



CHALIMBANA UNIVERSITY

DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

HIS 2100: HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA SINCE 1800

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LUSAKA

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Introduction

Welcome to HIS 2100: History of Southern Africa Since 1800. This course describes the geographical features, the major ethnic groups, the distribution of these ethnic groups and also the social, political and economic structures of societies in South Africa. The reasons for the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape, their relations with the San, the Khoikhoi and the Bantu at the Cape, the consequences of Dutch expansion into the interior of South Africa are also analysed in this course. The concept of the Mfecane, the reasons why it took place and its results are also well discussed. The only major power in South Africa in the middle of the nineteenth century were the British at the Cape and Natal whose main interest at the time were naval and commercial. In this course therefore, the reasons for British occupation and the impact of British rule at the Cape and the resultant Boer exodus from the Cape into the interior and the worsened British-Boer relations resulting in various attempts at federation by the British, the First Anglo-Boer War are well documented in this course. The discovery of minerals and the significance of the mineral revolution in South Africa, the events leading to the Second Anglo-Boer War its causes and effects, the peace settlement leading to the Union of South Africa and the African's reaction to Union are also discussed in great detail.

The Afrikaners established themselves very firmly in the government of South Africa after the Act of Union and throughout the twentieth century, succeeding governments recognised the growing challenge of African nationalism. To ensure the survival of the idea of separate development and the supremacy of the white man it had been necessary in the nineteenth century for the Afrikaners to remove themselves from British control. Therefore, the evolution of Afrikaner domination of South Africa in the twentieth century, constitutional changes leading to the republic are well discussed in this course. The concept of apartheid, its root causes, early legislation aimed at segregation and the Bantustan Policy, the growth of African nationalism and the role played by nationalist organisations and various groups in the struggle against apartheid are widely covered. Reasons why western powers gave support to minority regimes in Southern Africa, the role that the United Nations and the African Union played in the fight against apartheid, the end of apartheid, the achievement of majority rule and the healing of the wounds in post-apartheid South Africa, the difficulties that the leaders who came after the retirement of Nelson Mandela are also examined in detail.

Lastly, this course examines the various indigenous people of Namibia, German colonization, the nature of German rule, African resistance, the liberation struggle for independence, the role played by SWAPO in the liberation struggle, the factors that hindered the attainment of independence in Namibia and the major socio-political and economic developments from colonization to the achievement of independence in the three High Commission Territories of Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana.

STUDY SKILLS

As an adult learner your approach to learning will be different to that from your school days: you will choose what you want to study, you will have professional and/or personal motivation for doing so and

you will most likely be fitting your study activities around other professional or domestic **responsibilities**.

Essentially you will be taking control of your learning environment. As a consequence, you will need to consider performance issues related to time management, goal setting, stress management, etc. Perhaps you will also need to reacquaint yourself in areas such as essay planning, coping with exams and using the web as a learning resource.

Your most significant considerations will be *time* and *space* i.e. the time you dedicate to your learning and the environment in which you engage in that learning.

We recommend that you take time now—before starting your self-study—to familiarize yourself with these issues. There are a number of excellent resources on the web.

TIME FRAME

Applicants for both full time and distance studies are required to do a full academic year to complete this module. You will be expected to spend at least 18 contact hours with the lecturer and 60 hours of self study

NEED HELP

The course instructor can be contacted on the following number during working hours and during week days:

Email address:

Tutorial office number: 3 and 4 respectively

The university has a library, a few books can also be accessed from the departmental office

COURSE MATERIALS

For those interested in learning more on this subject, we provide you with a Curriculum framework, syllabus, and formats of schemes of work and lesson plans

RECOMMENDED BOOKS

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FOREWORD

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UNIT

1

1 THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

1.1 Introduction

1.2

The peopling of the region is dependent on the ecological factors like the nature of soils, topography of the area and the rainfall pattern distribution. This explains why some areas of South Africa were more populated than others. The area east of the Drakensberg Mountains which had plenty of rainfall, rich pastures, a human friendly habitat was more populated than other areas specially the area west of the Drakensberg Mountains. The Kalahari Desert was the least populated area of

South Africa although the San were compelled to settle there by European intruders and the Bantu. This unit describes the geographical features, identifies the major ethnic groups, the distribution of these ethnic groups and also describes the social, political and economic structures of the societies in South Africa.

1.3 Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit learners should be able:

- Describe the geographical features of South Africa
- Identify the ethnic groups of South Africa
- Explain the distribution of ethnic groups in South Africa
- Describe the social, political and economic structures of the societies of South Africa

1.4 The Late Stone Age Culture (The San and the Khoikhoi)

Before the introduction of metal working in South Africa, about 2000 years ago the main inhabitants of the region were the San and the Khoikhoi (Hottentots). These were dependent on tools made from wood, bones and stones. Suffice to say that, the Late Stone Age people were well established in the Southern African region about 10 000 years ago. The *Late Stone Age Culture* was more advanced than the *Early and Middle Stone Age Cultures*. Historians learn about the *Late Stone Age Culture* from a variety of sources such as:

- (a) **Archaeological evidence** which are the remains of stone tools, bones, sticks and shelters which are found in camp sites.
- (b) **Rock Paintings;** These were done by the San on the walls of rock shelters (caves). These naturalistic paintings depict people, animals, tools and other objects. Rock art has been found in the Drakensberg Mountains of South Africa and Lesotho and in the Hills and rock shelters of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia.
- (c) **Written Records** of early European travellers, traders, missionaries and colonialists who went to the Cape from 1487. Their written accounts were often hostile to the San and the Khoikhoi whom they criticised as being backward and primitive people. These early European observers also called the San “*Bushmen*” and the Khoikhoi “*Hottentots*”. These were names with derogatory connotations. However, the European records provide useful information about the history and way of life of the San in Botswana and Namibia which helps historians and anthropologists to reconstruct and learn the history and way of life of the San. Anthropologists have in recent past studied the life of the San people intensively.

Historians and anthropologists use the above methods to reconstruct and understand the history and way of life of the San and the Khoikhoi although our knowledge on the chronology of the region is feeble (very slippery). The San and the Khoikhoi were the early settlers in South Africa whom the Portuguese first found or encountered at the Cape in 1487 during Portuguese voyages (Bartholomew Diaz). The Portuguese referred settlers as a homogeneous group. They were wrong since they could not distinguish between the San and the Khoikhoi. Hence, they called the *Khoisan*. Later, scholars distinguished the two groups by their political, social and economic activities.

1.5 The san

- **Origin and distribution** – Although there are theories that the San migrated from the Middle East, historical and anthropological studies have not been conclusive. The primary basis for this theory has been rock art and tools to determine where these people came from. The suggestion that these people came from the Middle East is based on the fact that similar tools and art were found in camp sites in Africa and the Middle East. The San were said not to be more than 20 000 in the 17th century. They were divided into three linguistic groups i.e. the north, central and western San with different dialects. They lived in a region abounded by southern Angola, Namibia, Botswana and the Kalahari Desert. They occupied the areas of Drankenstein and Cedarburg Ranges, Outeniqua, Camdeboo, Stenberg, Winterberg, Storm berg and Drankensburg mountains in the valleys of the Vaal River, valleys of the Kei River, valleys of the Tsomo, Mzimvubu, and Tukela and on the sea shore of the Indian Ocean. Bantu migrations and European penetration into the interior pushed the San further north and into the Kalahari Desert.
- **Characteristics** – The San had a yellowish skin. They were small people of about 150 centimetres. They used to wear loin cloth made from tanned animal skins. During the cold season they used to wear leather cloak on the body. The San spoke a ‘click’ laden language.
- **Socio-political organisation** – The San lived in small family bands of 20 – 30 people due to limited food and their nomadic way of life. They lived in rock shelters and in caves. Sometimes they built wind breakers in open country. They also used some grass thatched huts.

They held communal gatherings when food was plentiful. Each San band had a male leader who was the best hunter.

The San were very religious and very skilled in the use of herbal medicines. Girls of about the age of 8 years were married to boys of between the ages of 14 – 15 years. San society accorded men and women same status (equality)

- **Economic activities** – The San lived largely by hunting animals and gathering wild fruits. Food gathering provided most of their diet. They moved from one place to another according to what foods were in season.

The main task of the man was fishing and trapping wild animals. The women gathered wild fruits, roots and wild insects sometimes with the help of children. The hunt also provided clothing (leather). They used dogs, bows and arrows for hunting. They used fire for warmth, security and to roast meat for preservation. The San were very frugal in the utilisation of resources (very economic). They co-operated with nature. They killed or gathered from the environment more than they needed for their survival.

1.6 The Khoikhoi

- **Origin and distribution**–There is also little evidence to support the argument that they migrated from East Africa. The basis for this argument has been the possession of long horned cattle and sheep found among the Khoikhoi and also in East Africa. Also because of similarities of pottery and tools found at sites in South Africa and East Africa. The Khoikhoi were said to be about 200 000 in the 17th century. They lived around the Orange River and the Transkei area. They were divided into many languages but the main group was that of the Nama. European expansion pushed the Khoikhoi further into the interior.
- **Characteristics** – They were similar to the San in several ways. Both languages had a ‘click’ sound and the two groups were similar in terms of skin colour and dress. To a large extent the two were similar in terms of religious practice. However, there was a difference between the two groups in physical appearance. The Khoikhoi were slightly taller and bigger than the San.
- **Socio-political organisation**–The Khoikhoi lived in larger and more settled communities although they moved settlements several times in a year in search of pasture. A settlement comprised between 20 – 40 dwellings (huts) and had 100 to 200 people belonging to one clan. They had kingdoms headed by kings who settled disputes. Men had dominance over women due to men’s control over livestock.

- **Economic activities** – The Khoikhoi pastoralists had full control over an important source of food (cattle and sheep). They moved settlements several times in a year in search of pastures. However, they still depended on gathering and fishing. The Khoikhoi were more food secure. They had a sturdy supply of food and they owned more property than the San. Cattle were used for transport and were a symbol of wealth as well as status.

The Khoikhoi also made pots. So they used to cook food. They were involved in local and long distance trade in copper, gold, cattle and sheep. After 1650 they traded with the Dutch for tobacco and were middle men between the Xhosa and the Dutch.

European expansion into the interior pushed the Khoikhoi further north making them lose their trade and independence.

1.7 The Early Iron Age Culture (Arrival of the Bantu Speaking People in South Africa)

Recent archaeological, linguistic and oral traditions evidence suggest that the Early Iron Age immigrants were Bantu Speaking Peoples who crossed the Limpopo River in about 2000 A.D. They probably travelled and settled in small but not large scale groups. They probably came from an original Bantu people on the Benue River on the border between Cameroon and Nigeria and settled in Eastern, Central and later in Southern Africa about 2000 years ago

Early Iron Age peoples were mixed farmers. They grew millet, sorghum and other crops such as gourds and they kept cattle, sheep and goats. They also hunted, gathered wild fruits and they were fishermen as well. This partly explains why they settled in areas with good pastures, good soils and climate in South Africa.

In early centuries, because of low population, the Early Iron Age Farmers and the hunter gatherers seemed to have co-existed. Intermarriages and client ship occurred between the Bantu and the Khoisan. The ‘click’ sounds in some Bantu languages is evidence of Khoisan absorption.

Historian’s knowledge of the Early Iron Age is mainly based on archaeological evidence that has been uncovered. Such as skeletal remains, clay pottery, grinding stones, storage bins, grains of millet and sorghum, bones of animals etc.

1.7.1 Importance of Iron and agriculture

Iron smelting and agriculture were two important technological innovations which the Bantu people introduced in South Africa. Iron provided better tools for cutting trees, harvesting and hunting. It made life easier. Families were able to grow much of their own food instead of depending on hunting and gathering. Families no longer moved seasonally from one place to another. Long lasting settlements became the order of the day and more permanent houses were built. Families were able to accumulate more wealth and property. Families had more food and better diet. This led to increased population.

Before the 1970s, South African historians erroneously believed that the Bantu were fairly recent immigrants in South Africa. They claimed that the Bantu reached South Africa between 1500 and 1600. This assumption conveniently suited white South Africans who wanted to justify the political and economic domination of South Africa. Monica Wilson and Phillip Mason argued that, the Bantu were recent migrants in South Africa about 1500 and 1600. This can be attributed to a methodological deficiency. They did not know how to use archaeological and oral evidence.

1.7.2 The Later Iron Age Culture (The Growth of Agriculture, Stock Keeping and Trade)

The period between 800 and 1000 A.D is referred to as the *Later Iron Age*, a period when important changes took place among the Bantu of South Africa. The agriculture sector improved. In some areas terracing was used to make use of highly hilly places. There was greater emphasis on cattle rearing or stock keeping. Trade developed between distant communities that needed goods which they did not produce. Women became the main cultivators of crops, prepared corn, made pottery, fetched water, prepared meals and plastered houses. They took care of the children. The men were hunters and herders of domestic animals. Men were also traders.

Cattle provided the Bantu communities with an additional source of food,

were a symbol of status and storage of wealth. Milk became an important part of the diet and in many communities, cattle were only slaughtered on special occasions. Cattle were also a form of insurance against hunger. Cattle also helped in times of draught and warfare as it became a very ideal substitute. Later on cattle became an article of trade which was exchanged for food and iron. Wealthy cattle owners lent out cattle to their poorer neighbours. This was known as *MAFISA* cattle in Setswana and Sotho languages. *MAFISA* cattle could be milked and meat from the offspring could be eaten. The owner of the cattle could withdraw them when he wanted. Cattle could also be used in payment of *LOBOLA*. Wealthy cattle owners were able to marry more wives. More wives meant more children and more labour.

Agricultural growth, population growth, economic stability, cattle rearing and trade led to the emergence of complex social and political systems among the *Bantu Speaking Peoples* of South Africa.

1.7.3 The Growth of Bantu States in South Africa

The Bantu Peoples living in the area south of the Limpopo can be divided into five groups namely: the Nguni, the Sotho-Tswana, the Tsonga, the Venda, the Herero and the Avambo.

- **The Nguni** – This was the largest Bantu group in Southern Africa which comprised groups such as the Xhosa, Pondo, Zulu, Swazi, the Ndebele and the Bhaka. Archaeologists believe that the Nguni have lived in the area between the Drakensburg Mountains and the Indian Ocean for a very long time. The Nguni were cattle keepers and cultivators of crops. They lived in small settlements under kings who were called Nkosi. They exchanged their cattle for food, iron and copper.

Three expanding kingdoms of the northern Nguni were the Mthethwa, the Ndwandwe and the Ngwane around the 19th century. The Mthethwa were led by Dingiswayo, the Ndwandwe by Zwide and the Ngwane by Sobhuza of the Dlamini.

- **The Sotho – Tswana** – They lived west of the Drakensburg Mountains. Their settlement was well suited for pastoralism and cultivation was possible particularly in the eastern side. There are a number of differences between the Nguni and the Sotho – Tswana's way of living. The Tswana lived in large towns of about 10 000 people. They lived in this way because there was scarcity of water and therefore, they grouped themselves around water holes. They developed economic and political specialisation e.g. a large number of workers was available for stone work. The Tswana Thlaping were famous in trade so much that they were nicknamed the *goat people*.

- **The Tsonga (Thonga)** – This group became known as the Shangani after the Mfecane. It is found in southern Mozambique. The group was located along the East Coast between the Save and St Lucia Rivers. The group was strategically located and controlled trade to Delagoa Bay. Its economy was based on trade. Because of involvement in trade, the group scattered as far as the Vaal River. The group traded with Europeans after the 15th century and trade is said to have contributed to its expansion. They sold ivory and copper. The basis of Tsonga wealth was trade and agriculture. Increased food production and trade with the Portuguese, increased population between the 16th and 18th centuries led to the development of kingdoms such as Nyaka, Tembe and Maputo. The Portuguese introduced maize among the Tsonga people.
- **The Venda** – They lived in the Northern Transvaal in the Limpopo valley. They were Shona speaking people. They mined copper and gold. Presumably they could have been traders in these commodities. The Venda were also involved in the long-distance trade with both the east and the west. Other trade items included ivory and skins. They bought cloth on the east coast and sold it to the people in the interior. Being part of the Shona, they built in stone.
- **The Herero** – They were the most southern Bantu on the western side of South Africa. They lived in Central Namibia and occupied the best land. Politically, they were disorganized although under some loose leadership of *Maherero*.
- **The Ovambo** – They live to the north of the Herero. They are herdsman and cultivators. Politically they have no tradition of unity or centralised government. Very little if anything has been written about them. The rest of the people in Namibia are *Khoisan*.

ACTIVITY ONE

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Describe how geographical conditions (landscape, climate, minerals) have influenced where people live in South Africa.
2. Discuss the different kinds of evidence available for studying the Stone Age people of South Africa.
3. Describe the way of life of the region's Stone Age hunter – gatherers. Consider:
 - (a) Their food and the relative importance of each kind.

- (b) The manufacture and use of tools and weapons.
 - (c) The social organisation and the extent to which it was shaped by the environment and the search for food.
 - (d) The significance of their religious beliefs.
4. Discuss the similarities and differences between the way of life of the Khoikhoi and the San before the seventeenth century.
 5. Discuss the evidence for the study of the history of the *Early Iron Age* peoples of South Africa. Compare your response with that for question 2
 6. How was the Iron Age brought to Southern Africa? Why have there been disagreements among historians about this topic?
 7. Describe the *Early Iron Age* way of life. Consider how and why people settled where they did
 8. What were the major changes brought by the development of the Later Iron Age?
 9. Discuss the importance of cattle and trade in the social organisation and growth of the Later Iron Age states.
 10. Describe and account for the distribution of the Bantu Speaking Peoples in Southern Africa before 1800 A.D.
 11. What were the similarities and differences between the ways of life of the Sotho – Tswana
 12. and the Nguni before the mid-nineteenth century? To what extent if any were the two societies shaped by their environment.

2 THE DUTCH COLONISATION OF THE CAPE

2.1 2.1. Introduction

This unit, discusses the reasons for the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape and analyses the relations of the Dutch with the San, the Khoikhoi and the Bantu at the Cape. The unit also describes the consequences of Dutch expansion into the interior of South Africa.

2.2 2.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit learners should be able:

- State the reasons for the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape
- Analyse the relations of the Dutch with the San, Khoikhoi and the Bantu
- Describe the initial expansion of the Dutch into the interior and its consequences

2.3 The Dutch arrival

Before the Dutch, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive at the Cape. The Portuguese wanted to control the profitable spice trade in the east. In the late 15th century Bartholomew Diaz a Portuguese explorer rounded the Cape. In 1497 Vasco Da Gama another Portuguese explorer reached the *Cape of Storms* which was now called the *Cape of Good Hope*. However, the Portuguese never settled at the Cape as they concentrated on developing their empire in the Indian Ocean which they believed could bring them wealth. Portugal was also not strong enough to resist the challenge of its rivals on the seas (Britain and the Netherlands).

The Dutch became independent in 1572 after being ruled by the Spaniards for much of the 16th century. There after the Dutch began to challenge the supremacy of Spain and Portugal in maritime trade. As the Dutch became the major distributors of spices in Europe, they wanted to control the spice trade from the source to its market and destination in Europe. To overcome fierce competition from several European competitors, several Dutch nations came together and formed the *United Dutch EastIndia Company*.

In 1652, the *Dutch East India Company* established a *refreshment* station or a half-way house at the Cape. Jan Van Riebeeck under instructions from the *Dutch EastIndia Company* arrived at the Cape with about 70 men on 6th April, 1652 and

built a fortified station. They were to rear cattle and procure goats and sheep from the Khoikhoi. They were also supposed to grow vegetables and fruits and to supply fresh water to the *Dutch East India Company* sailors travelling between Europe and Indonesia. Jan Van Riebeeck also to take care of the sick sailors and mended their damaged ships. The Cape became a *refreshment* station for the Dutch. These early Dutch settlers became known as *Boers* (farmers). The *Dutch East India Company* had no immediate plans to colonise the Cape.

