkhonto camps, definitely contributed to cooling down "comrades". But to attract more youth, the ANC had to remind about itself and re-establish itself hand in hand with the UDF as again vital and actively involved political organisation which the stagnation period has already behind.

5.3 Melting of the apartheid's machine on the township level.

Youth was one of the main actors which were active in pursuing the call of the ANC's conference in Kabwe, Zambia in June 1985. Call from Walter Sisulu to make townships 'ungovernable', meaning the paralyse of the civil state organs and in that way vanish the existing state's governance its replacement.[300] In August the same year, Congress of South African Students was banned, however it managed to still exist under changed name in different townships, i.e. Soweto Students' Congress (SOSCO). On the national scale, the National Education Crisis Committee was launched in December 1985, cooling down militant students and explaining that one they come back to school it will be easier to coordinate actions. In the meantime young leaders in townships after large scale arrests were replaced by next persons, who were less effective. Furthermore, since the organisation was banned, the internal democracy was "unaffordable luxury",[301] members gained a strong feeling necessity for being a model members of community. They had been searching for support among their parents and teachers in school and consumer boycotts, which not always was met with enthusiasm. Nevertheless, such attitude created a feeling of responsibility and contributed to defending locals from newly emerged gangs. Here once again the well known dispute comes to play, where it is possible to perceive youth as a group which on the one hand is the hope for future heroes of the nation, while on the other is the militant and destructive rebelling force which does not hesitate to harm even "own" people.

Youth organisation in townships was to a large extend relaying on leaders, who were building up common understanding of struggle and explaining its objectives. Distribution of literature about history

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300 Mars, M. (2001) *Young warriors: youth politics, identity and violence in South Africa,* Jonannesburg: Wiwatersrand University Press, p. 42

301 Johnson, S., (1989) "The soldiers of Luthuli"-Youth in the politics of resistance in South Africa, In: S. Johnson, [ed.] *No turning point,* Bloomingon: Indiana University Press, p. 117.

of movements before, speeches of Marxism, made the young activist aware of current affairs and the nature of struggle and what was happening around them. The increase of repressions during the decade required more strict organisational structure and "it was no longer enough to participate in street battles and attend mass meeting to be fully fledges members (…) They had to show discipline, commitment, and political sass".[302]

Leadership played very important role, as members were trusting people within it, who were demanding in the terms of discipline. Youngsters had their code of rule which was forbidding alcohol and drugs consumption, and were decent in responding to events occurring in their community:

> Discipline was important in times of, what can I say, crisis. Knowing what is good and right, having a fair relationship with the people concerned in the area. You should not be involving yourself in the actions that would end up compromising your comrades and your morals and conscience (...) If you are disciplined than you can respond properly to things around you. If you are not disciplined there is nothing you can do.[303]

Following of the discipline was so important that its breaking could have caused sanctions from the rest of group. Such seriousness in carrying the role of guardians of moral standard was imposed through the socialisation occurring in the time of difficult circumstances, and led to a creation of specific perception of "what it means to be a *comrade?*". Comrades next of having their moral code which next to mentioned already alcohol and drug prohibition, had also meetings where they would debate political issues. Within such groups the socialisation process was blooming, clearly emphasising the grew of importance of the peers over parents and teachers. However, such "clear" group of comrades would often be mixed with the ones who were not familiar with its objectives and discipline, joining their campaign actions on the streets, causing riots. Misunderstanding were also a result of the change in the leadership once the current one would be arrested, which would change the campaign in a different direction. Overall, still the biggest constrain within the township's youth organisation, was the group of unemployed youngsters, who were using campaigns for their own benefits, stealing the goods confiscated from boycotts, or encouraging others to leave the school, as one former activist mentions: "We would discourage youth from stoning buses, for example, as this would antagonise parents. But, it was difficult to have control over youth with regards to these activities. After activities like a march

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302 Mars, M. (2001) *Young warriors...,* p. 57.
303 Interview with Bheki in Mars, M. (2001) *Young warriors...,* p. 58.