Unfortunately, the *refreshment* station had man power problems. In 1657, Jan Van Riebeeck released some soldiers and allowed them to grow food on Khoikhoi land. These became known as the *Free Burghers*. Within three years, the population of the *Free Burghers* outnumbered those who were working for the *Dutch East India Company* (D.E.I.C). There were about 3000 in 1660 and 17 000 in 1700. Immigrants from northern Europe were encouraged to settle at the Cape. And *French Huguenots* settled at the Cape in 1668. These were French Protestants who were being prosecuted by the *Roman Catholic Church* in France.

The immigrants were poor whites running away from Europe. Due to the increasing numbers of the *Free Burghers* at the Cape, the D.E.I.C began to think of colonising the Cape in order to control and maintain law and order. With the passage of time, the Dutch settlers began to regard themselves as *Afrikaners* (African Europeans). Their life style was more or less African. The Cape settlement expanded as new settlements were established at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. Immigrants received a free grant of land on which they were only charged a small nominal rent and the company allowed the extensive grazing rights over the surrounding grassland. The main crops were wheat, fruit trees and grapes for making wine. The Boers kept sheep and cattle which they were supposed to buy through the company though most were traded or raided directly from the Khoikhoi.

2.4 Emerging Social, Political Differentiation at the Cape

The early Dutch settlers and the Dutch East India Company depended on cheap slave labour. Slavery was officially introduced at the Cape in 1657 when slaves were shipped from Angola, India, Malaysia, Indonesia and the West Indies in order to replace Khoikhoi slave labour. The attitudes of racial superiority were seen in the first 100 years of Dutch settlement. Racial harmony at the Cape only lasted between 1652 and 1657 when the concubinage between the Dutch men and Khoikhoi women flourished.

Slavery led to the emergence of a caste society of privileged and unprivileged classes. Slaves had no right to own property and no access to courts of law. This caused friction in the Cape colony. The Dutch East India Company insisted that Dutch was the only official language at the Cape. *Afrikaans*, a local Dutch dialect with words adopted from other European, Khoikhoi, Malay and Indonesian languages became the *lingua franca*.

The only denomination recognised in the colony was the *Dutch Reformed Church* which was an extreme protestant church inspired by the Old Testament. The Boers believed that they were God's chosen race. The company appointed two deacons and approved the appointment of elders in the church. So the church was controlled by the Dutch East India Company.

The company governed the Cape mainly in the interest of the company share holders and the settlers. The Khoikhoi were not represented on the council. Company officials were poorly paid and so they were corrupt. Company government and the justice system were poorly administered. The company's self-interest prevailed. Judges were poorly qualified, semi-literate and the law was archaic

The emergence of a coloured population at the Cape was due to the relationships between Europeans, the Khoikhoi and slaves. The offspring of such intermarriages or relationships were not usually recognised by the European community. As friction between European settlers and company rule intensified due to poor governance, the settlers decided to embark on a northward migration away from company rule.

2.5 Khoisan Reaction to Early Dutch Settlement

The San and the Khoikhoi were socially, economically and politically affected by the Dutch colonisation of the Cape. Although the ensuing confrontation between the Khoisan and the Dutch invaders ended with the Dutch overrunning the Khoisan, it is worth noting that the Khoisan were not helpless in defending their independence. They put up tenacious resistance especially the San. Ultimately, however, other factors played a decisive role in the Dutch conquest of the Khoisan.

As Dutch farmers moved further away from the Cape, the San were driven away to more isolated and inhabitable areas where they led a precarious life. However, their resistance against the advancing Boers was so tenacious that the Boers were forced to temporarily concede defeat. The Dutch raids against the San proved futile.

Initial contacts between the Dutch and the San were hostile (no harmony). The Boers hated the San for stealing their cattle. The Boers reacted by waging a war of extermination in the early 18th century which proved costly. Many Boers lost their lives in the skirmishes, hence, the temporary suspension of hostilities by the Dutch. The Dutch resumed their campaign of extermination against the San when they acquired more weapons and more soldiers.

The San were hunted like animals by Boer commando units. Many San people were killed and those who were captured especially women and children were forced to become slaves on settler's farms. San survivors withdrew to the desert and the Drakensburg Mountains in the north-east. Reports of *Dutch – San* confrontations suggest that, San resistance continued as late as the 1880s. In fact the *San – Dutch Wars* remained an inconclusive business.

The ensuing confrontation between the Khoikhoi and the Dutch settlers did not last long as the Dutch – San confrontation. It was short-lived and less tenacious.

Initial contacts between the Khoikhoi and the Dutch were cordial. Trade flourished between them. The Khoikhoi sold animals (livestock) in exchange for brass, copper, alcohol, beads, cloth and tobacco. A harmonious relationship existed between the Khoikhoi and the Dutch settlers until the company began to demand for more cattle to buy which the Khoikhoi resisted. When the company failed to persuade the Khoikhoi to part away with more animals, they began to use more force (stealing). This marked the beginning of frequent clashes between the Khoikhoi and Dutch settlers. Officials of the Dutch East India Company sometimes stole Khoikhoi cattle. As the Dutch settlers migrated northwards, they raided the Khoikhoi for cattle and land.

The seventeenth century witnessed two major Dutch – Khoikhoi wars. In 1657 and 1659, the Dutch provoked the Khoikhoi whose fresh water supplies they had occupied. The resultant confrontation ended with the Khoikhoi being forced to accept that their lands belonged to the Dutch settlers.

In 1673 and 1677 the Dutch East India Company raided the Chochoqua (Khoikhoi group) for cattle and sheep. This disillusioned the Khoikhoi whose animals were diminishing through raids.

Ultimately, the Khoikhoi were simply forced to accept that their ancestral lands and cattle were lost for ever. As the Khoikhoi lost their cattle and sheep through raids, trade and epidemics, some migrated further north while others started working for the Boers or became migrant workers.

The small pox epidemics of 1713, 1735 and 1757 reduced the Khoikhoi population tremendously. The Khoikhoi did not have natural immunity against this European imported disease. Very few Khoikhoi survived and it is said that about 20 000 remained from the 200, 000 reported in 1652.

In spite of numerous military successes by the Boers against the Khoisan and small pox epidemics, fierce Khoisan resistance persisted as late as the 1880s and prevented Boer settlement into the interior of Southern of Africa. Isolated Khoikhoi and San raids on Boer settlements continued and made life difficult for the Boer settlers in the interior.

ACTIVITY TWO

Think, discuss, understand and write.

1. Why did the Dutch East India Company form a settlement at the Cape in 1652? To what extent were their original aims fulfilled?

2. Describe and explain the changing relationship between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi (a) before 1650 (b) between 1652 and 1700 (c) after 1700.
3. In what way and to what extent had the Dutch colonisation changed the way of life of the San and the Khoikhoi by 1800?
4. Describe and compare San and the Khoikhoi to Dutch colonisation. How do you account for this success and failure of this resistance?

UNIT

3

3 THE MFECANE

3.1 Introduction

In this unit we look at the Mfecane. The reasons why the Mfecane took place and its results are also discussed.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit learners should be able to:

- Define the term Mfecane
- Discuss the reasons for the Mfecane
- State the results of the Mfecane

3.3 The Mfecane

Between 1800 and 1870 vast areas of Southern Africa were transformed by a revolutionary process that erupted in Southern Africa. A series of ethnic wars (Nguni) *Lifacaqane*, *Difacane* (Sotho – Tswana). Mfecane actually means the ‘Crushing’ or ‘Scattering’ of people which took place among the northern Nguni states of the Ndwandwe, Mthethwa and the Ngwane. The Mfecane spread warfare and destruction and transformed societies of southern, central and east Africa. Sometimes the Mfecane is referred to as the forced migrations of people from Natal and Nguniland during the first and third decade of the 18th century.

3.3.1 Causes of the Mfecane

There is no universally accepted explanation of the Mfecane

- Population expansion is said to have caused a critical shortage of arable land in Nguniland. Weaker groups were forced out by more powerful groups.

- The emergence of three ambitious Nguni kings who experimented on how to rule their people (the Mthethwa, the Ndwandwe and the Ngwane. The three Nguni kings started bringing together small groups and began to form empires. This fueled competition and fear among the respective Nguni rulers. This is assumed to have led to conflict in Nguniland. The three Nguni competing kingdoms in Nguniland were as follows; the Mthethwa, the Ndwandwe and the Ngwane.

(a) The Mthethwa led by Dingiswayo contributed immensely to the rise of the Zulu Nation. Towards the end of the 18th century, Dingiswayo initiated a few changes. Male circumcision was abolished because it consumed valuable and productive time and instead introduced a standing army. This proved more effective in military engagements with enemies. Conquered women and children were spared and conquered kings were allowed to remain in power so long as they remained loyal. Dingiswayo was kind and gentle to the conquered people. This attribute led to the expansion of the Mthethwa kingdom from Mfholozi River in the north to the Tugela River in the south by 1818. Dingiswayo's wars somehow triggered the Mfecane.

(b) The Ndwandwe led by Zwibe were badly affected by the drought of the early 1800. This might have led Zwibe to attack neighbouring people for livestock and young men and women whom he incorporated into his army and his kingdom.

(c) The Ngwane led by Sobhuza was also one of the centralised kingdoms that emerged in Nguniland and competed for supremacy.

The first major struggle for supremacy in Nguniland was between the Ndwandwe and the Ngwane in 1816 which ended with the Ngwane being defeated and expelled northwards. In 1919 Sobhuza created his own Ngwane nation in Isuthu valley.

In 1818, Zwibe's army attacked Dingiswayo's army. In the ensuing confrontation Dingiswayo was captured and killed and the Mthethwa regiments retreated. However, Ndwandwe's dominance was quickly challenged by a small Zulu kingdom led by Shaka.

3.3.2 Results of the Mfecane

- (i) Depopulation – large areas of southern Africa were depopulated and people became concentrated in smaller areas where they became safer. Areas affected by the fleeing people were fertile, habitable places such as the Natal and Orange Free State to which the Boers were attracted.
- (ii) Some conquered groups migrated further north where they absorbed people they conquered as they moved on. They caused widespread destruction of kingdoms e.g. Zwangendaba and Nxaba destroyed the Mwenemutapa kingdom and Sebitwane's kololo conquered and ruled the Luyi kingdom.

- (iii) The Mfecane facilitated Boer settlements in Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal areas left vacant by the Bantu.
- (iv) Empire building – fleeing groups built their own strong empires where they settled. Here are some of the states that were formed as a result of the Mfecane:

3.4 Soshangane and the Gaza State.

Following the Ndwandwe defeat of 1919, Zwide's centralised state broke apart. The bulk of the Nguni fleeing northwards moved into southern Mozambique where they regrouped around former chiefly rulers. There they became known as the 'Ngoni'. They reorganised themselves along Zulu regimental lines and raided the local Tsonga for grain and cattle. By the 1830s Zwide's former general Soshangane had emerged as the most powerful leader and other groups were expelled from the region.

In the decade that followed, Soshangane built up a powerful military state. His area extended over a large area from Delagoa Bay to the Zambezi valley. The state was named after Soshangane's grand father, Gaza. It was basically a raiding state organised along strict class lines. All the peoples of the state were known to the outsiders generally as 'Shangane'. But the original Ndwandwe who formed the ruling class and controlled the regiments, considered themselves apart from and above the mass of subject peoples. They referred to themselves as 'Ngoni'. The ordinary 'Shangane', who made up the bulk of the central state, were drawn from conquered peoples who were absorbed into the regiments. The third and lowest were the mass of the Tsonga peasants who were fully absorbed into the state. The regiments lived off raiding these peasant communities and exacting tribute from surrounding peoples. In this way they built up huge herds of cattle. The Portuguese trading settlements of Sofala, Inhambane and Lourenco Marques were also raided and forced to pay tribute for the right to trade.

Further wealth came to the central state through trade. The regiments hunted elephants for their ivory and this was traded in exchange for cloth. War captives were also sold to the Portuguese for export as slaves either for the French sugar plantations of the Reunion in the Indian Ocean or across the Atlantic to Brazil.

The Gaza was weakened by four years of civil war which followed the death of Soshangane in 1858. It recovered in the 1860s but thereafter control over the regiments began to decline. Nevertheless, the Nguni state of Ngungunyane provided one of the major obstacles to final colonial conquest of southern Mozambique.

3.5 Shaka (The rise and Decline of the Zulu Nation)

Instrumental in the rise of the Zulu nation was Shaka (Chaka) born in 1787 to Senzangakona and Nandi. The small Zulu state was part of the Mthethwa.

Later, Shaka was conscripted into the Mthethwa army where he acquired the reputation of a military genius and brave warrior. He became a military general in one of Dingiswayo's army. Shaka learned the military changes introduced by Dingiswayo.

When Senzangakona died in 1816, Segujana, Shaka's half-brother succeeded the Zulu king. With Dingiswayo's assistance Shaka overthrew his half-brother and became the Zulu king. Shaka immediately introduced military methods with further modifications of his own.

In 1818, Dingiswayo was killed in a war with Zwibe's Ndwandwe in which Shaka was implicated with the conspiracy theory that it was actually Shaka who organised the death of Dingiswayo. Shaka took advantage of Dingiswayo's death and merged the Mthethwa with the Zulu to make a strong nation. He eliminated Dingiswayo's loyalists and possible successors to Dingiswayo.

3.5.1 Shaka's military and political reforms

Immediately Shaka took over the control of the Zulu chieftainship, he instituted new reforms;

- He did away with the traditional Nguni throwing spear and introduced a new and more effective short spear called the Assegai which was used for stabbing in close quarters. He also introduced larger shields.
- He introduced total warfare. His impis were told to wipe out the enemy completely.
- He introduced vigorous training and discipline for his impis and did away with traditional sandals for great speed and mobility.
- He forbade his impis from marrying until after retiring from the army to make his soldiers concentrate on fighting.
- He created a permanent standing army of professional soldiers and age regiments. He learnt this idea from Dingiswayo. These regiments were

guided by Shaka's old female relatives. The regiments lived in permanent military camps.

- He introduced the '*Cow Horn Military Formation*' which proved very effective in war.
- Only brave and loyal warriors were appointed as indunas as Shaka abolished the hereditary succession. Indunas were forbidden to meet in Shaka's absence. Therefore, we can conclude that Shaka's power was absolute.

Shaka created the most highly trained and efficient military machinery in Nguniland that had no peers. His military conquests simply fueled the Mfecane which was already there.

3.5.2 Shaka's successes

In 1818, Zwide feared the danger posed by Shaka. The Ndwandwe army that attacked Shaka's army was decimated by Shaka's army forcing Zwide to flee from his kingdom. Soshangane and Zwangendaba, Zwide's generals led their remnants northwards.

In 1826, Zwide's successor Sikhunyana led the Ndwandwe army against Shaka's army. Unfortunately, Sikhunyana's army was defeated in a bloody war. These victories left Shaka unchallenged and in full control of Nguniland.

In later years Shaka's army defeated all kingdoms it attacked causing widespread destruction of life and property. Some conquered people were incorporated into the Zulu nation and the Zulu army. This led to the expansion of the Zulu nation.

One of the most important contributions of Shaka was that he united the Zulu nation which remained intact up until the coming of colonial rule in 1887.

3.5.3 The Decline of the Zulu Nation

In 1828, Shaka was assassinated by his half brothers, Dingani and Mlangane out of fear of Shaka's brutality and unbalanced mind after his mother's death in 1827.

Dingane succeeded Shaka and became more brutal (cruel). The Zulu nation started disintegrating during Dingane's rule and reign.

Dingane's failure to handle the Great Trek Boers led to his downfall. The Boers defeated the Zulu army in 1838 and installed his brother Mpande in 1840. Mpande became a vassal (puppet) of the Boer republic of Natal. That was the down fall of the Zulu Nation.

3.6 Sobhuza, Mswati and the growth of the Swazi Nation

The leading people in Swaziland from the sixteenth century had been the Nkosi – Dlamini clan of the Nguni who had gained control over the neighbouring Ngoni and Sotho people. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ngwane led by Sobhuza were defeated by Zwide's Ndwandwe and retreated to Swaziland where they assimilated the resident clans.

Sobhuza I who reigned from 1815 to 1836 was responsible for guiding the expanding community. During his reign eight more clans joined the group accepting overall control of the Dlamini. Refugees fleeing from Zulu regiments to the south-east found security among the mountains and caves of Swaziland and pledged their loyalty to Sobhuza in exchange for safety.

Sobhuza allowed a fairly loose political control with separate groups being allowed to retain their own chiefs. He pursued a policy of conciliation. He married one of Zwide's daughters and gave young princesses as tribute to Shaka.

3.6.1 Mswati and the Swazi Nation

Sobhuza died in 1836 and he was succeeded by Mswati from whom the Swazi have taken their name. Mswati is associated with a more aggressive external policy. Although he reformed his army on Zulu lines, his military conquests were not very successful. During the 1840s and 1850s, the different clans in Swaziland developed into a kingdom with clear national elements.

3.7 Moshesh and the Basuto State

Moshesh the founder of the Basuto State was born in 1786 to a junior king of the Makoteli clan. His practical response to the Mfecane exposed his leadership skills before he became king. In 1820 Moshesh set up his own small village on top of Buthe-Buthe upon recognising the defensive importance of mountains against raiding and fugitive groups such as the Tlokwa, Zulu, Ngwane and the Hlubi. Later, this earned him leadership of the Makoteli clan. He also incorporated fugitive groups into his kingdom.

In 1824, Moshesh abandoned Buthe-Buthe for Thaba-Bosiu Mountain after raids exposed the defensive limitation of the mountain. Thaba-Bosiu was a natural

fortress which allowed his people to easily spot the invaders and repulse them. Moshesh's reputation as a good leader attracted fugitive groups, refugees and kingdoms which sought his protection.

He used the *Mafisa* system in which he lent royal cattle to his poor followers. This meant that almost everybody in the kingdom had ties with the king and this consolidated his position. The Basuto army also raided weaker groups for cattle.

3.7.1 Moshesh's foreign policy towards Bantu groups

Moshesh appeased more powerful neighbours or invaders and resorted to defensive warfare when attacked. He sent regular tribute to Matiwane of the Ngwane and Shaka of the Zulu as one way of buying peace. A Sotho group called the Tlokwa led by Queen Matantisi displaced by the Mfecane caused a lot of destruction in the Highveld. The Tlokwa remained a threat to Moshesh's kingdom which they also raided for cattle. Later, Sikonyela, Matantisi's son and successor continued raiding the Basuto nation for cattle and women in the 1820s until the Tlokwa shifted their allegiance to Moshesh. This made Moshesh's kingdom the strongest in the southern Highveld.

In 1831, the Sotho repulsed the Ndebele by rolling down rocks and sending a gift of cattle to the retreating Ndebele. In the 1830s Koranna and Griqua attacks became the most serious threat to Sotho security.

3.7.2 Moshesh's policy towards Missionaries

He wanted to know much about the missionaries whom he heard a lot from visitors to Griqualand. He invited them in return for cattle and land. He wanted to use the missionaries as a means to an end.

In 1833, Casalis, Gosselin and Abousset of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (P.E.M.S) arrived in the Basuto Nation. Since Moshesh wanted to use them for defensive purposes he invited them to establish mission stations at the foot of the mountain to prevent Koranna and Griqua attacks. Moshesh was not interested in conversion to Christianity.

Missionaries became important allies of the Sotho and provided a very important link with Cape Colony and a source of guns and horses for the Basuto army. Missionaries also advised him in his interaction with European traders, settlers and states.

3.7.3 Moshesh's policy towards the Boers

From about 1810, Boers from the Cape Colony began to arrive in the Basuto kingdom. At first the Boers were not a threat since they were few. But when many began to cross the Orange River they created a big threat as they refused to be under Moshesh's jurisdiction. They also expanded in all directions disregarding Moshesh's authority. This alarmed Moshesh but he remained cautious and diplomatic in his dealings with Europeans.

The problem between Moshesh and the Boers was compounded by different perceptions over land ownership and utilisation. Moshesh thought that he had temporarily given land to the Boers to live on. The Boers believed that land was given to them permanently. This led to constant clashes between the Basuto and the Boers.

The land problem was further compounded by the *Mafisa* system. The Boers refused to give back the cattle Moshesh had given them. This angered Moshesh who did not expect his white visitors to disregard Sotho traditions.

The boundary concept was non-existent among the Sotho. But the Boers wanted clearly defined boundaries between them and the Sotho. This brought more conflict between the Sotho and the Boers.

Moshesh sought British protection in an effort to stop Orange Free State attacks. The *NAPIER Treaty* signed between Moshesh and the British in 1843 failed to stop Boer encroachment on Basutoland. The Boers were not content with the portion of land Moshesh had set aside for them.

The *WARDEN LINE* of 1849 was a new border line drawn by Major Warden, a British resident in the Orange River sovereignty which set aside more Sotho land for white settlers. This angered Moshesh who attacked and defeated Wardens army. Governor George Cathcart's army was also defeated and given cattle as compensation.

On March 18, 1868, Governor Phillip Wodehouse declared Basutoland a British protectorate accepting Moshesh's request. In 1870, Moshesh died, leaving his kingdom intact. His diplomatic initiatives saved his nation from external threats.

3.8 Mzilikazi and the Ndebele

The Ndebele were members of the *Khumalo Clan*. They migrated because Mzilikazi who was Shaka's general disobeyed Shaka and so had to flee in 1821. The Ndebele took the north – western direction and settled for sometime in Transvaal. Here they were defeated by the Trek Boers in 1837 at VEKGOP and

so they had to move northwards. Moving in two groups they crossed the Limpopo. It was the Ndebele who destroyed the remains of the Rozwi Empire.

The main group of the Ndebele settled here while Mzilikazi went ahead with a section of the tribe towards the Zambezi. Unfortunately, he found the area unsuitable for settlement due to tsetse flies. After several months of absence Mzilikazi returned to Matebeleland and found the Indunas unloyal. He punished them cruel and some of them lost their lives.

3.8.1 Mzilikazi as a ruler

Mzilikazi established his capital at Linyati. He was a strict and cruel ruler and his subjects regarded him as semi-divine. This is because he was a religious leader as well. He made important decisions with advisors of his council. He maintained himself in power with the help of a very well trained army based on the age-regiment system. When a new regiment was formed the oldest was disbanded. The old soldiers were supposed to go to the village to go and cultivate but they could be called back in time of need. The warriors lived in military towns, eight kilometres around Linyati. Each town was under an Induna.

3.9 The Ndebele Society

Ndebele society was divided into three classes:

1. The *Zansi* – these consisted of the original Khumalo from Zululand and other Nguni who had joined the group on the way.
2. The *Enhla* – this was composed of the Sotho – Tswana captives.
3. The *Holi* – this consisted of Shona captives who worked as slaves.

For the Ndebele marriage between different classes was discouraged took part in the age-regiment system. All of them spoke Sindebele language and regarded themselves as Ndebele. This sense of belonging created remarkable unity among the Matebele society. Mzilikazi died in 1868 and was succeeded by Lobengula.

3.10 The Kololo

The Kololo belonged to the Sotho-group known as the *Fokeng* and were therefore, not Nguni. Their leader was called Sebitwane. They migrated from South Africa because of attacks resulting from the Mfecane. They moved towards the north and crossed the Limpopo River and came across the Ndebele. To avoid them they continued their northward march. They crossed the Zambezi near its

confluence with the Chobe River in 1831. Moving eastwards they defeated the Tonga. Then they settled at the southern end of the Kafue River.

In 1835, they moved again westwards due to the constant attacks by the Ngoni and the Ndebele. Finally, they settled in the flood plain of the Zambezi River (Barotseland).

3.10.1 The Lozi on the eve of the arrival

When Sebitwane and his Kololo followers reached the Zambezi valley, the Lozi were unprepared for war. This was the time their great leader Mulambwa, the 10th Litunga had just died and there was confusion and civil war. Barotseland was divided between the north and the south. The Lozi were more involved in internal fighting and they paid no attention to outside invasion which was more important to the survival of their kingdom. In this way therefore, they were easily defeated by Sebitwane's Kololo.

3.11 Sebitwane as a ruler

He was a wise and capable ruler. Many Lozi were greatly impressed by Sebitwane's military ability. He tried to weld the Lozi and the Kololo together. Sebitwane allowed the Lozi chiefs to continue as chiefs and he took some of them into his councils. Equal rights were given for both of them. He was very generous to all his subjects.

3.11.1 Sebitwane's Government Structure

The Kololo were the ruling group. One or two Kololo families were placed in each village. The villages were then grouped in provinces under Kololo chiefs. Sebitwane was the overall king based at Linyati. The subjects paid tribute to Sebitwane. This made him rich and powerful. His rule extended over much of present day Western Province and the Tonga area of Kalomo and Livingstone. He always raided the Tonga area of Mazabuka and Namwala. Sebitwane was a good warrior as well as a statesman. He fought against and stood the Ndebele and Ngoni attacks. Unfortunately, he died in 1851.

3.11.2 The Restoration of the Lozi

His son Sekeletu failed to govern the kingdom effectively and brutalized his Lozi subjects. Sekeletu died in 1863 and because of his weak rule the Lozi subjects found an opportune moment to re-assert their lost independence. Some Kololo started to retreat to Lake Ngami region under their leaders Mokhame and Libuse. Civil war broke out among them over who should succeed the late Sekeletu. The

Lozi under induna Njekwa organized a rebellion in 1864, which succeeded and Sipopa became the first Litunga after Kololo rule. In 1876, Sipopa was deposed by Mwanawina II. Lubosi later known as Lewanika deposed Mwanawina II in 1879. Lubosi was deposed by Tatila Akufuna in 1884 but managed to regain the throne in 1885 and ruled Bulozhi until the coming of the BSA Company.

3.12 The Ngoni and Zwangendaba

After the death of Dingiswayo, there were two rivals in Nguniland. These were Shaka and his enemy Zwide. Zwangendaba was the head of the Jere Ngoni. The Jere clan moved to the north-west in 1821.

Zwangendaba and his Jere clan passed through Swaziland and attacked the Swazi and Thonga for sometime. They joined forces with the Shangane in modern Mozambique and it was in this area where the Jere came to be known as the Ngoni. Unfortunately, Zwangendaba's Ngoni were defeated and eventually displaced by the Shangane and they had to leave the area. As they moved they reached Mashonaland in 1830 and caused a lot of destruction among the Shona and Rozwi. This was just a few years before the Ndebele invasion. The Ngoni killed the last Rozwi king or Mambo.

Then the Ngoni crossed the Zambezi. This happened near Zumbo and must have taken considerable time. The Ngoni crossed the Zambezi on 19th November 1835. On that day there was an eclipse of the sun which the Ngoni regarded as *Amen*. The Ngoni continued their way northwards to the shores of Lake Malawi. They terrorized the Nsenga living between Luangwa Valley and the Zambezi and the Tumbuka who were living near Lake Malawi. Later, Zwangendaba left Lake Malawi and continued until he reached the area between lakes Malawi and Tanganyika. It was here at *Mapupo* in *Ufipa* country where Zwangendaba died in 1848.

3.12.1 Divisions of the Ngoni

After Zwangendaba's death there were succession disputes immediately on his death. Mgai temporarily took over as leader of the Ngoni. He died in 1850. Zwangendaba had three sons:

1. Mpenzeni – who claimed for the chieftainship as the eldest.
2. Mbelwa – who was the most popular among the three.
3. Mtwala – who was nominated by the elders to become chief. As a matter the succession could not be settled and so the clan split into several groups.

1. Zulu Gama- He was a relative of Zwangendaba and led a group who finally settled near the Ruvuma River in the Songea district of modern Tanzania. His people came to be known as the Gwangara.
2. Mbelwa and Mtwala – They led a group up to the highland which is west of Lake Malawi where they terrorized, killed and enslaved many tribal groups e.g the Tumbuka and the Tonga in Malawi. In 1875, the Tumbuka and the Tonga rebelled against Mbelwa’s Ngoni but this only served to increase bloodshed. The reign of terror continued up to the end of the 19th century during the influence of the Livingstonia Mission.
3. Mpezeni – He took the remaining groups to the Luangwa valley. There they came against the Bemba who defeated them with their use of guns. Mpezeni’s Ngoni then moved to Mchinga Hills where they finally settled in modern Zambia near the present Mozambique border.

ACTIVITY THREE

Think, discuss, understand and write.

1. Mention and discuss the causes of the Mfecane
2. Who was the leader of the Ndwandwe?
3. In which year was Shaka born?
4. Briefly discuss the establishment of the Gaza state
5. At which battle did Shaka defeat Zwide?
6. Discuss the political and military reforms introduced by Shaka in the Zulu nation.
7. Who became the leader of the Zulu nation after the death of Shaka?
8. Who was the leader of the Ngwane?
9. From which leader have the Swazi people taken the name of their nation?
10. Which areas did Moshesh regard as very important for defence?
11. Discuss the qualities that Moshesh showed as a good leader.
12. Why did Moshesh ask for missionaries as advisors in about 1832?
13. To which missionary society did the missionaries who were sent belong?
14. Why did Moshesh ask for British protection?
15. Who were the Ndebele by origin?
16. In Ndebele society, which class was the most important?
17. To which tribal group did the Kololo belong?
18. Why did the Kololo find it easier to enter Buluzi?
19. Describe briefly Sebitwane’s rule in Buluzi
20. To which Ngoni clan did Zwangendaba’s Ngoni belong?
21. Where and on which date did the Ngoni cross the Zambezi?

22. Name the various groups of the leaders into which the Ngoni split after the death of Zwangendaba.

UNIT

4

4 BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE CAPE

4.1 Introduction

The only major power in South Africa in the middle of the nineteenth century was the British at the Cape and Natal. British main interest at the time were naval and commercial. This unit discusses the reasons for British occupation and the impact of British rule at the Cape.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to;

- Discuss the reasons for British occupation of the Cape
- Assess the impact of British rule at the Cape

4.3 The Cape Colony under British rule

In 1795, Britain attacked and occupied the Cape Colony which it surrendered back to the Batavian (Dutch) Republic in 1803. The Dutch East India Company had become bankrupt in 1789. In 1806 Britain re-occupied the Cape Colony when the Batavian Republic allied itself with Napoleon's France. Britain occupied the Cape Colony mainly due to the need for a refreshment station for its ships sailing to and from India and as a strategic naval base to protect British ships from attacks from rival navies (Napoleon's France).

In 1815, the British took full control of the Cape Colony and adopted an accommodating policy towards the Free Burghers in an effort to avoid Boer resistance. For instance, the British followed Dutch laws, Dutch officials were put on regular pay row and restrictions on internal trade were removed to allow the Free Burghers to trade freely and go beyond the boundary into the northern part of the Cape Colony.

Unfortunately, the Free Burghers were not happy with new British administration since all they wanted was a free Boer republic. The Free Burghers who did not like the British administration simply left for the interior where there was freedom and fewer restrictions.

4.4 Features of British Administration in the Cape Colony

- The British administration encouraged British emigration into the Cape Colony. The influx of British settlers in 1820 doubled. In this year about 500,000 arrived. There was also an influx of British traders in the colony.
- *Anglicisation of the colony.* In 1827, English became the only official language in the colony to be used in schools, courts and government institutions. The British legal system was introduced in the colony. Circuit Courts were introduced. Court sessions became public and trial by jury was established.
- Scottish clergy (missionaries) were brought in to run the churches because of the shortage of Dutch clergy men and the discrimination nature of the Dutch Reformed Church. Missionary societies from Germany, France, Denmark and Britain were allowed to preach in the colony for the first time.
- A diversified cultural heritage emerged in the colony due to the liberal policies the British introduced in the colony.
- Slavery was abolished in the colony in 1834 in line with the British government policy. Former slave owners were compensated one third of the slave market value. This compensation was to be collected in Britain, a condition which slave owners could not meet.
- Ordinance 50 of 1828 removed all restrictions on the Khoikhoi and gave them equality before the law with the whites. They were no longer required to carry passes and no longer tied to Boer farms. Many Khoikhoi left Boer farms for the towns. This made the Boers very unhappy.. According to Eric Walker, ‘Ordinance 50 led to a social revolution in the Cape and shocked the racially inclined Boers’.

The Boers resented the changes the British initiated in the colony. They felt insecure and disadvantaged. This led to their mass exodus from the Cape in late 1830s into the interior of South Africa and beyond the reach of British jurisdiction.

ACTIVITY FOUR

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Why did the British occupy the Cape?
2. Discuss the features of British administration.

UNIT

5

5 THE GREAT TREK

5.1 5.1. Introduction

The movement northward and eastward extension of the colony went on throughout the eighteenth century. This unit analyses the causes and effects of the Great Trek. The unit also discusses the course of the Great Trek.

5.2 5.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able:

- Analyse the causes and effects of the Great Trek
- Trace the course of the Great Trek

5.3 5.3 The Afrikaner Exodus

One point of view suggests that the Afrikaner exodus of the 1830s was merely an acceleration of the process which began in early 1700s. Early Trek Boers were the Free Burghers who went into the interior of South Africa in search of arable land. Trek Boer expansion between 1700 – 1830s was gradual movement of Boer families in small numbers. There was no organised mass exodus into the interior. Similarly, there was no central control from the company or the British government. Early Trek Boers did not consider themselves as leaving the Cape forever. They remained loyal to the Cape government.

The early Trek Boers were semi-nomadic pastoralist farmers. Pastoralism had become their main economic stay in the early 17th century. In the 18th century agriculture produced poor yields, a development that compelled them to switch to pastoralism which had become more profitable. Pastoralism led to over congestion in the Cape Colony. As a result, some Boer families saw the need to move on. However, early trek Boer movements remained on a small scale until after 1835.

5.4 Causes of the Great Trek

Afrikaner nationalists refer to the Boer exodus of the late 1830s as the Great Trek by reason of its organisation, size and spirit. It was also one of the most important events in the history of white expansion in South Africa. C.F.J. Muller argues that, 'The Great Trek was a rebellion against British authority'. The Boers wanted to establish their own government based on Dutch principles and free from British interference. The Afrikaners had tried to rebel within the Cape against the British but they had failed hence, the need to move to form an independent Afrikaner state. However, this argument has been challenged by some historians who argue that Boers had an instinct to move on because they were pastoralists. The following pull and push factors are believed to have made the Boers move en masse:

- Easy availability of land in the interior. There was plenty of land in the interior of the Cape which made it easy for the Boers to expand and settle wherever they wanted. This made it difficult for the colonial government to control or regulate them.
- Stories of fertile land in the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State enticed the families to leave the Cape. The Cape Colony was too small and the Boers were becoming landless. However, it is a fallacy to argue that the Boers settled on empty land in the interior of South Africa.
- The new system of land tenure administered by a poorly organised land department. The Boers complained against high and unequal quit-rents and favouritism in land allocation, delays in issuance of title deeds and fears that title deeds could be withdrawn at any time and the requirement to fence the land.
- The Boers resented their loss of Khoikhoi labour. Ordinance 50 of 1828 and the abolishing of slavery in 1834 deprived the Boers of their only source of labour. Inadequate and cumbersome procedure for compensation of slave owners irked the Boers so much.
- The Boers rejected the 1812 circuit courts and English laws which afforded the Khoikhoi equality before the law. The Boers rejected the British legal system which deprived them of white racial superiority and put them at par with 'natives'.
- Although the motives of the trekkers varied from family to family, the desire for freedom from British control precipitated the Boer exodus. Policy changes at the Cape were resented by the Boers. The Boers had revolted in 1795, 1799 and 1815 but these rebellions were a failure and showed that it was not possible to overthrow the British.

- The British frontier policy and threat to Boer property disillusioned Boer families who felt abandoned by the British administration. The Boers accused the British of failure to provide security on the frontier against Africans who were attacking them.

5.3.1 Course or Organisation of the Great Trek

The Boer Trekkers who trekked from the Cape Colony from 1835 onwards were Afrikaner families who decided to get their property and packed their belongings in wagons. They were organised in large families and wanted to establish themselves across the Vaal River. They finally established themselves in Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State. The Trek involved thousands of Boers. In the first two years about 5000 trekkers had crossed the Orange River. This is why it is called as a mass exodus. However, not all the Boers left the Cape Colony for the interior. Some remained in the colony. Trekkers left the Cape Colony suddenly and dramatically. The Cape government was taken by surprise. The Boer Trekkers were divided into three groups under three leaders: -

- i. The first group to leave was under the leadership of Louis Trigardt and Ransburg in 1835. They went into the direction of Mozambique (Lourenco Marques). They went through a number of disasters. They had to cross the Orange and the Caledon Rivers. They reached Delagoa Bay and finally settled at Zoutpansburg in Transvaal.

They built houses and a school for their children. While there they suffered from fever and a shortage of food. They had tried to ask for help from the Boers who remained but this help could not come in time. In the end most of them perished and only 27 Boer survivors remained.

- ii. The second group was under the leadership of Hendrick Potgieter and Maritz which left in 1836. They headed for Mzilikazi's kingdom in Zimbabwe. They met opposition from the Ndebele at the Battle of Vegkop. The Ndebele were defeated and lost 7000 cattle. Mzilikazi temporarily retreated to Mashonaland and the Trekkers finally settled in the Orange and the Transvaal.
- iii. The third group was under Piet Retief in 1838. This group was originally part of Potgieter but branched off and crossed the Drakensburg Mountains towards Natal. They clashed with Dingane of the Zulu and Piet Retief was killed. The situation was saved by the good fighting qualities of the Boers who under the leadership of Andries

Pretorius defeated the Zulus at the *Battle of Blood River* in 1838. After this success, the Natal Republic was proclaimed.

The British government could not let Natal fall into unfriendly hands. In 1842, the British sent troops to Natal with the aim of protecting the local people there from Boer interference. In 1843, the British proclaimed Natal as a British colony under the supervision of the Cape. It was a bitter blow to see their land of promise coming under the control of the very power they had moved away from. Their answer was to trek away back over the Drakensburg, some went into the Orange Free State and others moved northwards across the Vaal where they founded several Boer republics. After a few years these were united into one, the South African Republic known as the Transvaal.

5.3.2 Results and Significance of the Afrikaner Exodus

1. The Trek resulted in the defeat of two well organized African kingdoms – the Zulu and the Ndebele. The Boer Trekkers expelled the Ndebele from the Transvaal in 1837 while Dingane's Zulu nation was defeated in 1838. The Boers and the Bantu came to collide over land. This led to the displacement of the Bantu.
2. The Trek facilitated European expansion and settlement in the interior of South Africa. It led to the creation of Boer republics in the interior e.g. the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal.
3. According to Afrikaner nationalists, the Great Trek was a great achievement, hence the reference to it as 'GREAT TREK' because they founded new land in the interior and gained freedom from the British. However, they remained economically dependent on the British colonies of Cape and Natal.
4. As a result of the Great Trek, minerals were discovered e.g. diamonds in 1867 in Kimberley and gold in 1886 at Witwatersrand.
5. As a result of the Great Trek, the relations between the Boers and the British were worsened. British response to the Boer exodus from the Cape was confused, half-hearted and ineffective. The Cape government tried to stop Boer emigration through promises and threats but took no practical steps to halt the exodus.

5.4 Afrikaner Republics

Afrikaner republics began to emerge when the Boers began to leave the Cape Colony. The Boers made attempts to form republican governments. They were concerned with achieving independence from British control and survival from attacks from African kingdoms. This shaped the kind of governments that emerged. However, these goals were not easy to achieve due to the following factors:

- (a) The British in the Cape Colony still wanted to control the Boers in the interior.
- (b) The Boers found it difficult to live with Africans in the interior.
- (c) Disunity among the Boers made it extremely difficult to become truly independent. This division was due to the emergence of four prominent Boer leaders – Hendrick Potgieter, Piet Retief, Piet Leys and Geritz Maritz. Each leader was backed by certain Boer families and each leader wanted to be an overall leader.