anything could happen. When leadership were around, we had some control. But most youth were mobilised, not organised".[304]

Another phase already after the unbanning of the ANC on 2.02.1990, brought new approach for the youth movements, which declared themselves legal in 1989. Although ANC at first emphasized the policy of broadening the mass action, in the end ANC was focused mainly on the negotiations with the government, which caused complains of the local and regional branches.[305] ANC Youth League was relaunched in the country in December 1991, emphasising readiness to be a mass organisation where members of other could belong to and continue the struggle. However, on the contrary to already existing in that time South African Youth Congress formed in 1985 (SAYCO), which had some program of action, the Youth League was perceived reactionary and unreflective.[306] Appearance of the Youth League in townships created two trends, first of the increase in the membership among quite young teenagers, and causing the departure of the older ones. The first trend was understandable, since the organisation was unbanned and parents felt that it is safer now to let their children actively participate within legal structure. Next reason could be the perception of ANC YL members as morally outstanding, and increasing the romantic perception of the ANC in general. Another aspect was the phenomena of youngsters joining the organisation from the wrong motivation, such as popularity and higher status within the community, which was strongly criticised by the experienced activists. For many school-youth the willingness to improve the situation in school promised by I.s. COSAS was also a strong motivation to join its structures. Lastly, in some communities, like in the Diepkloof, the death of the experienced activist triggered the need to also contribute to the struggle.[307] The dropping out of numerous experienced leaders was caused by the feeling of to some extend powerless within the ANC Youth League structures. So far, the youth was in a driving force of the ANC, which now have taken back its role. ANC in the early 1990s did not see youth as a crucial force for the change.[308] It was very hard to acknowledge this for the group which was feeling responsible for the direction of politics

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304 Interview with Lumkile in Mars, M. (2001) *Young warriors...*,p. 63.
305 Mars, M. (2001) *Young warriors...,* p. 66.
306 Mars, M. (2001) *Young warriors...,* p. 69.
307 Mars, M. (2001) *Young warriors...,* p. 72.
308 Mars, M. (2001) *Young warriors...,* p. 77.

through over three decades. Since they did not know exactly what is expected from them, many township youth organisations continued the strategies from 1980s, which ANC justified to some extend by encouraging the formation of Self Defence Units (SDUs) against the gangs and villains. Generally, the ANC Youth League in the townships was missing the well-trained leadership, since the ones who were active, educated and experienced could not find a place within the new structures. Loss of those people who i.e. emigrated to urban areas caused resentment in townships, where people were missing a cohesive leadership. In spite of that, there is no doubt that role of the youth in the mid-90s, by the strategy of making townships "ungovernmental" was their final outcome which was one of the most important final nail in coffin of the apartheid's system at that time.

5.4 International sanctions and re-birth of the ANC's domination.

In the meantime, on the international scene, more and more countries were condemning apartheid and numerous sanctions were imposed. Only by the end of decade, the US, twelve European states, Canada, the UN, church organisations including the pope John Paul II himself, representatives of civil and human rights bodies, along with meaningful people from the world of culture, sport and entertainment had already imposed or threat South Africa with sanctions, calling for concrete change of the political system in the country, criticising and condemning the present one. In the tenth anniversary of Soweto uprising, state quite effectively conducted arrests and banns, however abroad the anniversary was a huge reason for massive demonstrations in i.e. Paris, Hague and elsewhere.[309]

To a large extend this attention was because the continuous activity of the Congress members on the exile. However, this one factor alone does not contribute to the resurrection of the ANC as a leading organisation. Suttner sees couple of points which were specific for the ANC and therefore allowed it to survive the period of the 'apparent silent' and after. Firstly, the great structures, which were patiently built up and as Bernstein claims it was to a large extend thanks to the Communists.[310] Although the ANC started some 'concrete' actions in the late 1940s, it was continuing rebuilding structures process despite of Treason Trial change of conditions, which confirmed that ANC is not satisfied with the

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309 Holland, H. (1989) *The struggle: a history of the African National Congress,* p. 222.
310 Bernstein in Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976,* pp. 59-83.