The Afrikaners believed that they would occupy the empty lands left by the African groups running away from the Mfecane. Unfortunately, they found themselves in conflicts with Africans who were returning to their original lands. They found it very difficult to handle highly centralised African states compared to scattered Afrikaner groups.

In the meantime, the British at the Cape feared the emergence of a rural white state in southern Africa. As a result, they annexed Natal in 1843 which the Boers had established in 1839. This forced the Boers to move further into the interior away from British control where they established the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Division among the Trekkers between the more militant northerners and less militant southerners led to the emergence of two Afrikaner states i.e. the Transvaal following the *Sand River Convention* and the Orange Free State following the *Bloemfontein Convention*. The Afrikaners at last had gained their independence from British control.

The Boers benefited from the conventions which allowed them to purchase guns from the Cape colony and denied Africans to purchase weapons. This weakened African resistance while the Afrikaners became militarily strong.

While most of the trekkers were re-establishing themselves as pastoralists, the republics spirited and ambitious were laying the foundations of government. The frame of the constitution was drawn up by select committees.

The early Afrikaner republics lacked personnel and funds. The Trekkers did not have the means to replenish the revenue that they had taken with them from the Cape. Revenue from land tax, custom duty and trading licenses was meager. Salaries for the few government officials were meager and erratic.

The trekkers were sharply divided by distance and factional feelings. There were also personal quarrels overland and over the distribution of booty captured from Africans by commandos such as cattle and African slaves. In moments of stress Boer leaders spoke of their common blood, common sacrifices and common destinies.

The Volksraad) legislature, (court of appeal) and the (Executive) defined the scope of the Boer state and the status of citizens, who was to be a member of the community, which strangers were to be admitted and on what condition and what was the position of stranger's resident in the republic. According to Thompson these were some of the issues that the Volksraad dealt with.

The Trekker community essentially consisted of the Dutch speaking people born of European decent in the Cape, who had quit the Cape Colony to find an independent state. Therefore, the Boers were to be the dominant community. Other non-Dutch Europeans were treated with suspicion although they could be absorbed if they showed submission and loyalty to the community. Non-whites had no right to live in the Boer republic except as servants of the white people.

ACTIVITY FIVE

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Why did the Trekkers move out of the Cape?
2. Which areas were settled by the Boers?

3. Name the various leaders of the Great Trek and describe the directions into which they led their people.
4. Who was the leader of the Zulu at the time of the Great Trek?
5. Why did the British annex Natal in 1843?
6. Who won the Battle of the Blood River?
7. Assess The results and significance of the Great Trek.
8. Which conventions gave independence to the Orange Free State and the Transvaal?

UNIT

6

6 EUROPEAN RIVALRIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

6.1 Introduction

The insecurity of the interior for both African states and Boer republics as well as Natal, began to worry certain British administrators. They felt that Britain ought to have greater influence in the inland. This unit discusses the relations and the Boer states. The various attempts made at federation and the events leading to the First Anglo-Boer War are discussed in this unit.

6.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- Discuss the relations between the British and the Boer states
- Discuss the various attempts made at federation
- Discuss the events leading to the First Anglo-Boer War

6.3 The Balance of power before 1867

Were the African states before the 1880s always much weaker militarily and economically than the growing Boer republics? Was eventual domination by the Boers inevitable from the time they migrated into the South African interior? The answer may be that a balance of power between the African states and the Boer republics was fairly well established until the discovery of diamonds. It might be that but for the discovery of precious minerals and the great numbers of Europeans who came into the area afterwards, the influence of the Boers might have been in time been much reduced.

The only major power in South Africa in the middle of the nineteenth century was the British authority at the Cape and Natal. Its main interest at that time was naval and commercial. It had no real designs of controlling the interior. A population of 250 000 Europeans had produced a prosperous economy and an element of self-government.

The Boer republics at this time did not represent the same picture of prosperity. They were generally able to defend their own territory against attack. They were not too successful in uniting the different Boer groups into a strong centralised government. At moments of critical danger cooperation among themselves did occur, but only existed for the period of the emergency. Economically, the Boers were pastoralist farmers. They produced little for export, and what little there was did not sell for a very high price at the Cape. Much of their land was wasteful. No great progress was made because little emphasis was placed on education and training of any sort. The Boers lacked capital for development. Their prospects were not considered to be very good. When the Orange Free State tried to raise a loan with the Cape banking houses it was refused. Neither was the Transvaal successful in getting investment in railway communication from Europe. Therefore, life in the Boer republics could not compare with that of the Cape, but was that of a simple pastoral economy, which was capable of self-defence. Occasionally, when a joint effort was made, the republics were capable of defeating their African neighbours.

6.4 Attempts at Federation of South Africa

Several attempts at federating Southern Africa were made from within South Africa and the colonial office in Britain.

Why Federation?

- The British wanted to bring about Federation which would be dominated by them in order to create a self-governing British colony.
- The British in South Africa at that time wanted to shift the administrative expenses and defence from the British colonial office to a federal government.
- They thought that federation would be the best way to safeguard British interests in Southern Africa and the far-east.
- It was felt that if federation was created, it would pass legislation to keep Africans under control.
- They looked forward to a federation which would pass labour laws that would favour European workers at the expense of Africans.
- The British wanted a federation that would keep the Boer independence in check.

6.4.1 Sir George Grey

He started advocating for the idea of federation in 1854 when he was governor of the Cape. According to him, the cheapest policy in South Africa was to federate the republics. This was the best way in which to remove insecurity. He also believed that federal states would be more prosperous than before. Sir George Grey did not succeed in his efforts to bring about federation of South Africa because he did not get support from the home government in Britain. He was recalled in 1867.

6.4.2 Lord Carnarvon

He was another man who attempted a federal scheme between 1874 and 1884. He was a Colonial Secretary of massive experience. Carnarvon asked a man called Fraud to study the idea of federation and report on it. Fraud reported favourably. On the basis of Fraud's report, Carnarvon convened a conference to look at the possibility of federation. Cape colony rejected the plan and so did the Boer republics. Carnarvon tried to convene so many meetings which the Cape Colony and the Boer republics rejected.

6.5 British Annexation of the Transvaal

By 1876, Lord Carnarvon felt that federation should begin with Britain's annexation of the Transvaal. He believed that once that proved a success the other states would be eager to join in.

In 1876, the Transvaal was defeated in a war with an African tribe called the Bapedi. The defeat of the Transvaal by the Bapedi gave Carnarvon the chance he needed to take over the republic. The Transvaal was bankrupt. Bankers in the Cape who had lent money were demanding repayment but the government was failing to repay its debt.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal was sent to Pretoria, the capital of Transvaal. In January, 1877, Shepstone entered the Transvaal with a small force of police and a handful of officials. In April, 1877, Shepstone raised the British flag and declared the Transvaal a British colony. The Boers were not strong enough to resist annexation but they greatly resented the loss of their independence.

6.6 The First Anglo-Boer War 1880

In 1880, the liberal government in Britain, under Gladstone took office and promised independence to the Transvaal Boers. But independence was not restored to the Boers who decided to fight for it.

The war started in February, 1880. The war was concentrated at two places called Laing Nek and Majuba Hill. The British were led by Colley and Janbert was the leader of the Boers. The war ended in favour of the Boers. As a result of this war the Pretoria Convention was signed in 1881. According to this convention the following terms were agreed;-

- (a) Having realised the heavy casualties that the British suffered at Majuba, Gladstone told the British to stop the war and immediately gave independence to the Transvaal. But all foreign matters were to be handled by the British. To make sure that all matters were controlled by British, the British decided to put a resident in Transvaal.
- (b) The Uitlanders (British nationals in Transvaal) were to be given civil rights. The Boers were not happy because independence was not complete but partial.

ACTIVITY SIX

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Which was the only major power in South in 1850?
2. Why did the British try to form a federation of states in Southern Africa during the 1870s? Who supported it and why?
3. What were the reasons for the British annexation of Transvaal in 1877? Why was the annexation so easily achieved?
4. What caused the First Anglo-Boer War in 1880?

UNIT

7

7 THE MINERAL REVOLUTION

7.1. Introduction

Gold and diamonds were found in certain parts of Southern Africa during the last third of the nineteenth century. Many people from all over Southern Africa and from Europe, America and Australia rushed to the sites in order to find these valuable minerals. They hoped to become wealthy or to find work. This unit discusses the discovery of minerals and the significance of the mineral revolution in South Africa.

7.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- Discuss the discovery of minerals in South Africa
- Discuss the significance of the mineral revolution

7.3 The discovery and exploitation of diamonds

Officially, the diamonds were discovered in 1867 along the Vaal and the Orange Rivers in Griqualand ruled by Nicholas Waterboer. It is worth noting that the local Griqua, Tswana and the Korana had been selling diamonds to white traders from the Cape Colony for horses, brandy, clothes and guns long before the whites came.

Local African groups affirmed ownership in the area and Afrikaners in that area also claimed ownership and control of the diamond rich area when whites from the Cape and Transvaal began rushing to the area.

In the 1830s, the Griquas were recognised as the true owners of the territory. In 1852 and 1854, Griqua ownership of the area was questioned when Afrikaners were given a free hand to own and control land previously owned by the locals.

The question of who owned Griqualand preoccupied political and economic developments due to the presence of rich diamond deposits in the area. There were various groups which claimed this area:

1. The Afrikaners or Boers claimed ownership of the area.
2. The British Cape Colony also claimed ownership of the area although the British had a hidden agenda.
3. The Griqua of Waterboer also claimed ownership of the land.
4. The southern Tswana also claimed ownership of the area.

These are the four groups that were the contestants of the ownership of the land. Each claimant was challenged to prove ownership of Griqualand in terms of which group was larger and which group lived there longer. The Griqua had a stronger case against other claimants. Since, there were three thousand Griquas and one thousand Afrikaners living in the area. There were no British families living in the area. The Griquas also demonstrated that they had resided in the area longer than the other groups and were the rightful owners of the area. The British supported the Griqua's claim of ownership of the area although they were not on the side of the Griqua. The British had hidden motives.

In 1871, the governor of Natal R.W. Keate arbitrated in the diamond claim. The settlement is known as the *Keate Award of 1871*. The award declared that the two Boer settlements (Boer republics) i.e. Orange Free State and the Transvaal had no legitimate claim of Griqualand and that the Tswana also had no legitimate claim of the land but would be compensated for loss of the territory. (This was quite a trick decision).

The *Keate Award* recognised the Griqua as the rightful claimant of the diamond rich area. The legal rights however, remained a dead paper from the beginning due to British interest in the area. What the British wanted was to manipulate the puppet Waterboer for their economic benefit. Ultimately, the British annexed the territory and renamed it Griqualand West. Griqualand was finally incorporated into the Cape Colony due to its wealth.

Upon losing the claim to Griqualand, the Boer states of Orange Free State and the Transvaal lodged a complaint which saw the states being compensated an amount of 90 000 pounds to keep them quiet. On the contrary the African states of the Tswana were not compensated for loss of their land as per *Keate Award*. The Griquas simply lost their territory to the British as they became British subjects in the colonial setting and the Griquas were on the receiving end.

7.1.1 Consequences of Diamond Mining in South Africa

The consequences of diamond mining were far reaching:

- (a) The immediate annexation of Griqualand West and Keate Award was that the local African groups lost sovereignty of their land and their livelihood. Local African groups were simply ignored by the British and became impoverished and food insecure.
- (b) The annexation of Griqualand West and the *Keate Award* embittered the relations between the poor Boer states of Orange Free State and Transvaal and the British government in the Cape Colony and Natal.
- (c) European prospectors from Europe and within South Africa rushed to diamond mining Kimberley. Some prospectors had some skills while others did not. Those who did not have skills ended up being employed as labourers. Many went to Kimberly as individuals and not as companies. Companies were formed later i.e. De Beers. Some prospectors were Africans. Some Africans were pushed out by Europeans later on. Those African prospectors who managed to continue in diamond mining became very rich.
- (d) Soon the question of which groups would be employers and employees emerged. There was need for labour to do the actual digging of minerals as Europeans began to establish themselves as miners they began to dominate many operations and Africans were relegated to the position of employees proving cheap labour. It was easier for experienced Europeans to dominate mining operations since Africans were not used to large scale mining. Europeans used their experience to control the mining area and they also used their political influence in the Cape government.
- (e) For the first time, South Africa experienced the migrant labour system. In 1871, there were about 20 000 Africans living in the diamond belt. Because of the migrant labour system, the rural areas experienced a shortage of man power e.g. there was a shortage of labour in the Natal plantations. In the mines each white employer formulated his own rules on how to handle his employees. Therefore, conditions of work differed from one employer to another. Workers used to work 12 hours per day. Later, whites started accusing Africans of stealing diamonds which they mined. This led to the building of African compounds where they could be confined. The creation of compounds was a way of keeping Africans from the mining area and stop illicit mining.
- (f) The diamond fields became a good market for agricultural products because of the large population. There was a lot of money which was used for construction of railway lines to connect the large towns.

- (g) As whites made a fortune from diamond mining, they started forming syndicates – amalgamation of individual prospectors into corporations. This led to the formation of De Beers Consolidated Mines with John Cecil Rhodes as a leader of the mining conglomerate. De Beers produced about 90% of the diamonds on the world market. Later, John Cecil Rhodes became an MP in the Cape Parliament and in 1890 became Prime Minister of Cape Colony. The Cape Colony government had a lot wealth and thus became autonomous and secure. It also stopped quarrels with the Boer republics as its wealth strengthened.

7.1.2 The Discovery and exploitation of Gold

The discovery of gold at Witwatersrand in 1886 was not accidental since Africans were mining gold on a small scale and were aware of the existence of gold in the interior as early as the 1840s. However, the significance of the 1886 discovery was due to the discovery of deep of deep level deposits of gold in the Transvaal Republic. The Transvaal Republic was able to exploit gold mining without British interference.

The discovery of gold created profound economic and political consequences for South Africa. First and for most, it brought an immediate solution to the chronic problems the Transvaal Republic was facing. FOURTY four mines were opened within two months and the Transvaal realized revenue of about 638 000 pounds within a year. This was a lot of money within that time.

Revenue to support the government was available. The state also had enough money to purchase arms for its defence. Luxuries and social amenities were available in the Transvaal and the life style of the Boers was coming very close to their counterparts in the Cape Colony.

In 1889, the economy of the Transvaal was rivaling that of the Cape Colony. The poor Transvaal Republic became rich overnight. It's newly found wealth made it politically and economically independent of British interference.

7.1.3 Consequences of Gold Mining in South Africa.

- (a) Africans living on the gold belt were in a predicament like their counterparts in the diamond belts. Africans were easily displaced by Europeans.
- (b) The same diamond prospectors went to the rand and introduced the same mode of production. Prospectors such as Barney Barnato, C.R. Barnato, Alfred Bait and J.B. Robinson. S.H. Frankel argues that gold mining led to large scale industries that relied

heavily on cheap African labour. In 1892, there were 3 400 white miners and 10 times more African workers at the rand.

- (c) While, whites occupied supervisory and skilled jobs, Africans worked for short contracts and performed odd jobs. Whites feared competition from African workers on the mines and simply became migrant workers on white farms and mines. Those dispossessed and displaced from their land lost their livelihood and compelled to destitution, became impoverished and migrant workers.
- (d) The Mineral Revolution tilted power in favour of Europeans who became economically and politically dominant over Africans. Africans lost their lands, independence and their livelihood to European intruders and became unequal partners in South Africa's emerging social, economic and political configuration.
- (e) The discovery of gold in the Boer republic of Transvaal compelled the British to participate in gold mining too, since they feared the growth of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.
- (f) Later, there was an influx of other European mineral prospectors into the interior of Southern Africa. As a result Africans living in the interior came face to face with more Europeans. The Mineral Revolution contributed to European expansion into the interior.

ACTIVITY SEVEN

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Discuss the economic, social and political effects of the development of diamond mining on the people of Southern Africa.
2. In what ways were Africans in the Transvaal affected by the development of gold mining on the rand after 1886.

8 THE SECOND ANGLO-BOER WAR, CONCILIATION AND UNION

8.1 Introduction

British movements for federation under the British domination in the 1870s helped promote a reaction among the Afrikaners. Afrikaner nationalism received a great boost from the successes of the Transvaal rebellion against the British in 1881. This unit discusses the events leading to the Second Anglo-Boer War its causes and effects. The peace settlement leading to the Union of South Africa and the African's reaction to Union of South Africa are also discussed in this unit.

8.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- Discuss the events leading to the Second Anglo-Boer War its causes and effects.
- Explain the peace settlement leading to the formation of the Union of South Africa.
- Discuss the African's reaction to the formation of the Union.

8.3 The Problem of the Uitlanders

Paul Kruger was born in the Cape Colony in 1825. He left the colony at the time of the Great Trek and was old enough to remember the sorrow of Piet Retief's death. He was proud of the Trekkers' triumph over Mzilikazi at the Battle of Vegkop. His early life was full of hunting and fighting. In the first years of the South African Republic (Transvaal), he gained the affection and honour of his fellow Boers through his early connection with early history of the Trekkers. He seemed to them to be a typical Boer and a part of the open veldt life that they loved.

At the Battle of *Majuba Hill* in the *First Anglo-Boer War*, Kruger was the automatic choice for the Transvaal burghers. He was elected president four times; 1883, 1888, 1893 and 1898. He had a very forceful personality. He was a very persuasive speech maker. His main asset was that he understood that his people wanted a strong and independent Republic controlled by Afrikaners. To the people of the Transvaal, Kruger represented all that was best in the independence spirit of the Afrikaner nationalist. He had played an active part as a commando leader in battles against African groups during the early days of the Boer republics. He had led the resistance movements during the British annexation of the Transvaal.

The Uitlanders were the foreign population who had entered the Transvaal to exploit the minerals of the republic. These were mostly English speakers though a good number of them came from Germany and America. Within a few years these outsiders, it was believed seemed to outnumber the Boers.

One of the grievances of the Uitlanders was that they hoped to qualify for citizenship and elect representatives. Paul Kruger, the Transvaal president made sure that the Uitlanders were denied the vote because if they were given the vote, this would bring down the Transvaal Republic. Paul Kruger made sure that the Uitlanders were marginalised socially, politically and economically. Kruger taxed the Uitlanders heavily. It is claimed that the Uitlanders contributed at least nine-tenths of the republic's revenue.

8.4 The Jameson Raid 1895

This was an attempt by John Cecil Rhodes and his friend Dr Starr Jameson to overthrow the Kruger government in Transvaal. The Uitlanders appealed to Rhodes and Jameson for help in their struggle for political and civil rights in the Transvaal and a plan was thought up to overthrow the Transvaal government. Cecil Rhodes had intended that the raid should support a revolt by the Uitlanders on the Rand. As the time for the raid grew closer it became clear that the mining people of the Rand were not very enthusiastic about the plan. Colonel Frank Rhodes, Rhodes's elder brother, who was in charge of the conspiracy in Johannesburg, was not the type of person to inspire a rebellion.

There were differences between the Uitlanders and Cecil Rhodes. The Uitlanders wanted self-government for the Transvaal while Rhodes wanted an association with the rest of South Africa. Rhodes had second thoughts about the possible success of his plan. Jameson was to set out on 28 December, but on 22 December, Rhodes cancelled this order. But because the impulsive Jameson had a burning desire to take over the Transvaal, he chose to disregard the second order and the raid began with 385 mounted men who were stationed at Pitsani in Bechuanaland. The Boers knew about Jameson's invasion by the morning of the first day.

Jameson found out that this small band was no match for the Transvaalers, who surrounded the raiders at Doornkop near Krugersdorp and forced Jameson to surrender unconditionally.

The raid caused a great excitement in Britain. Jameson was pictured as a hero riding to save the Uitlanders from continued Boer oppression, but the British government did not know what to do about the situation.

The major result of the unsuccessful raid was that a peaceful solution to the differences between the Transvaal and Britain became almost impossible. In the Transvaal, suspicion of the British was increased while groups in Britain, embarrassed by the failure of the raid, wanted the British government to intervene in Transvaal. Paul Kruger was re-elected as president of the Transvaal. Had the raid not happened, the Transvaal might have chosen a more liberal leader. The raid also created a closer understanding between the two Afrikaner republics. The Orange Free State realised that British designs on the Transvaal could extend to her. In the Cape, Rhodes was forced to resign as Prime Minister and concentrate his attention on the future of Rhodesia.

8.4.1 The Second Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902

The Following were the causes of the war:

- (a) The abortive Jameson raid brought a lot of ill feelings. The British were still determined to take over the economic wealth of the Transvaal. The Jameson raid also brought a lot of embarrassment to the British. The British wanted to regain their reputation.
- (b) The British defeat at Majuba in the First Anglo-Boer War worked as a factor in provoking another war.
- (c) The Boers who had been promised assistance by the Germans could not succumb to British pressure. They were also sure of support from fellow Boers in the other Boer republics and the Cape.
- (d) Railway tariffs for goods travelling through the Transvaal and the Cape. Kruger charged them heavily and later stopped the movement of British goods from Transvaal to the Cape.
- (e) The question of the Uitlanders did not die down. After the Jameson raid, Kruger became harsher and imposed more restrictions on the Uitlanders.

- (f) The isolation of the Transvaal by the British so that they could defeat it. The Boers were not read for this isolation.

8.4.2 Course of the War

The British begun mobilising their troops. Kruger gave an ultimatum to the British to demobilise their troops. The British did not comply. So on 11th of October, 1899 fighting started.

Boer troops numbered 80 000 and the British numbered about 500 000. The Boer commanders were General de Ray, General Botha, General de Wet, General Smuts and General Hertzog while the British were led by General Roberts and later Lord Kitchener. In the beginning the Boers appeared to have an upper hand of the war. Open warfare ended in 1900. From there on, the Boers waged guerrilla warfare. Lord Kitchener set up concentration camps to keep the captives. The British also adopted a '*Scorched Earth Policy*'.

8.4.3 Results of the War

- (a) Ironically, the war brought economic boom to Natal and the Cape because this is where most of the incoming soldiers landed.
- (b) By the end of the war 26 000 Boer women and children had died in concentration camps.
- (c) There was total disruption of economic activities in Transvaal.
- (d) There was a shortage of labour because many volunteered to fight in the war. There was total destruction of life, property, crops, animals etc.
- (e) The Treaty of Vereeniging was signed on 31 May 1902. Smuts and Botha had been keen to sign the peace treaty but General Hertzog had been very reluctant. This was a sign of his nationalism which was to show itself politically soon after the act of union was passed in 1910. The peace was a generous conclusion to a disastrous war. The terms of the peace were;

- The Transvaal and the Orange Free State became British colonies.
- Responsible government was promised to both colonies in the near future.
- Vast sums of money and assistance were to be given to restore the broken countries.
- Dutch and English languages were to have equal status.

8.5 Economic Steps towards Union

Despite the decline in economic activity between 1904 and 1907, important steps were taken towards a union of the four regions. Although attempted previously this had always failed because of the special position of the Transvaal. This fourth attempt to unite the country probably succeeded for the following reasons:

- (a) All four regions were British colonies and were organised in similar ways. This was an improvement on the previous occasions when a large obstacle had always been the different political systems in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.
- (b) The formation of the Customs Union of 1903 completed the movement of gradual commercial federation, which provided a common tariff wall against the outside world.
- (c) During his term of office as Governor of the two new colonies and High Commissioner, Lord Milner was successful in reducing rivalry between the different railway systems. The railways of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony were brought under one authority and an agreement was signed between the Cape and Natal railway authorities in 1905. This closer coordination of the railways was no small contribution to the later achievement of political union.
- (d) Political union was also influenced by the need to lower administrative costs. In place of four wholly separate administrations, one common administration had a lot to recommend it. If the idea had been sound in Sir George Grey's term of office, it was even more advisable in a modern South Africa, which in economic terms was expanding very rapidly.

8.6 The Formation of the Union of South Africa (1908 – 1910)

There were two main reasons why the Act of Union followed so quickly after the Peace of Vereeniging. The introduction of a customs union developed economic co-operation among the four colonies and the granting of responsible government to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in 1907 placed the two former Boer republics on the same political level with Cape and Natal. In the Transvaal, Botha and Smuts won the elections. Fischer and Hertzog won the election in the Orange Free State and the new government in the Cape depended on the support of the Afrikaners. The opportunity was therefore available for a union movement on conditions laid down by the Afrikaner leaders instead of the English-speaking politicians as had been expected.

In 1908 a National Convention met to decide on an acceptable formula for an acceptable union constitution. Delegates came from each of the four colonies and observers from Rhodesia also. The nature of the franchise (right of voting at public elections) and the question of racial politics were to be considered by the convention but it was agreed to leave aside the question of African affairs until after union was achieved. This was a victory for the separatist Afrikaners. They would not have changed their firmly held opinions to satisfy the more liberal views of the Cape.

The Cape delegation was the only one which represented both European and non-white voters, and there was a genuine attempt to extend this 'Civilisation Franchise' to the other three colonies. Whites would have been able to vote and a number of poor whites would have lost the vote. This was completely unacceptable to the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal. The deadlock was only broken when the three delegations agreed that the Cape franchise for the non-Europeans should remain and that the non-Europeans should be eligible for the Cape and Natal Councils. But they denied the right of non-Europeans to sit in the Union Parliament. Despite protests against the franchise arrangements, the British government ratified the proposed constitution in the Union of South Africa Act which was effective from May 1910. The main provisions of the new constitution were:

- (a) The Union Parliament was given supreme authority over the four colonies which in future were to be called 'provinces'.
- (b) The leading executive officer was to be the Governor-General assisted by an Executive Council of Ministers.
- (c) The Union Parliament was to consist of a House of Assembly and an Upper Chamber, the Senate.
- (d) The capital was divided into three with Parliament at Cape Town, the Executive at Pretoria and the Judiciary at Bloemfontein.

- (e) The official languages were to be English and Dutch. (There are differences between Dutch and Afrikaans language).
- (f) Recognition was made of the non-white voters in the Cape Province, but Parliamentary membership from the Cape was limited to Europeans. Clauses (e) and(f) could only be changed by a two-thirds majority decision of the Senate and the House of Assembly sitting together.

The first General election was won by the Boers of the South African Party. The South African Party won 67 seats while the Unionist Party of the English won 39 seats. Botha became the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. The Union of South Africa was a big triumph over the British. The Africans were not considered in the new confederation.

Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Swaziland were left out of the union of South Africa and had to come to terms with the new and powerful state of the Union of South Africa.

8.7 African response to the Act of Union

Most African political leaders criticised the whites only National Convention. When their suggestions were ignored, they sent a delegation to the United Kingdom to protest against the Draft Act of the Union. The African protest in London was ignored.

The first government of the Union of South Africa immediately legalised Colour Bar in the mines. In 1911 the *Mines and Works Act* was passed. Skilled and well paid jobs were reserved for whites while unskilled and poorly paid jobs were reserved for non-whites. More segregative or racist acts awaited non-whites.

The exclusion of non-whites from the National Convention on the Draft Union Act and lack of British government support for non-whites compelled the African political leaders to form the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in January, 1912. SANNC was the forerunner of the African National Congress (ANC). The onus now was on Africans to fight white injustice.

The constitution of 1910 united the four South African states under a single state but did not become a sovereign state (not independent). The input of imperial British government on some affairs was critical especially in matters of defence.

ACTIVITY EIGHT

Think, discuss understand and write

1. Describe the events leading to the out break of the South African War in 1899. Why was each side prepared to go to war?
2. How did the Boers continue the war after the capture of their main settlements
3. What were the terms of the Peace of Vereeniging?
4. What were the critical issues at stake at the National Convention and how were they treated?
5. Discuss the main terms of the of the Union of South Africa in 1910. How did its terms affect the different peoples of South Africa?

UNIT

9

9 THE DEVELOPMENT OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE UNION (1910 TO 1961)

9.1 Introduction

The Afrikaners established themselves very firmly in the government of South Africa after the Act of Union and throughout the twentieth century. Succeeding governments recognised the growing challenge of African nationalism. To ensure the survival of the idea of separate development and the supremacy of the white man it had been necessary in the nineteenth century for the Afrikaners to remove themselves from British control. This unit, discusses the evolution of Afrikaner domination of South Africa in the twentieth century. The constitutional changes leading to the republic are also discussed in this unit.

9.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, the learners should be able:

- Discuss the evolution of Afrikaner domination of South Africa in the twentieth century
- State the constitutional changes leading to the Republic

9.3 The formation of the Nationalist Party by Hertzog 1912

The other major issue on which cabinet was divided was Botha's friendly policy and attitude towards the English-speaking South Africans and the imperial government in London. Hertzog behaved as if he was still fighting the Boer war. He would not allow the ideals of Afrikanerdom to be submerged during the period of the union. He advocated separate development for the two white peoples, with the government always in the hands of the Afrikaners. Botha asked for Hertzog's resignation as Minister of Justice, but when he refused, Botha was forced to resign and reform his cabinet without Hertzog. Hertzog then formed his own party, the Nationalist Party. It

was not just chance that the formation of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party should coincide with the formation of the South African Native Congress (later named the African National Congress). The African nationalists were reacting in exactly the same way to European domination as Hertzog was to British domination. Both the Afrikaners and the Africans attached greater importance to progress by constitutional means (means which were considered to be legal) instead of fighting to solve their problems.

9.4 White South African Governments from 1910-1948

9.4.1 Botha Ministry 1910-1919

The first Prime Minister after Union was Louis Botha, a Boer general who fought with distinction in the Anglo-Boer War. Together with Smuts, he recognised for partnership between Afrikaners and the English-speaking South Africans after the war. The continuing undercurrent of the hostility of the Boer for the British is illustrated by the two events in the Botha Ministry. The formation of the Nationalist Party by Hertzog was one of these, showing as it did the desire to further the interests of the Afrikaner community along separate lines from the British. Hertzog gained considerable capacity from the rural Boers and made Botha's position much weaker. The second event was the First World War (1914-1918)

9.5 South Africa and the First World War (1914-1918)

Botha and Smuts had no hesitation to joining the war on Britain's side in 1914, but many Afrikaners did not share their feelings. Before entering the war, the government had to put down a revolt led by Generals de Wet and Maritz who were keen to support the Germans against the British. South West Africa (Namibia) a German colony was invaded by Smuts and Botha and the Germans were forced to surrender very quickly. South African troops later fought in Europe and in East Africa.

Both Botha and Smuts attended the Versailles Conference and South Africa was granted continued control and administration of South West Africa (Namibia) as a **Mandate** from the League of Nations. Subsequently, South West Africa (Namibia) was brought into much closer association with the republic, with representatives for the area sitting in the Assembly. This development took place very much against the wishes and demands of the United Nations and it remained to be seen how effective these demands would be with the inflexible South African government.

9.5.1 Smuts Ministry 1919-24

Jan Smuts was the obvious successor to Botha when he died in 1919, but his period of office was made more difficult by the major problems discussed earlier, namely the poor whites and the position of the non-European in white South Africa. A slump in world trade made white workers on the rand more insecure than ever, and constant demands were made to preserve a ratio of 1 European to 3.5 Africans in the minefields. The coalminers went on strike in 1922 and were later joined by the gold workers. A General Strike on the Rand placed the area in rebel hands for a short time, before Smuts dealt ruthlessly with the strikers. The strike was over by March 1922, by which time over 200 workers had died.

Smuts prospects of winning the next general election declined after the strike, and disappeared almost altogether, when Herzog announced that the Nationalist Party would work closely with the Labour Party. The poor white workers could now count on the support of both these parties. In the election of April, 1924, the pact of the Nationalist and Labour Parties was returned with a majority of twenty-seven seats in the Assembly.

9.5.2 The Pact Ministry 1924-33

The pact between the two parties was based on two fundamental principles:

- The need for independence from the British Commonwealth.
- The protection of white 'white civilisation' in South Africa.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 and 1931 persuaded Herzog that the independence of South Africa was not in question within the Commonwealth, and that the dominions (South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand) were independent states and in no way subordinate to Britain.

Hertzog passed a series of laws aimed at protecting the poor white community. Despite limiting African employment opportunities, the world trade depression of the late 1920s prevented any real advance for the poor whites. Support for the Pact fell and the chances of an election victory in 1933 dwindled. At this point, Hertzog surprisingly joined Smuts in a coalition party. Hertzog declared that a refusal to join the coalition would have made the South African Party even more hostile to Afrikaner ideals.

There was an overwhelming victory for the coalition party in 1933. Dr D.K Malan refused to accept that the interests of the Afrikaner people were best served by a coalition, and formed the 'Purified' Nationalist Party. This party only gained small support in the 1933 election but by 1948 was strong enough to win a general election.

9.5.3 The Fusion Ministry 1933-8

The prospects for the new government were weakened by the obvious divisions within the party now known as the United Party. Many nationalists had definite sympathies with Malan's group and did not need much persuasion to join up with him. The *'Purified' Nationalist Party*, although a small party, was beginning to influence people and events out of all proportion to its size. It had the support of and became the political organ of the Broederbond, a cultural secret society which wanted an independent and exclusive republic run by Afrikaners. Hertzog attacked the organisation but was unable to restrict its activities and influence as more and more of the leading Afrikaners joined its ranks.

The major pieces of legislation passed by the Fusion Ministry which affected the African population were:

- 1936 Native Representation Act
- 1936 Native Trust and Land Act
- 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act

9.5.4 The defeat of Hertzog

At the general election of 1938, the United Party was returned with a slightly reduced majority. One of the major considerations which troubled the new Government was South Africa's position as a result of the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939. By the end of 1938, Smuts was convinced that South Africa must stand by Britain, but Hertzog announced South African neutrality in 1939. He was supported by Havenga, Pirow and three other ministers. But in the debate which followed, Hertzog was defeated by eight votes to sixty-seven. His resignation was accepted by the Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan, and under the leadership of Smuts, South Africa joined the war on the side of the allies – Britain, France and later the USA.

9.5.5 The 1948 General Election

Support for Smuts began to dwindle in 1947 and the Dominion Party was also experiencing a slow death. A general election was called for 20 May 1948 and even the most enthusiastic supporters of Dr Malan were not very optimistic about the outcome.

Malan entered the campaign introducing apartheid as his policy and using it as his election platform. Malan did not try to hide the fact that fear was the basis of the policy. He proposed as a start that that all Bantu representation in Parliament and the Cape Provincial Council should cease. Very much to his surprise, Malan won the election, by a small majority, although his party did not poll as many votes as their opponents.

The 1948 election was a turning point in white South African politics. It did not result in a completely new political programme. Dr Malan's government continued politics which developed easily from the discriminatory policies of the inter war years. What was new after 1948 was the absolute dominance of the political scene by the Afrikaner and the Nationalist Party. The United Party had continued as the opposition party but the major decisions were taken by the all- Afrikaner cabinet, and the main interest centres around differences in the ranks of the Nationalist Party rather than in Parliament. Radical change in government policy was only likely to result from within the Nationalist Party and in this respect the Government of South Africa was answerable more to the Afrikaner white majority group and less to Parliament.

In the years since 1948, the Nationalists had gradually gained more power in South Africa and in the election of 1961; they gained their first clear majority under the leadership of Dr Verwoerd when they polled 53.5 per cent of the total vote. Dr Malan remained Prime Minister until 1954 when he gave way to Mr. J.G. Strijdom, the leader of the Transvaal Nationalist Party, who led the country until his death in August 1958. His successor was an ex-Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Verwoerd, who survived one attempt on his life, only to be assassinated in 1966. His greatest contribution to nationalist Government was that he made the policy of apartheid a reality through the establishment of Transkei as the first Bantustan. It was Verwoerd also who led South Africa out of the Commonwealth in May 1961 and he proclaimed a Republic after the **referendum** of 1960 had given him a 12 per cent majority. The next Prime Minister after Verwoerd was Mr. Vorster who continued the inflexible policies of the Nationalist Party which had succeeded in achieving all the ambition of the Afrikaners who wished to be completely independent of any political influence from Britain. The aims of the Great Trek had been realised, although they had been achieved at the cost of isolating South Africa internationally. This situation was not unknown to the conscious of the Trekkers.

ACTIVITY NINE

Think, discuss understand and write

1. In what way is true to say that that 'Britain won the war, but the Afrikaners won the peace?

2. What were the main problems facing the Botha government of 1910-19
3. What caused Hertzog to form the Afrikaner Nationalist Party?
4. Who were the Nationalist Prime Ministers of South Africa since 1948?
5. When did South Africa leave the Commonwealth and why?

UNIT

10

10 CREATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF APARTHEID

10.1 Introduction

During the twentieth century the white minority in South Africa gradually increased their control over the rest of the country's population. Starting with military domination, successive white governments built up a political, economic and social system aimed at guaranteeing white control and political security from a 'black threat'. This unit looks at the concept of apartheid, the root causes of apartheid, early legislation aimed at segregation and the Bantustan Policy.

10.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- Define apartheid
- Trace the roots of apartheid
- State the Early Legislation aimed at Segregation
- Discuss the Acts that were put in place to intensify social control
- Discuss Apartheid and the Bantustan Policy

10.2.1 Definition of Apartheid

Apartheid was an ideological philosophy which was created by Afrikaner nationalists in the 1930s and enshrined in the South African constitution in 1948 by the National Party led by Dr D.K. Malan. Malan's National Party had defeated Smuts United Party in the 1948 elections.

Apartheid meant separation of races or racial segregation. It had its roots in the racial supremacy which the Afrikaans held dear. The Nationalist government called it *separated development*. The Nationalist Government wanted each racial group to have its own political rights and to determine its own destiny. Dr D.F. Verwoerd believed that the separation of races would be complete after 2000 with the Boers emerging dominant.

Most importantly, however, apartheid was racial segregation in politics, education, employment residential areas, transport, marriage etc to ensure white dominance over non whites. It was ironic that South Africa was racist when the rest of the world was moving away from it.

10.2.2 The Roots of Apartheid

A multiracial society emerged in the Cape in 1652 and marked the beginning of racial conflicts. The emergence of a coloured race compounded the racial conflict.

In the beginning frontier Afrikaner farmers wanted harmony to ensure constant and easy availability of cheap African labour. The economic motive was paramount. Dutch missionaries advocated for the separation of races so as to prevent cultural contamination and to protect weaker and backward Africans from powerful whites.

Sir George Grey governor of the Cape between 1854 and 1861 believed that racial integration was possible. His ideas and influence led to the emergence of Cape liberalism which allowed races to mix freely in the Cape Colony.

Shepstone, the Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal between 1848-1875 advocated for racial separation to protect Africans and the African culture from contamination.

In the 20th century there was systematic separation of races in South Africa. Racial segregation became preoccupation of the regime. Economic exploitation of Africans by whites characterised South African capitalists.

10.2.3 Consolidation of Apartheid

The period 1910-1948 saw the white community of South Africa consolidate its power over the non whites in many spheres. The South African government passed a series of acts in its quest to dominate and exploit non whites. Ultimately, the acts tilted the balance of power in favour of the minority whites.

The Act of Union of South Africa in 1910 embodied racist policies which envisioned the elimination of African participation in South African politics. Africans were to be confined to native reserves for easy control and suppression. Majority rule was opposed to ensure dominance of South African politics by the whites and inter racial marriages were forbidden to maintain white superiority over nonwhites.