"quick fixes",[311] but with careful planning which future members of the BCM found so dull. With no doubts, the ANC's domination (or as Suttner calls if hegemony) was an outcome of identification propaganda and consciousness. Symbols, colours, flags, songs present on the demonstrations, in spite of banning of the ANC, were carrying a message that the movement alive in the minds of the people and in fact it never left. In that manner, identification with the struggle within the Umkhonto created a feeling, that the army comes in fact from people, since it was open for anyone. Suttner notes, that people who were denied a military training by the state, now were able to in fact attack it by sabotage, which gave feeling of being vital part of the struggle. Next point is the multiracial benchmark which characterised ANC, and by emphasising in the Freedom Charter broad conditions for both various group, i.e. workers and nationalists, it allowed to involve people from different environments and with various backgrounds, creating in that moment narration of the national liberation and not for particular group. The concept started with collection of the people's voices for formulation of the Freedom Charter, started a unique sense of democracy and awareness that these are people who are the driving force of action. Structures and identity were built up within- distinguished by Suttner- actors: "the underground operatives, the political prisoners on Robben Island, the movement on the exile, Umkhonto members and the decisive entry of popular forces from the late 1970s.[312]" The underground operatives were a group which was basically carrying the historical tradition of the ANC within the country, and kept hand on pulse of the events, raising up in the right timing despite banning. Those actors were influencing and being influenced by new generation which enriched the organisation with new ideas and enthusiasm. The Robben Island prisoners were a vital part of the ANC political education- not only once released and often transmitting their experiences and knowledge, but also on the island itself. Political discussions, debates and disputes with keeping the ANC hierarchy, created a unique educational environment and kept organisation cohesive and solidarity. At the beginning, exile activists from neither ANC nor PAC were skilled to train and accommodate the feeding country youngsters, but in the end it was the ANC which step by step improved itself in training newcomers.[313]

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311 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 150.
312 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 159.
313 Suttner, R. (2003) 'Culture(s) of the ANC of South Africa: Imprint of Exile Experiences', *Journal of Contemporary African* Studies 21, p.303-320.

Most difficult part was the explanation of the multiracial approach and that ANC is not military army *per se* but the political one, since many of the recruits were eager to come back to the country and take a revenge. On the other hand- like in the case of the underground- the new generation was inspiring and contributed to "psychological emancipation of the blacks in ANC[314]" which they obtain during the time of BCM. The Umkhonto which became immediately active after 1976, gave the inspiration and continuation of struggle, as well as a sense of representation in the direct fight with the apartheid.

The analyse above led to the increase of ANC's perception as the representative of the Africans, and therefore from the 1980s, more and more politicians, journalists were visiting Mandela in the prison, or negotiating with the members on the exile. Despite of the state's ban on reporting in the media about the situation in South Africa, once the international politics had seen in the ANC as lawful representative of majority South Africans, and the country was virtually 'ungovernable' by continuous protests and demonstrations, president de Klerk could no longer ignore the Congress's demands.

5.5 Negotiating the victory.

Mandela's refusal to trade his freedom for suspension of the violent methods of struggle in February 1985, confirmed activists that their will not be satisfied with temporary deceptive and seeming solutions. The mass protests in townships and elsewhere, combined with increased activities of the Umkhonto we Sizwe and economic downfall of South African economy, caused the unprecedented event of Mandela's invitation by Botha to his residence in Cape town in July 1989. Although the meeting did not resulted in any concrete decisions, it was a spectacular break through in relations between the ANC and the government. As a result of internal tensions within the National Party and getting worse health conditions, Botha resigned as the state's president and was replaced in August by Frederik W. de Klerk, who announced beginning of fundamental reforms. In October the group of ANC leaders was released, except for Mandela, whom de Klerk met on 13 December.[315] Finally, on 2 February 1990, de Klerk in his expose where he declared the unbanning political organisations, including ANC, PAC, SACP and release of Mandela, along with repeal of the apartheid's laws. To some extend it caused the conflict among African organisations, namely between supporters of the ANC and

314 Suttner R. (2008) *The ANC underground in South Africa to 1976...,* p. 161.
315 Gruszczak, A., (2004) „RPA: koniec apartheidu" in Bankowicz, M. [ed.] *Historia polityczna swiata XX wieku: 1945-2000,* Krakow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, p. 735.