10.2.4 Early Acts aimed at Racial Segregation

- *1911 Mines and Workers Act* prevented Africans from performing skilled and semi-skilled jobs through job segregation. It also outlawed strikes by Africans.
- *1912 Defence Act* prevented Africans from joining the South African Defence Forces to ensure easy control of Africans.
- *1913 Native Land Act* ensured separation of races geographically with Africans confined to Native reserves which became simple labour reserves for white farmers and white miners.
- *1920 Native Affairs Act* was passed to segregate Africans in politics.
- *1924 Industrial Conciliatory Act* denied Africans collective bargaining at places of work.

The most intensive efforts to introduce segregation in South Africa occurred between 1910 – 1924 during the rule of Botha and Smuts. There was a movement away from segregation during the war due to the need to win the war by the allied forces at all costs. After 1948, there was a fervent movement back to segregation.

10.2.5 The Broederbond in South Africa

Nationalist or hard core Afrikaner intellectuals formed a secret organisation called the *Broederbond* in 1918. The aim was to nurture and consolidate Afrikaner racial supremacy in South Africa.

H.J. Kloppe became the first chairman of the Broederbond. The major aim of the Broederbond was to promote Afrikaner nationalism and ensure Afrikaner domination in economic, social and political arena. To achieve this organisation clandestinely assisted the Nationalist Government in the perpetuation and consolidation of apartheid in South Africa after 1948.

For instance, the organisation ensured that ministerial posts in banks, colleges, army, police, schools, industries, the labour movements were held by members of the Broederbond. The Broederbond also helped the Nationalist Party to win the 1948 elections. Membership to the Broederbond was by invitation and members had to be educated and financially sound.

10.2.6 Intensification of apartheid after the Second World War

During the Second World War segregation laws were relaxed by the Smuts government in order to mobilise resources for the war. Racial integration or harmony was deemed necessary if South Africa was to produce and supply ammunition and food to the allied powers. Stabilised African workers were recruited as the shortage of white workers was critical.

In spite of ably filling the gap created by the shortage of skilled white labour, Malan's government, reneged on racial harmony and institutionalised racial segregation in 1948 in form of apartheid.

10.2.7 Intensification of social control

- (a) *The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949* banned marriages between whites and non whites so as to ensure the preservation of the white races.
- (b) *The Immorality Act of 1950* made sexual contact between black and white illegal.
- (c) *The Group Areas Act of 1950* by which each race was made to live in its own designated area.
- (d) *The Abolition of Passes Act* simply strengthened the pass laws. Blacks had to carry different passes which were consolidated into a reference book. Even women were made to carry reference books when travelling outside the reserves.
- (e) *The Separate Amenities Act of 1953* divided public services such as buses, trains, post offices, beaches, parks between Europeans only and non-Europeans only.

10.2.8 Intensification of Economic Control

- (a) *The Prevention of Illegal Squatters Act of 1951*. It gave government powers to remove Africans from white areas or white lands.
- (b) *The Native Labour of Settlement of Dispute Act 1953*. Made it illegal for Africans to form or join trade unions.

- (c) *The Industrial Conciliatory Act* was amended in 1956 to have the racially mixed unions to be segregative. The Minister of labour was empowered to safeguard job reservation for whites
- (d) *The Bantu Labour Act 1964* banned strike action, breaking of contracts and Africans were not allowed to bargain.

10.2.9 Apartheid and the Bantustan Policy

The *Tomlinson Commission of Inquiry of 1955* considered the development of Bantustans within the Union of South Africa. The findings of the commission led to the enactment of the *Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959* which also led to the creation of the Bantustans or the so called *self-governing African homelands or tribal lands*. According to the *Promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act* all African societies belonged to the Bantustans. They were no longer South African citizens. Africans were forcibly removed from the so called white areas and pushed into Bantustans which were impoverished. The place for an African was the Bantustan. Only Africans needed for employment were allowed into white cities. The South African Commonwealth of Africans was administered by the South African government. Traditional rulers became heads of the Bantustan states and were assisted by indunas and councilors.

The tribal authorities were supervised by a white Minister of Bantu administration, development and Bantu education. The minister was advised by a *Bantu Affairs Commission* appointed by Pretoria. Africans were not free to rule themselves. A *Commissioner General* (white) represented the government in each Bantustan. The representation of Africans in parliament by whites was abolished since the Africans were no longer citizens of South Africa.

The Bantustan government-controlled education, agriculture, forestry, roads and works, home affairs, judiciary and finances. The South African government wrote and amended the Bantustan constitution, gave subsidies, controlled foreign affairs, defence matters, internal security, postal services, railway, immigration, currency, banking, customs and exercise, health and information sector. Most important areas were controlled by Britain. English and Afrikaans were the official languages recognised by the government. The Bantustans were officially created after 1970 although legislation came out in 1959. They were constituted on ethnic lines. The rationale was to emphasise ethnic borders and to divide and rule Africans much more easily. The Bantustans were as follows: Transkei (Xhosa), Ciskei (Xhosa), Kwazulu

(Zulu), Lebowa (Sotho, Ndebele, Pedi), Venda (Venda), Gaza-Nkulu (Shangani, Tsonga), Bophuthatswana (Tswana).

Bantustans were created in mountainous, hilly areas. The terrain was rugged and punctuated by deep valleys. Most of the areas were uncultivable. Agriculture was in a poor state due to infertility of the soil, severe droughts, overpopulation e.g. 500 people per square kilometre. Overgrazing, inadequate arable land, soil erosion, lack of capital and market etc. Much of the infrastructure was underdeveloped, poor housing, poor transport network, inferior education, lack of recreation facilities.

This separate development as envisioned by Dr Hendrick Verwoerd, the then Prime Minister wanted Africans to fight for their rights within the Bantustans. This would ensure permanent separation of races in South Africa. Suffice to say the South African regime created the Bantustans simply to create a cheap labour reservoir for white owned industries in South Africa and to pre-empt the ever rising tide of African nationalism. It can also be argued that the Bantustans strengthened African resistance to the apartheid regime as Africans feared to lose their South African roots.

ACTIVITY TEN

Think, Discuss, Understand and Write

1. Give some definitions of apartheid
2. Describe the ways the South African Government applied its apartheid policy to land ownership, education and employment.
3. Why did the South African government create the Bantustans?

11 AFRICAN NATIONALISM: POLITICS, PROTEST AND RESISTANCE AGAINST THE APARTHEID REGIME INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA IN THE 1940s AND 1960s.

11.1 Introduction

Opposition to European domination in South Africa existed before the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As the European settlers moved further away from the Cape more frequent contacts were made with an increasing number of ethnic groups. Generally, the Europeans were too powerful for the poorly-equipped African societies. This unit discusses the growth of African nationalism in South Africa and the role played by nationalist organisations and various groups in the struggle against apartheid.

11.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to;

- Discuss the growth of African nationalism in South Africa
- Examine the role played by nationalist organisations and various groups in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa

11.3 Protest Movements of the 1940s.

Mass action on the rand in the 1940s met with some initial measure of success and set the scene for the decade to come. The Alexandra bus boycotts of 1940-46 prevented the bus company from raising bus fares. Blacks demonstrated their economic power as thousands chose to walk the 20 kilometres to and from work in Johannesburg rather than pay the increased bus fares. The self-help squatter movement of 1944-47 got eventual recognition of their unofficial squatter township south-west of Johannesburg. Mass action among mineworkers, however, met with tougher opposition. The wages of black mineworkers had remained static during the war despite the rise in prices. In 1946, the African Mineworkers Union led a strike of 70 000 miners in support of demands for a minimum wage and family

housing. But police savagely suppressed the strike, arresting leaders, killing 12 and wounding 1200.

11.3.1 The ANC: 'Youth Wing and Programme of Action'

The National Executive of the ANC had failed to take any active lead in the mass movements of the 1940s. This failure stimulated the growth of an important new movement within the ANC; the Youth League, founded in 1944 by Anton Lembede. The driving forces of the League were a number of young radicals expelled from Fort Hare College, among them two Johannesburg lawyers, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. Unlike the old ANC leadership, the Youth Leaguers were not afraid of mass action.

By 1949 the Youth Leaguers had been elected to the ANC National Executive, including Mandela, Tambo and Walter Sisulu, an active Johannesburg trade unionist. Two other influential members of the executive were the prominent black communist trade-unionists, J.B. Marks and Moses Kotane. Dr James Moroka replaced Dr A.B. Sumac as President of ANC and Sisulu became Secretary-General. With its new executive, the ANC quickly re-emerged at the fore-front of African politics and resistance. A 'Programme of Action' was drawn up. The aim was national freedom, political independence, the rejection of white leadership and the abolition of all segregationist laws. This was to be achieved through mass action of boycotts, strikes and passive resistance

11.3.2 The Defiance Campaign, 1952-3

A number of one day strikes and demonstrations during 1950-51 led up to the ANC sponsored '*Defiance Campaign*' which began in June 1952. All over the country special volunteers deliberately defied petty *apartheid* restrictions. They courted arrest by sitting on 'white only' benches using 'white' entrances to stations, post-offices and shops, crowding into 'white-only' first class railway carriages and refusing to carry passes. But there was still reluctance among the leadership to exploit fully the real strengths of large-scale mass action. The numbers making their defiant demonstrations were small, at most a few hundred at a time, while thousands looked on. There were those within the movement who felt that the Defiance Campaign had not gone far enough. Wholesale defiance by thousands would have choked the courts and prisons and brought the system to its knees. As it was by January 1953 eight thousand had been arrested, leaders were detained or banned and the campaign ground to halt.

11.3.3 Peasant and Women Resistance Movement

Peasant resistance intensified in reserves between 1950s and 1960s. Peasant resistance started from peaceful boycotts of government schemes to political confrontation with security forces. The middle peasants rejected cattle inoculation, Cattle Deeping and fencing

because this was very expensive and interfered with traditional animal husbandry practices. The peasants also rejected other peasant schemes of forestation and soil conservation because of the coercive nature of the policies. The peasants smashed the fences, Deeping tanks, picketing the Deeping tanks and became hostile to their traditional rulers who supported the schemes. Africans abhorred the imposition of the *Bantu Amendment Act* between 1956-1965. The peasants attacked the collaborating traditional rulers and their headmen. However, peasant resistance was futile. It only delayed the execution of racial policies of the government.

11.3.4 Women Resistance Movement

These organised and staged public demonstrations and actually participated in the main stream challenges against the apartheid government. Women protestors blocked deep-tanks, beer halls and schools. They boycotted schools, buses, shops in urban and rural areas.

The women became active participants in protests due to absence of men activities. Women staged demonstrations against pass laws in 1955 that required them to carry passes and registration book.

The women stoned government officials sent to distribute the reference books and burnt the reference books. The *Black Sash Organisation* was formed by white women in 1955 to fight National Party removal of coloured voting rights (these were their children). The organisation gave free legal advice to Africans. In 1956, the *Federation of South African Women* organised 20 000 female protesters against apartheid in Pretoria. The protest was led by Lillian Ngoyi (African President) and Helen Joseph (white Secretary). The two women were arrested and jailed. In 1959 government attempt to eradicate illicit liquor trade in Durban compelled the female brewers to retaliate. The women were involved and destroyed equipment in beer halls. They also clashed with the police.

11.4 The Congress Alliance, Freedom Charter and Treason Trials.

Following the suppression of the *Defiance Campaign*, the ANC elected as its president General Chief Albert Luthuli, a former teacher and chief of a small Zulu clan. Almost immediately, Luthuli was banned by the Government. Meanwhile the Communist Party (CPSA) had become a banned organisation under the *Suppression of Communism Act (1950)*. It dissolved itself secretly reformed as the SACP under the leadership of an

Afrikaner lawyer, Bram Fischer. Former black CPSA members were already working actively within the ANC. A number of white communists joined the new white radical political party, the *Congress of Democrats*. At the same time the *Indian Congress (SAIC)* began to associate itself more closely with the majority black population in their common struggle against apartheid. SAIC Leaders played a prominent part in the *Defiance Campaign*.

In 1955 the main opponents of apartheid came together to form the *Congress Alliance*. This consisted of the ANC, the *Indian Congress*, the recently formed *Coloured People's Organisation*, the non-racial *South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)* and the radical *Congress of Democrats*. The *Congress Alliance* drew up a '*Freedom Charter*' which laid down the principles for a free and democratic South Africa. At a '*Congress of the People*' held at Kliptown near Johannesburg on 25 and 26 June 1955, the articles of the *Freedom Charter* were read out and adopted. Of the 3000 delegates at Kliptown, two thirds were African and the remaining one third was made of Indians, coloureds and whites. The *Charter* proposed a non racial South Africa with equal rights and justice for all. The country's mineral wealth, banks and monopoly industry would be nationalised and the land shall be shared among those who work it.

The Government reacted to the *Congress Alliance* and the growing pace of protest movements by arresting 156 of the country's leading opponents of apartheid and putting them on trial for treason. The '*Treason Trials*' began in December 1956 and continued until the last thirty were finally acquitted in March 1960. The prosecution attempted to prove that the '*Freedom Charter*' was a communist document. It failed to prove its case and all 156 were eventually acquitted. What the trials succeeded in doing was strengthening support for the ANC and the *Alliance organisations*.

11.5 The Africanists and the Pan African Congress

Within the ranks of the ANC not all were happy with the *Freedom Charter* or with the direction in which the movement seemed to be going. Among the most outspoken of these critics were the 'Africanists' who saw themselves as carrying on the spirit of the founder of the Youth League, Anton Lembede, who died in 1947. The Africanists believed that the Africans should stand alone against the Government's racist laws. Africans should be proud of their own culture and reject white culture and foreign ideologies. For this reason they were suspicious of socialism and opposed co-operation with communists. They were critical of the ANC close links with other racial groups who they feared, were dominating the *Congress Alliance*. They opposed the socialist input in the *Freedom Charter* and tried to block its acceptance by the ANC.

The Africanists believed in the power of large scale mass action and the need for black political leaders to identify more closely with the needs and grievances of the masses. One of the most important Africanist within the ANC was Robert Sobukwe, a lecturer in African languages and formerly a prominent early member of the Youth League. In September, 1958, the Africanists left the ANC when the latter formally adopted the *Freedom Charter* as official Congress policy. In April 1959, the Africanists set up the '*Pan-Africanist Congress*' with Sobukwe as President. By the end of the year PAC had 25 000 members. Many of these were rural-based migrant workers, a group hitherto neglected by the ANC.

11.6 The Sharpeville Massacre and its Aftermath

As increasing numbers of political leaders were acquitted from the 'Treason Trials', the ANC and PAC had plans for a renewal of mass defiance of apartheid. In December, 1959, they announced plans for a massive anti-pass campaign in March 1960. The ANC proposed a single 'Day of Protests' 31 March on which passes would be publicly burned. In an attempt to win much wider mass support the PAC deliberately chose ten days earlier, 21 March. And their action unlike the single day of the ANC was to be indefinite until the pass laws were removed. Blacks would march on police stations in their thousands and demand to be arrested. These would be so many 'pass offenders' that it would be impossible for police to arrest them all. It would demonstrate that the pass system would not be made to work if enough people were determined to defy it. Two things led to the failure of the PAC's plans. Firstly, they did not have the mass organisation to get people out in sufficient numbers on the day. Secondly, they had not counted on the violence of police reaction.

On 21 March the campaign began according to plan as Sobukwe and others marched to Orlando police station and were arrested. Some of the widest support for the campaign came from the Vereeniging suburbs of Sharpeville and Evaton where unemployment and poverty were acute. There was also strong support in Cape Town suburbs of Langa and Nyanga where migrant workers from the Eastern Cape were particularly affected by the restrictions of the pass laws. Between 3000 and 5000 people marched on Sharpeville police station and demanded to be arrested for not carrying their passes. The police responded by opening fire on the crowd, killing 60 and wounding 180. Most of those killed were shot in the back as they fled. A further two demonstrators were shot dead by police in the Cape Town suburb of Langa.

The shock of the Sharpeville massacre reverberated around the world as nations everywhere condemned the South African Government's action and the apartheid system which had led to the conflict. For a few days even the South African Government itself was hesitant. In Cape Town local police suspended the pass laws in an attempt to defuse the situation. But then as multinational companies, fearing revolution began to withdraw capital investment

from South Africa the government finally reacted. On 30 March, the day before the ANC demonstration, the Government declared a '*State of Emergency*' which gave them additional police powers. A week later the ANC and PAC were officially 'banned' and thousands of ANC and PAC members were arrested.

Within the United Nations there were many moves to isolate South Africa and thus force the Government to reverse its apartheid policies. But attempts to impose universal economic sanctions against South Africa were blocked by Britain and the United States. Faced with world-wide condemnation and criticism, the National Party turned its back firmly on the winds of freedom that were blowing across the rest of the continent. In 1961, Prime Minister Verwoerd broke the last constitutional links with Britain when he proclaimed the country a republic and withdrew South Africa from the Commonwealth. Meanwhile as a gesture of respect and support for the African nationalist struggle, the Norwegian Nobel committee awarded the world renowned Nobel Prize for Peace (1961) to Albert Luthuli, President of the now banned ANC.

11.7 Umkhonto We Sizwe and Poqo's Activities (Sabotage and Guerrilla Tactics).

With the banning of the ANC and the PAC, African resistance was forced underground. The ANC sent Oliver Tambo to Bechuanaland (Botswana) to lead the struggle in exile. In June 1961 at a secret meeting of its National Executive the ANC agreed to continue non-violent protest. But at the same time they founded a military wing, *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Unlike the ANC, *Umkhonto* allowed people of other races into its ranks and former Communist Party members played an important part in its planning and activities. *Umkhonto's* initial aim was to sabotage economic, political and communications targets, like electricity pylons, railway lines, and Bantu administration offices. Injury to people was to be avoided whenever possible. It was hoped this policy would gain maximum world-wide publicity, sympathy and support. At the same time people were sent abroad to China and elsewhere for military training in case full-scale guerrilla warfare became inevitable. Sabotage attacks began in December 1961 and continued sporadically in the next eighteen months.

The PAC meanwhile had formed its own military wing, Poqo (meaning 'pure' or 'alone'). Its attacks were more widespread, aimed at people as well as installations. It targeted in particular Bantu Authorities' personnel in the Transkei. In 1963, Poqo's headquarters in Maseru (Basutoland) were raided by British colonial police who captured a membership list of 10 000 members. Poqo's South African network was then infiltrated by police informers and the movement's activities were more or less brought to a close by the mass arrest of 3000 Poqo suspects.

11.7.1 'The Rivonia Trials'

In 1962 Mandela, who had been in hiding for some time, went secretly abroad and travelled widely in Africa and Europe building up support for the ANC and *Umkhonto*. He was captured on his return to South Africa in August 1962 and imprisoned for inciting people to strike and for leaving the country without a valid passport. In July 1963, police raided a farm in the northern Johannesburg suburb of Rivonia. There they captured almost the whole of the *Umkhonto* 'High Command', among them Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki. In the subsequent trial known as the '*Rivonia Trial*' (December 1963 to July 1964), Mandela was brought out of prison to stand with the other eight defendants, five blacks, two whites and one Indian.

In a long speech to the court in his own defence Mandela traced the ANC's history of non-violent struggle. He showed how after all other means had been denied them, they had been reluctantly forced to turn to violence in their search for a free South Africa. He concluded in the famous words:

During my life time I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

All the defendants except one were convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment. They were driven off to prison amid defiant shouts from the crowd outside: '*Amandila! Nguwethu!*' ('Power! To the People!').

11.7.2 The Triumph of Apartheid

During the early 1960s the Minister of Justice, B.J. Vorster, greatly strengthened the size and power of the police. The *General Laws Amendment Act of 1963* gave police the power to detain people without charge and in solitary confinement for ninety days at a time. This was extended to 180 days in 1965. The widespread use of detentions and bannings in the 1960s effectively suppressed internal opposition and removed any new political leadership as soon as it emerged. At the same time trade-union activity was defined as economic 'sabotage' and mass arrests of SACTU officials virtually paralysed the trade-union movement. By the mid-1960s the South African Government could boast that it had, for the

time being suppressed internal opposition and resistance. The danger of immediate revolution seemed to have been removed. Foreign divestment capital flowed back into the country and the economy experienced an un expected period of boom. In 1966 Verwoerd was assassinated by a deranged white paramilitary messenger and Vorster took over as Prime Minister.