PAC, which was rejecting any negotiations with the government. However, as a result of the first meeting in May 1990 and the followed one in August, de Klerk has terminated the state of emergency, ANC decided to stop violent methods of fighting and the government announced the amnesty for the political prisoners.[316] This gave hope for implementation of homelands into the country's territory which was a subject of conflict between those in favour of the 'independent' bantustans and those who wanted the country's geographical unification. This resulted in mentioned bloody fights between UDF and Inkatha, which since July 1990 became Inkatha Freedom Party. Also chiefs and state appointed councillors were criticizing de Klerk, being afraid of the repressions which the local population could cause them. However, due to long mediations, ANC and Inkatha, and the government agreed on the text of the peace agreement, and as the main opponent of Inkatha was the UDF, it had been decided to dismantle the organisation which would support the ANC's policies.[317]

Negotiations continued through 1991, despite the scandal of revealing the financing of the Inkatha by the state, but the political violence was increasing, leading to the ANC mass strike organised in August 1992 during which again fights between demonstrating and police took place. To prevent further escalations of violence during the formation of potentially new political system, the Convention for Democratic South Africa (CODESA) was formed in December the same year. Secret negotiations between ANC and the government in November, led to unofficial agreement in February 1993, which strong point was the commitment to organise a multipartial conference (even Inkatha agreed to participate) formulating the elections on the base "one men one vote".[318] In the meantime, there had been a substantial increase for the improvement within the international community towards South Africa. Countries started to slowly withdrawing imposed sanctions and diplomatic relations have been renewed. Difficult negotiations within the CODESA finally led to provisional constitution in November 1993, which was establishing main regulation until the elections in April 1994. Before elections, the violence was still erupting, once it has been decided that homelands will be implemented into South Africa, stimulated also by the right-wing organisations which were unsure what the elections

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316 Gruszczak, A., (2004) The end of apartheid, In: Bankowicz, M. [ed.] *World political...,* p. 735.
317 Gruszczak, A., (2004) The end of apartheid, In: Bankowicz, M. [ed.] *World political...,* p. 736.
318 Gruszczak, A., (2004) South Africa: Mandela becomes president, In: Bankowicz, M. [ed.] *World political...,* p. 926.

will bring. In spite of that events, the elections which took place between 27-29 April 1994 were peaceful, and brought the overwhelming victory of the ANC with 62,6 percent of all voters and 252 mandates in the parliament, while National Party 20,4 percent and 82 mandates, followed by Inkatha's 10,4 percent and 43 seats.[319] Nelson Mandela became the Executive President, Thabo Mbeki first, and Fredrik W. de Klerk second Executive Vice President, marking the new era of South African history.

The apartheid's government was replaced with the one which truly reflected the political will of the country's population. The long struggle finally succeeded in establishing a democratic state where each person was politically equal in the eyes of the state. All generations of the freedom fighters contributed to that fact, through many activities which had been various in different times. Along with described factors such as the economic challenges, increased sabotage of Umkhonto we Sizwe, or continuation of anti-apartheid's policy on the exile, ANC had achieved the political power and started to pay back the debt it was owning to its supporters, especially- the youth.

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319 Gruszczak, A., (2004) South Africa: Mandela becomes president, In: Bankowicz, M. [ed.] *World political...*, p. 927.

Conclusion

Thesis investigated the involvement of black youth in the modern liberation movements through the twentieth century, and the evolution in the way of how youngsters were organising themselves during that time shows gradual change from relatively narrow group to grassroots mobilisation. Starting with the formation of the first nation-wide organisation SANNC, influenced by the Cape liberal elite and it was reflecting the liberal approach of negotiation political rights, represented by i.e. Z. K. Matthews. Next step in organising was changed with the first generation of freedom fighters- the ANC Youth League. At that level, organisations such as ANC or SACP managed to mobilise much more people from different social groups, and were based on the strong leadership of i.e. N. Mandela. Second generation switched from centralised leadership to broad -mainly- student's movements supported by the Black Consciousness started by S. Biko. The last, third generation was mainly involved in the grassroots movements and civil organisations which were spread in townships, united to some extend under the umbrella of the UDF. Many youngsters were also organising spontaneously and pursuing the call to make townships ungovernable. Changes in the organising from narrow elite organisations, through strong leadership and than student's movements until the townships based activity reflects the top-down approach in pursuing the liberation struggle.

During that time each generation was facing different actions by agents of socialisation with various intensity. Education and schooling were particular visible setting influencing youth, starting with the Christian missionary schools agitating for the gradual liberation through education which leaders such as Matthews and still Mandela had experienced. However with the implementation of the Bantu Education Act the set for the next generations was changed, as they were experiencing segregated on the all schooling levels which furthermore were lacking proper curricula and attempt to introduce Afrikaans as language of instruction was the tipping point of the Soweto uprising.

Economy had also a major impact on the situation of youth in South Africa, firstly by creating phenomena of migrant workers in the mining areas of the country and splitting youngsters with their families and communities. Later on economic downfalls as a result of international sanctions, caused large scale unemployment and increasing rate of poverty, which were a source of frustration for both

youngsters and their parents.

Finally, the role of peers can not be overlooked. Emerging adulthood phase was stimulated by firstly limited discussions at the universities which black elite was attending, however it changed by the nation-wide movements and transmitted to townships the spirit of challenging the political regime.

In the speech announcing the ANC's election victory, Mandela thanked leaders and addressed the agenda for the ANC regarding ruling of post-apartheid South Africa:

> I am personally indebted and pay tribute to some of South Africa's greatest leaders including John Dube, Josiah Gumede GM Naicker, Dr Abduraman, Chief Lutuli, Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Chris Hani an Oliver Tambo. They should have been here to celebrate with us, for this is their achievement too (...)Let's get South Africa working. For we must, together and without delay, begin to build a better life for all South Africans. This means creating jobs, building houses, providing education and bringing peace and security for all. The calm and tolerant atmosphere that prevailed during the elections depicts the type of South Africa we can build. It set the tone for the future. We might have our differences, but we are one people with a common destiny in our rich variety of culture, race and tradition.[320]

The speech inspires further questions for research, whether the ANC's aspirations have been achieved and where is the place and what is the of the youth in the post-apartheid South Africa. It has been fifteen years since the victory of freedom fighters and the new first generation of the youth which had been growing up in the democratic country found itself in a new political setting. It does not mean that youth is free from all the grievances against which it was raising in the past, as the educational structures of cohesive, concrete and equally accessible schooling for each youngster are still in process of construction. The issues of health care such as tremendous scale of HIV/AIDS in the country requires special attentions concerning youth. Finally, the social inequalities which government tries to overcome by establishment of the black affirmative action are supporting the economic uplifting of the youth, although the most of Africans are still on the bottom of wealth pyramid in South Africa. However, all the efforts are day by day bringing South Africa to its dream of the rainbow nation, and youth plays is in a prominent role: "The manner in which the youth co-ordinating structures have organised this event [20th anniversary of Soweto uprising] of the is a clear statement to the nation and the world, that the youth is committed to the healing of the wounds of the past".[321]

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320 Speech by Nelson Mandela announcing the ANC elections victory:
http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1994/sp940502.html accessed on 30.10.1009.

321 Address by the president Nelson Mandela on the anniversary of the Soweto uprising on the 16 June 1976:
http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1994/sp940616.html accessed on 30.10.2009.

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