ACTIVITY ELEVEN

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Describe and discuss the tactics of the ANC between 1912 and 1960. How and why were these tactics changed after 1960?
2. Describe the role of mass protest movements in South Africa between 1940 and 1960. Why did some succeed and others fail?
3. Assess the importance of the *Youth League* and the *Freedom Charter* to the black political struggle in South Africa. How do you account for the ANC/PAC split in 1958-59?
4. Assess the role of women in the struggle for freedom in South Africa between 1910 and 1965.
5. Explain the aims of the National Party's *apartheid* policy. How far had they achieved these aims by 1965?
6. What methods did the South African Government use to suppress opposition? How effective were their efforts?

UNIT

12

12 THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE END OF APARTHEID, TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE AND THE HEALING OF THE WOUNDS

12.1 Introduction

This unit discusses the reasons why western powers gave support to minority regimes in Southern Africa. The role that the United Nations and the African Union played in the fight against apartheid is discussed in this unit. In this unit, the end of apartheid, the achievement of majority rule and the healing of the wounds in post-apartheid South Africa are also discussed.

12.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

As you read and work through this unit you are expected to:

- State why western powers gave support to minority regimes in Southern Africa
- Discuss the role that the United Nations and the African Union played in the fight against apartheid regime in South Africa.
- Explain the end of apartheid and the achievement of majority rule in South Africa.
- Examine the healing of the wounds in post-apartheid South Africa.

12.3 International Response to Apartheid

The apartheid regime of South Africa was confronted by relentless (continuous) attacks from the growing independent African countries, the United Nations, Commonwealth and the African Union (AU). Unfortunately, the South African regime defied world opinion against its apartheid policy.

Within the South African regime, in order to win the support of some independent African states moves were made to improve its relations with some African states. The regime also tried to win the support of western powers by posing to be waging a war against communism. The South African regime did not hastate to violate United Nations resolutions and others that condemned apartheid.

12.4 Western Powers Support for Minority Regimes of Southern Africa

The minority regimes of Southern Africa before 1975 like South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia), Angola and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) had institutionalised racism. In spite of western powers condemnation of white racism in these southern African states, United Nations resolutions against racism and world opinion against racism there was overt support given to racist Southern African states by western powers. The preservation of western powers interests in southern Africa was more important than the interests of Africans.

The amount of western powers investments in white Southern African states surpassed the rest of investment in the whole of Africa. The ratio of investment was \$5 to 1\$. Labour in Southern Africa was cheap and ensured a high return of profits for western countries and there was no hope of a successful African armed struggle. This ensured safety of western investment.

Western powers preferred orderly and peaceful settlement of white black armed struggle. Western powers provided financial and economic support for African independent states in order to weaken the tempo of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

12.4.1 Western Powers Involvement in Southern African States.

- (a) **Economic factors**—Since Southern Africa was dominated by Britain and Portugal, capital from Western Europe and the USA was heavily invested in the region. Britain, Portugal, German, USA, France, Japan and Sweden were the leading investors in Southern African countries. Investors from western powers wanted their investments protected at all costs. This is why the western powers supported the minority regimes and ignored the existence of racism and African nationalism.

South Africa was endowed with important minerals such as gold, diamonds, uranium, vanadium and other minerals which the western powers imported. The Anglo-American Corporation mined, processed and marketed these minerals.

French capital was invested in Namibia in zinc mining. LONRHO of UK mined platinum in South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Union Carbide mined vanadium and platinum in South Africa. A German company mined uranium in Angola.

Due to strategic importance of oil in the world economy, oil prospecting was on the increase in Angola in 1950. Petrofina, a Belgian company, TEXACO a US company, Shell and BP from Britain prospected and mined oil in Angola and refined it in South Africa and Britain.

Transport and telecommunications companies in Southern Africa were largely run by multinationals. For example the Benguela in Angola was run by a British railway company and most of the communications services were provided by ITT Service Corporation.

Japanese and British capital was invested in rebuilding ports in Southern Mozambique. Japan and Britain owned this infrastructure. The Cabrabassa and Kunene Dam were built by Portugal and South Africa and provided a buffer zone against the freedom fighters.

Western multinational Corporations successfully co-opted their governments to protect their investments in Southern Africa hence western powers entanglement in Southern Africa.

- (b) **Political factors** – The Cold War reportedly compelled the USA and Britain to regard apartheid South Africa as their ally in their effort to halt the spread of communism and the influence of the former USSR in Africa. The threat of communism is said to have been the driving force in western power's support for the minority white regimes in Southern Africa. The evils of apartheid were therefore, lesser and overshadowed by the bigger evil that threatened the capitalist world i.e. communism.

As western powers used the anti-communist rhetoric to maintain the status quo, African liberation movements were labeled as communist terrorists or guerrilla movements in order to alienate them. In any case many African liberation movements were denied material and moral support by western powers and this compelled them to seek support from the former USSR and China. The USA helped Portugal against Freedom fighters in Angola and Mozambique through provision of weapons, money and training.

With the arrival of Cuban troops in Angola in 1975/76, western powers fears and propaganda intensified and worsened the crisis. The west responded by increasing its

involvement in Southern Africa to protect their investments. In addition NATO forces were boosted in Europe due to threats caused by communism to capitalism.

- (c) **Military factors** – The militarisation of the Indian Ocean, the cost line in Iraq and India after the 1960s by the former USSR threatened US domination of most sea lanes in the world. This caused great discomfort to western powers which resorted to the use of South Africa to counteract Soviet militarisation of the Indian Ocean coastline.

As a result, France, the USA and Germany transferred military technology to South Africa which started producing military weapons. Since South Africa had surveillance capacity and a naval base at Simon's town, western powers wanted to use South Africa to chop off enemy ships from the waters of South Africa.

Military and political factors were a pretext for western involvement in Southern Africa; the main motive was profit maximisation. In essence, the protection of western investments in Southern Africa was paramount. However, western power support for apartheid South Africa and other minority regimes in Southern Africa slowed down the pace of decolonisation in Southern Africa. It was a major impediment to the attainment of black majority rule in Southern Africa.

12.5 South Africa and the United Nations

Major areas of conflict between South Africa and most United Nations member states especially Afro-Asian countries were on apartheid policy and the issue of Namibia. Most governments, organisations and prominent individuals implored or urged South Africa to abandon its racist laws and relinquish its control of Namibia. In response the South African regime was defiant and tried to win, persuade friends and other countries to stop campaigning against its racist system.

The South African regime was also prepared to pay any price to ensure the survival of its racist system. Prime Minister Verwoerd even argued that South Africa was ready to suffer ideological isolation in the world and South Africa knew that it had reliable friends to rely upon for support at the United Nations e.g. Britain, USA, Portugal, France, Italy etc.

Confrontation between South Africa and the United Nations intensified over Namibia and apartheid after 1951 due to decolonization of African countries. Decolonised African and Asian countries provided new impetus against South Africa at the United Nations.

Before the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, the United Nations had passed only condemnatory resolutions against South Africa. After 1960 the United Nations passed critical resolutions against South Africa and for the first time in the history of the United Nations, the USA and

Britain voted against South Africa in the United Nations. There was world wide condemnation of the South African regime of the killing of over 70 African demonstrators on 21st March, 1960 in Sharpeville.

In 1960, the Trusteeship Committee called on South Africa to revoke all apartheid laws in Namibia. Unfortunately, the United Nations fact finding mission sent to Namibia was denied access by South Africa and Britain (through Zimbabwe and Botswana).

On May 14, 1961, South Africa became a republic after a referendum which the republicans won by 52%. On becoming a republic South Africa severed (cut links) with Britain. The declaration of South Africa as republic met with severe criticism at the 1961 Prime Minister's Commonwealth Summit. South Africa was told to withdraw from the commonwealth due to pressure from Afro-Asian countries which dominated the conference.

In 1961, a United Nations resolution called on member states to take any action that could bring about change in South Africa.

In 1962, a United Nations resolution called on member states to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa, close air ports, sea ports and to boycott South African goods.

Another resolution in 1962 called on member states to stop supplying arms and military equipment to South Africa and in 1963, a special committee on apartheid in South Africa was formed.

Unfortunately, attempts to impose diplomatic sanctions on South Africa were unsuccessful and futile because of lack of cooperation by France, Britain, Portugal, the European Union, and the USA in particular. These countries condemned apartheid in public but continued to trade with South Africa. Among other things, they sold South Africa massive arms supplies, apparently hoping that it would prove to be a bastion against the spread of communism in Africa. Consequently, Verwoerd (until his assassination in 1966) and his successor Vorster (1966-78) were able to ignore protests from the outside world until well into the 1970s.

12.6 South Africa and the African Union (AU)

The AU formerly known as the OAU was created by 10 independent African countries in 1963. One of its cardinal aims was to ensure total elimination of racism and colonialism in the African continent. Although the AU made the abolishing of apartheid as one of its major concerns, it did not succeed in promoting a unified action against South Africa. AU member states were

economically, politically and militarily weak, therefore, unstable. They concentrated on consolidating their interests above the AU agenda.

The South African regime also won some support of independent African countries through trade treaties and by promising them military support. African countries whose economies were attached to South Africa, economies such as Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Botswana maintained support to South Africa. Congo Kinshasa (now DRC) was promised military and economic support by South Africa on Independence Day.

Dialogue and trade were also maintained between South Africa and many independent African countries. Most Franco-phone countries such as Gabon and Mauritius supported dialogue with the South African regime while most Anglo-phone countries did not support dialogue. The South African regime tried to improve relations with countries that were concerned with South African affairs through consultation.

However, the AU created an organisation that was called the *African Liberation Movement Council* that gave moral support to liberation movements such as the ANC, ZANU, and SWAPO etc. With regard to South Africa the AU recognised ANC as the official liberation movement there. The ANC used the *African Liberation Council* to lobby and influence African independent states to support the liberation movement.

The AU also condemned and rejected the creation of Bantustans and demanded total liberation in South Africa. The South African regime had expected that the AU would recognise the so called Bantustans.

Individual member states of the AU which opposed the apartheid regime provided material, financial and military support to ANC, PAC and SWAPO. African countries that hosted the ANC, PAC and SWAPO especially those close to South Africa such as Zambia and Angola were raided by South Africa apartheid regime in the 1970s. The raids were aimed at flushing out freedom fighters and for those countries to stop supporting freedom fighters.

12.7 The End of Apartheid

The system of apartheid continued without any concessions being made to black people, until 1980. The new Prime Minister, P.W. Botha (elected in 1979), realised that all was not well with the system. He decided that he must reform apartheid, dropping some of the most unpopular aspects in an attempt to preserve white control. This change was caused by:

- *Criticism from abroad* (from the Commonwealth, the United Nations and the African Union) gradually gathered momentum. External pressures became much greater in 1975 when the white ruled Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique achieved independence after a

long struggle. The African take over of Zimbabwe (1980) removed the last of the white-ruled states which had been sympathetic to the South African government and apartheid. Now South Africa was surrounded by hostile black states, and many Africans in these new states had sworn never to rest until their fellow-Africans in South Africa had been liberated.

- *There were economic problems* – South Africa was hit by a recession in the late 1970s, and many white people were worse off. Whites began to emigrate in large numbers, but the black population was increasing. In 1980 whites made up only 16 percent of the population, whereas between the two world wars they had formed 21 percent,
- *The African homelands were a failure*: they were poverty-stricken, their rulers were corrupt and no foreign government recognised them as genuinely independent.
- *The USA* which was treating its own black people better during the 1970s began to criticise the South African government's racist policy.

In a speech in September, 1979 which astonished many of his Nationalist supporters, the newly elected Prime Minister Botha said:

A revolution in South Africa is not just a remote possibility. Either we adapt or we perish. White domination and legally enforced apartheid is a recipe for permanent conflict.

He went on to suggest that the black homelands must be made viable and that unnecessary discrimination must be abolished. Gradually he introduced some important changes which he hoped would be enough to silence critics both inside and outside South Africa.

- Blacks were allowed to join trade unions and go on strike (1979).
- Blacks were allowed to elect their own local township councils (but not to vote in national elections, 1981)
- A new constitution was introduced, setting up two houses of parliament, one for coloureds and one for Asians (but not for Africans). The new system was weighted so that whites kept overall control. It came into force in 1984.
- Sexual relations and marriages were allowed between people of different races (1985).

- The hated pass laws for blacks were abolished (1986).

This was how far Botha was prepared to go. He would not even consider the ANC's main demands (the right to vote and to play a full part in ruling the country). Far from being won over by these concessions, black Africans were incensed that the new constitution made no provision for them, and were determined to settle for nothing less than full political rights.

Violence escalated with both sides guilty of excesses. The ANC used the 'necklace', tyre placed round the victim's neck and set on fire, to murder black councilors and black police, who were regarded as collaborators, with apartheid. On the 20th anniversary of Sharpeville, police opened fire on a procession of black mourners going to a funeral near Uitenhange (Port Elizabeth), killing over forty people (March 1985). In July, a state of emergency was declared in the worst hit areas, and it was extended to the whole country in June 1986. This gave the police power to arrest people without warrants, and freedom from all criminal proceedings. Thousands of people were arrested, and newspapers, radio and TV were banned from reporting demonstrations and strikes.

However, as so often happens when an authoritarian regime tries to reform itself, it proved impossible to stop the process of change. (The same happened in the USSR when Gorbachev tried to reform communism). By the late 1980s international pressure on South Africa was having more effect, and internal attitudes had changed.

- In August 1986, the Commonwealth (except Britain) agreed on a strong package of sanctions (no further loans, no sales of oil, computer equipment or nuclear goods to South Africa, and no cultural and scientific contacts). British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would commit Britain only to a voluntary ban on investment in South Africa. Her argument was that severe economic sanctions would worsen the plight of black Africans, who would be thrown out of their jobs. This caused the rest of the Commonwealth to feel bitter against Britain. Rajiv Gandhi the Indian Prime Minister accused Mrs. Thatcher of 'compromising on basic principles and values for economic ends'.
- In September, 1986 the USA joined the fray when Congress voted (over President Reagan's veto) to stop American loans to South Africa, to cut air links and to ban imports of iron, steel, coal, textiles and uranium from South Africa.
- The black population was no longer a mass of uneducated and unskilled labourers. There was a steadily growing number of well-educated, professional, middle-class black people, some of them holding important positions, like Desmond Tutu, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 and became Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town in 1986.

- The Dutch Reformed Church, which had once supported apartheid, now condemned it as incompatible with Christianity. A majority of white South Africans now recognised that it was difficult to defend the total exclusion of blacks from the country's political life. So although they were nervous about what might happen, they became resigned to the idea of black majority rule at some time in the future. White moderates were therefore prepared to make the best of the situation and get the best deal possible.

The new President, F.W. de Klerk (elected in 1989), had a reputation for caution, but privately he had decided that apartheid would have to go completely, and he accepted that black majority rule must come eventually. The problem was how to achieve it without further violence and possible civil war. With great courage and determination, and in the face of bitter opposition from right-wing Afrikaner groups, de Klerk gradually moved the country towards black majority rule.

- Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years in jail (1990) and became leader of ANC which was made legal.
- Most of the remaining apartheid laws were dropped.
- Namibia the neighbouring territory ruled by South Africa since 1919 was given independence under a black government (1990).
- Talks began in 1991 between the government and the ANC to work out a new constitution which would allow blacks full political rights.

Meanwhile, the ANC was doing its best to present itself as a moderate party which had no plans for wholesale nationalisation, and to reassure whites that they would be safe and happy under black rule. Nelson Mandela condemned violence and called for reconciliation between blacks and whites. The negotiations were long and difficult: de Klerk had to face right-wing opposition from his own National Party and from various extreme, white racist groups who claimed that he had betrayed them. The ANC was involved in a power struggle with another black party; the Natal based Zulu *Inkatha Freedom Party* led by *Chief Buthelezi*.

12.8 Transition to Majority Rule and the Healing of the Wounds

In the spring of 1993, the talks were successful and a power-sharing scheme was worked out to carry through the transition to black majority rule. A General election was held and the ANC

won almost two-thirds of the votes. As had been agreed, a coalition government of the ANC, National Party and Inkatha took office, with Nelson Mandela as the first black President of South Africa, two vice-presidents, one black and one white (Thabo Mbeki and F.W. de Klerk, and Chief Buthelezi as Home Affairs Minister (May, 1994). A right-wing Afrikaner group, led by Eugene Terreblanche, continued to oppose the new democracy, vowing to provoke civil war, but in the end it came to nothing. Although there had been violence and bloodshed, it was a remarkable achievement, for which both de Klerk deserve the credit that South Africa was able to move from apartheid to black majority rule without civil war.

The government faced daunting problems and was expected to deliver on the promises in the ANC programme, especially to improve conditions for the black population. Plans were put into operation to raise their general standard of living – in education, housing, health care, water and power supplies, and sanitation. But the scale of the problem was so vast that it would be many years before standards would show improvement for everybody. In May 1996, a new constitution was agreed to come into operation after elections of 1999, which would not allow minority parties to take part in government. When this was revealed (May 1996), the Nationalists immediately announced that they would withdraw from the government to a ‘dynamic but responsible opposition’. As the country moved towards the millennium, the main problems facing the President were how to maintain sound financial and economic policies and how to attract foreign aid and investment. Potential investors were hesitant, awaiting future developments.

One of Mandela’s most successful initiatives was the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, which looked into human rights abuses during the apartheid regime. Assisted by *Archbishop Desmond Tutu*, the commission’s approach was not one of taking revenge, but of granting amnesties. People were encouraged to talk frankly, and to acknowledge their crimes and ask for forgiveness. This was one of the most admirable things about Mandela, that although he had been kept in prison under the apartheid regime for 27 years, he still believed in forgiveness and reconciliation. The President decided not to stand for re-election in 1999 – he was almost 81 years old. He retired with his reputation high, almost universally admired for his statesmanship and restraint.

ACTIVITY TWELVE

1. Discuss the reasons why western powers supported minority regimes in Southern Africa.
2. What are some of the measures that were taken by the United Nations in order to help end apartheid in South Africa? Why did the attempts to impose diplomatic sanctions by The United Nations fail?

3. Show how the apartheid regime succeeded in creating a division among AU member countries and thereby making it difficult for the AU to successfully fight apartheid.
4. Discuss the reasons why the apartheid regime became so weak in the 1980s. What changes P.W. Botha who was Prime Minister during this period introduced?
5. Examine the transition to majority rule in South Africa. What did Mandela, the first black president do in order to bring about forgiveness and reconciliation in South Africa?

13 SOUTH AFRICA AFTER MANDELA

13.1. Introduction

The leaders who came after the retirement of Nelson Mandela had a difficult job of to follow such a charismatic leader. This unit discusses the major socio-political developments in South Africa after Mandela by looking at the presidency of Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma.

13.2. Learning Outcomes;

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- Explain the major socio-political developments in South Africa after Mandela.
- Discuss the Presidency of Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma in South Africa.

13.1 Thabo Mbeki

Thabo Mbeki who became ANC Leaders and President on Mandela 's retirement had a difficult job to follow such a charismatic leader. After winning the 1999 elections Mbeki and the ANC had to deal with mounting problems. The crime rate soared, trade unions called strikes in protest against job losses, poor working conditions and the increasing rate of privatization. The economic growth rate was slowing down.

The government came under special criticism for its handling of the AIDS epidemic. Mbeki was slow to recognize that there really was a crisis and claimed that AIDS was not necessarily linked to HIV. He refused to declare a state of emergency, as opposition parties and trade unions demanded. This would have enabled South Africa to obtain cheaper medicines, but the government seemed unwilling to spend large amounts of cash on the necessary drugs. There was uproar in October 2001 when a report claimed that AIDS was now the main cause of death in south africa and that if the trend continued, at least 5 million would have died by it by 2010.

As the 2004 elections approached, there were many positive signs in the new South Africa. Government policies were beginning to show results as 70 per cent of black-holds had electricity, the number of people with access to pure water had increased by 9 million since 1994 and about 2000 new houses for poor people had been built.

Education was free and compulsory and many black people said that they felt they now had dignity, instead of being treated like animals, as they had been under Apartheid. The President had changed his stance on AIDS and the government was beginning to provide the necessary education programmes and drugs to control the epidemic.

The economic situation appeared brighter. South Africa was diversifying her exports instead of relying on gold. The budget deficit had fallen sharply and inflation was down to 4 per cent. The main problems still to be overcome, apart from AIDS, were high unemployment levels and the high crime rate. However, South Africa appeared stable and set to prosper under the capable leadership of President Mbeki. In the election of April 2004, Mbeki was re-elected for a second and final five-year term as President and his ANC won a landslide victory taking around two-thirds of the votes cast.

In 2007 his bid to win a third term failed when he lost the ANC presidential election to Jacob Zuma, though he retained his position as president of South Africa. However, amid allegations of political interference, in 2008 the ANC asked Mbeki to resign as president of South Africa, and he reluctantly obliged.

13.2 Jacob Zuma

Jacob Zuma born 12 April 1942 is a South African politician who served as the fourth President of South Africa from the 2009 general election until his resignation on 14 February 2018.

Zuma served as Deputy President of South Africa from 1999 to 2005, but was dismissed by President Thabo Mbeki in 2005 after Zuma's financial adviser, Schabir Shaik, was convicted of soliciting a bribe for Zuma. Zuma was nonetheless elected President of the African National Congress (ANC) on 18 December 2007 after defeating Mbeki at the ANC conference in Polokwane. On 20 September 2008, Mbeki announced his resignation after being recalled by the ANC's National Executive Committee. The recall came after South African High Court Judge Christopher Nicholson ruled Mbeki had improperly interfered with the operations of the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), including the prosecution of Jacob Zuma for corruption.

Zuma led the ANC to victory in the 2009 general election and was elected President of South Africa. He was re-elected as ANC leader at the ANC conference in Mangaung on 18 December 2012, defeating challenger Kgalema Motlanthe by a large majority,^[12] and remained president of South Africa after the 2014 general election, although his party suffered a decline in support, partly due to growing dissatisfaction with Zuma as president.

Zuma faced significant legal challenges before and during his presidency. He was charged with rape in 2005, but was acquitted. He has fought a long legal battle over allegations of racketeering and corruption, resulting from his financial advisor Schabir Shaik's conviction for corruption and fraud.

On 6 April 2009, the National Prosecuting Authority dropped the charges against Zuma, citing political interference, although the decision was successfully challenged by opposition parties, and as of February 2018 the charges were before the NPA for reconsideration. After extensive state-funded upgrades to his rural homestead at Nkandla, the Public Protector found that Zuma had benefited improperly from the expenditure, and the Constitutional Court unanimously held in 2016's *Economic Freedom Fighters v Speaker of the National Assembly* that Zuma had failed to uphold the country's constitution, resulting in calls for his resignation and a failed impeachment attempt in the National Assembly. Zuma's rule is estimated to have cost the South African Economy R1 Trillion (approximately US\$83 Billion).^[13] He has also been implicated in reports of state capture through his friendship with the influential Gupta family. He survived multiple motions of no confidence, both in parliament and within the ANC.

On 18 December 2017, Cyril Ramaphosa was elected to succeed Zuma as President of the ANC at the ANC Conference at Nasrec, Johannesburg.^[14] Subsequent months saw growing pressure on Zuma to resign as President of South Africa, culminating in the ANC "recalling" him as President of South Africa. Facing a motion of no confidence in parliament, Zuma announced his resignation on 14 February 2018,^[15] and was succeeded by Ramaphosa the next day.

ACTIVITY THIRTEEN

1. What were the major successes and challenges that took place under the presidency of;
 - (a) Thabo Mbeki
 - (b) Jacob Zuma

14 THE HISTORY OF NAMIBIA

14.1. Introduction

In this unit discusses various indigenous people of Namibia. German colonization, the nature of German rule and African resistance are discussed. The liberation struggle for independence and the role played by SWAPO in the liberation struggle and the factors that hindered the attainment of independence in Namibia are also examined in this unit.

14.1 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, the learners should be able;

- Describe the various indigenous people of Namibia.
- Give reasons for German colonization of Namibia.
- State why German colonial rule in Namibia was brutal.
- Analyse African resistance to German colonization.
- Discuss the liberation struggle for independence in Namibia.
- Examine the role played by SWAPO in the liberation struggle for Namibia.
- State factors that hindered attainment of Namibian Independence.

14.2 The Peoples of Namibia

As is true for nearly all countries in Africa, various native groups occupied the territory where Namibia now is for thousands of years before colonization. While sparsely populated, the native people of Namibia numbered about 200,000 in 1884 and included the Ovambo, Herero, Nama and Orlam (Hottentots), and San (Bushmen), of which the pastoralist Herero and Nama in the central and southern part of the country, respectively, were the largest groups. The San people, a hunting and gathering society migrated from Central Africa between 8000 BCE and 1300 CE. The San people functioned collectively, living in groups of 30-50 people that never strived for centralization of authority or domination over other groups. The political culture was based on the authority of a small group of elders.

The San people have always been isolated while maintaining their culture and system of organization, and they still exist to this day. Namibia's largest ethnic group is the Ovambo. When the Ovambo originally settled in what is today southern Angola and northern Namibia, they split into groups with each group developing into a distinct society. Each group formed a kingdom and used their agriculture skills to gain relative prosperity. The Ovambo had a centralized authority system based on lineage. They were split into eight clans/kingdoms, and each one had a king and a group of advisors. The ultimate power lay with the king to make

significant political, economic and religious decisions. The Ovambo trace descent matrilineally and occasionally have had female leaders.

Today, the Ovambo comprise roughly half of the indigenous population of Namibia. The Okavango, though smaller than the Ovambo, also had a patrilocal and matrilineal society and they were divided up into four kingdoms. They had a tradition of accepting women in leadership roles, and the leader of each kingdom rarely used his/her power, with great personal freedoms present in society.⁴ The Caprivi people were divided into six clans and tended to live in homes of roughly 30 people. All land in the Caprivi society was communally held. They had a fairly democratic system of governance, with the tribe members electing a council and that council electing a leader

Before colonization, the Hereros, the Damara, the Nama and the Rehoboth Basters primarily occupied central Namibia. The Herero were split into two major clans that had a very isolated existence. They lived patrilocally and had a complex system known as double descent that was both patrilineal and matrilineal. Land was communally owned, and the senior men of their “homestead” acted as political and religious leaders. The Damara and Nama people share many ties and speak the same language. Their history has not been well documented, though some historians suggest that they are the original inhabitants of Namibia. The Damara were great hunters and had much economic success. They escaped into the mountains when European settlers arrived. They organized themselves into mini-states based on extended families governed by elders. There was no single source of authority, and little known exists regarding information about their legal and religious systems. The Nama are composed of several different groups, and were most likely the first group to have regular contact with Europeans. Their politics centered on a loose alliance of the groups, with each group having a leader and council of elders. The governance shifted from completely hands off during times of peace, to autocratic during times of war.

The Basters are descendants of Afrikaner fathers and Nama mothers who moved from the northern Cape and settled in Windhoek, Namibia’s current capital. The Baster republic was organized through elected councils and the people had their own constitution. They have historically been well armed and have taken over regions occupied by other ethnic groups. The ethnic groups mentioned here are just the largest ones in Namibia, and the ones that have the most recorded history. The number of different tribes in Namibia before colonization is not known, though it is certain that power in Namibia was far from centralized.

There was little to no communication between the different tribes, and it was impossible for them to form any sort of coalition against European forces. If one thing can be taken from researching the ethnic tribes of Namibia, it is the tremendous number of political differences between them. Each group, and sometimes even clans within the groups had a different political structure, and almost none of them looked like traditional European models. Their cultures, lifestyles and

economic structures were also different from both the other groups and from the Europeans. These differences conflicted with the European goal of forming centralized states in Africa, and would make it extremely difficult to create a unified country. Even though the tribes had many political differences, they all had two things in common: communal land and undefined boundaries. Like most tribes in Africa, those in what is now Namibia did not see land as something that can be owned, and did not put a stress on creating boundaries between tribes. This inherent difference between ethnic group culture in Namibia and European culture created friction during colonization, and when colonization began. These differences would have to be settled.

14.3 German colonization of Namibia

The first white people to travel through Africa were adventurers and explorers, but it was not long before missionaries and traders came, who negotiated contracts and formed monopolies in order to ask their home governments to sign treaties in order to guarantee their protection and safety. Since the 1840s the Protestant Rhineland Missionary Society (*Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*) had played a particularly important role in South West Africa, covering the land with a network of missionary stations and furthering colonization, not least because it hoped that increasing numbers of white settlers and a “colonial defense force” would put an end to armed conflict in the country. When there was a conflict of interest, the missionaries invariably took the side of the colonial masters during the entire colonial period, acquiescing—sometimes reluctantly, sometimes readily—in the discrimination, oppression, and killing of the indigenous population.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, missionary work and trading intensely affected the culture of the indigenous people not only because they were dependent on the goods of traders but also because the norms and ideals of whites, indeed their whole way of thinking and their way of life, were totally incompatible with indigenous traditional cultures and practices. From the 1860s onward, economic power steadily shifted from the hands of African clan chieftains to those of white traders and missionaries who cooperated with them.

The period of private initiatives, improvisations, and indirect government came to an end in 1884. In 1883 Adolf Lüderitz, a merchant from Bremen, “bought” a 100-kilometer-wide strip of coast along the Bay of Angra Pequena from a native chief and then sent a request to Bismarck, the *Reichskanzler*, for official protection. Through correspondence and negotiations with the British Foreign Office, Bismarck succeeded in getting the British cabinet to recognize this territory as a protectorate of the German Empire.

The official act of founding the protectorate took place on August 7, 1884, with the hoisting of the German flag. In that same year the entire coastal area was declared a protectorate in order to pre-empt any action by the British. Bismarck, however, had no intention of investing resources in South West Africa, whether in the form of material resources or manpower. Instead, he

wanted to transfer the rights and attributes of sovereignty in the protectorate to private companies, merely sending a commissioner to South West Africa as a representative of the German *Reich*. In the end the German colony of South West Africa became one-and-a-half times larger in area than Germany, although only approximately 200,000 people lived there, belonging to five ethnic groups: 15,000-20,000 Nama, 3,000-4,000 Baster, 70,000-80,000 Herero, 90,000-100,000 Ovambo and 30,000 San and Damara.

In 1885 Lüderitz, no longer able to finance his African venture, sold his property to the “German Colonial Society for South West Africa.” The Colonial Society, specifically founded to save the protectorate, was granted land and prospecting rights without any regard to the rights of autochthonous groups. It appealed to the German government, urging it to protect German interests in the colony and to set up an administration to enable farmers to settle there.

The situation in South West Africa was influenced to a considerable degree not only by the repeated conflicts between the Herero and the Nama but also by the rivalry in neighboring South Africa between the British and the Boers, both of whom claimed large areas of land in South West Africa taking advantage of the conflicts between the indigenous groups and German traders and settlers. Because of problems in the protectorate itself, the inactivity of the government in Germany, and the lack of experienced colonial officials, German policy and action in the protectorate were marked by improvisation in this early phase. In actuality, German rule was almost entirely hypothetical. One of the most important duties of Heinrich Göring, the imperial commissioner, was to sign treaties with various indigenous groups that promised them protection and documented German claims to the protectorate and thus forestalling claims from other colonial powers. However, the commissioner was unable to fulfill the hopes of the Herero, who, by signing the treaty, believed that they could count on the support of the Germans in their clashes with the Nama who were not a signatory of that treaty at all. Disappointed by the lack of German support, the Herero withdrew from the treaty nearly bringing to an end the German colonial adventure in South West Africa. Because giving up the protectorate would have meant a great loss of face for the German Empire, Bismarck decided in 1889 to send a symbolic “colonial force” of twenty-one soldiers to the protectorate. In spite of the small size of the force, the Germans managed to win back the loyalty of the Herero, whose leader, Samuel Maharero, was badly in need of German support both in the group’s internal power struggles and as a protective shield against the Nama. From 1890 onward, the Nama waged a guerrilla war against the Germans, leading to a change of tack in colonial policy, a substantial reinforcement of troops, and the sending of Theodor Leutwein to German South West Africa as *Landeshauptmann*, or governor, of the colony.

14.4 The “Leutwein Phase”—1894-1904

Leutwein’s policy was based on indirect rule, that is, he counted on the cooperation of the individual chiefs, whose own conflicts he skillfully exploited. Nevertheless, he succeeded in

establishing economic, political, and military control over the territories and orienting colonial policy to the interests of white settlers and traders. The colony's administration and laws were imposed on the indigenous groups, achieving their subjugation and exploitation.

The growing settlement and "civilizing" of the country was helped by expanding the colonial administration, whose headquarters were in Windhuk (the German spelling of Windhoek), by setting up more and more military outposts and by taking measures to improve transportation, which allowed, among other things, for South West Africa to become a regular port of call for German ships after 1891. Other measures of infrastructure development included improving the water supply, setting up a telegraph system for better communications, publishing newspapers, and establishing a system of mail delivery.

In 1902 Swapokmund and Windhuk were linked by rail, and shortly before the turn of the century, the first schools were founded for white children. Thus, Windhuk, Swapokmund, and Lüderitzbucht (Lüderitz) developed into centers with an urban character in which German life was copied as faithfully as possible. It was here that the clubs played an important role: the first rifle clubs were founded as early as 1895, war veterans' clubs in 1897, and *Turnvereine* in 1898.

The colony's economic upswing was largely due to the development of mining and the growing numbers of settlers. At first, white inhabitants were active or retired soldiers of the colonial defense force as well as government officials. A Settlers' Society (*Siedlungsgesellschaft*), founded in Berlin in 1892, had a fair amount of success in encouraging immigration to South West Africa by making land available and granting loans. In 1900 approximately 3,400 whites lived in the protectorate; 1,900 were Germans. By 1913 the number of white inhabitants had increased to 15,000, among whom were 12,000 German settlers. About 21 percent of the white men were members of the defense force.

The country could be considered "Europeanized" after 1907 when the indigenous groups had finally been defeated and living conditions for immigrants had taken a decisive turn for the better.

14.5 The Rebellions

Resistance to colonial domination culminated in 1904 when the Herero rebelled after many years of tension. The loss of their cattle following an outbreak of *rinderpest* (a cattle plague) that had spread from South Africa in 1897; the ensuing poverty of the clans; the swindling and cheating of white traders; the discrimination and settlers' racist views; and the loss of their cultural identity and the destruction of their traditional economic structure and way of life caused the Herero to see only one way out of their privation: armed struggle.

Leutwein, who was interested in maintaining good relations with the indigenous groups, tried to protect tribal lands as a basic necessity of life of the various peoples, but his efforts fell short

because of a complex set of forces at work, most of which were out of his control. During and even before the rebellion, settlers and indigenous Africans squabbled over land. Adding to the confusion, tribal chieftains, having little or no conception of property ownership, sold land that was not even theirs. Leutwein's attempts to prevent the sale of land by the chieftains or to ensure that the Herero at least received a fair price failed simply because the Herero were forced to sell their land in order to survive, while the white settlers, determined to purchase land at the lowest possible price, were able to bide their time. Suggestions to establish reservations for the Herero were considered but not acted upon.

In spite of smoldering tension and unresolved problems, the outbreak of rebellion in 1904 came as a surprise. The Herero, taking advantage of Leutwein's absence, attacked farms and trading posts. During the first phase of the war one hundred and fifty Germans were killed, although with few exceptions the lives of women and children were spared.

Alarmed by reports of atrocities in the colony, the German government sent military reinforcements which had little success at first in keeping the Herero under control. Leutwein made repeated attempts at reaching a settlement through negotiations, but the *Kaiser* and his government, whose sense of superiority had been hurt, prohibited a diplomatic solution.

Accused of military failure, Leutwein was relieved of his command and replaced by General Lothar von Trotha, an officer notorious for his ruthlessness and severity. His troops were progressively reinforced until 1906 when his forces grew to 14,500 soldiers, all of whom were equipped with the latest weapons.

Von Trotha decided to wage the decisive battle for the final suppression of the uprising at Waterberg. The fighting, which went on for several days, did not lead, however, to a conclusive victory over the Herero as tens of thousands escaped from the loose ring of German soldiers surrounding them. Accounts of what happened differ according to the sources and the perspectives of the authors. Many thousands of Herero died, some in the fighting but the great majority in the Omaheke Desert. Von Trotha was interested neither in negotiations with the Herero nor in their surrender. His aim was the destruction of the Herero nation and culture for he believed this was the only way to avoid future conflicts.

He then issued an order banning all Herero from the colony and authorized shooting any Herero who entered German South West Africa. This order was later rescinded by the German government. Whether or not von Trotha deliberately allowed the Herero to escape into the desert in order to insure their annihilation is a matter of conjecture. What is certain, however, is that von Trotha intended to remove the Herero people as a force of resistance. Genocide was the consequence, if not the intention, of his military campaign.

The outcome of the war was the death of many thousands of Herero (estimates vary between 25,000 and 100,000). Some 1,400 soldiers also died during the war, half of them in combat and the other half from diseases such as typhus and cholera.

Many of the surviving Hereros were incarcerated in concentration camps in which numerous internees died under deplorable conditions. Indications that the Herero were urgently needed to boost the workforce were of little help: considerations of domination and control superseded economic interests.

In October of 1904, the Nama, troubled by the increasing loss of their rights and alarmed by the treatment of the Herero in the pogrom-like conditions, also rebelled. They waged their war of resistance using guerrilla tactics. When they were finally defeated in 1908, they shared the fate of the Herero people: dispossessed and forced to work as laborers.

Few voices were raised in South West Africa in defense of the Herero and Nama people, although a small number of missionaries and even army officers did protest the inhumane treatment of the Africans.

In Germany itself, however, colonial policy encountered increasing opposition. August Bebel, the famous leader of the workers' movement and founding father of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), declared the Herero uprising to be a "justified war of liberation." On behalf the SPD, he condemned the war against the Herero in the *Reichstag* and demanded an immediate end to all military activities. Likewise, *Vorwärts* and the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, two newspapers with strong SPD affiliations, denounced the actions of the German troops against the Herero and Nama.

The uprisings compelled the German government to make a number of requests to the *Reichstag* for additional funding for German South West Africa. In 1906, after one such request failed to obtain a parliamentary majority, the *Reichstag* was dissolved, leading to a general election. In the 1907 "Hottentot election," as it came to be known, the SPD was able to increase its share of the vote. Such protests against colonial policy in metropolitan Germany combined with the necessity to train Africans and qualify them for the labor force, subsequently led to a number of reforms (which, however, were undermined by white settlers in South West Africa).

14.6 The Growth of Colonial Domination

The last phase of the protectorate's history saw its civil administration expand: new departments were added and staff numbers increased accordingly. But, generally speaking, German dominion was asserted mostly through military force and direct control over the "natives." For the white population, control over the indigenous peoples meant a "normalization" of their own lives and

ensured economic growth. The expansion of agriculture and the exploitation of diamond mines discovered in 1907 required the manual labor of the indigenous population.

14.7 A Policy of Discrimination

Even before the “official” colonization of South West Africa began, the relationship between the indigenous peoples and the majority of explorers, traders, missionaries, and settlers was marked by the latter group’s belief in the superiority of the white man. The attitudes of the whites as well as the measures they took were at best paternalistic, at worst a total disregard for human rights. In 1886, soon after the protectorate was founded, the Racial Hierarchy Act, “concerning jurisdiction in the German protectorate” was passed. It stipulated different legal systems for Germans and “natives.” According to this law, Germans fell under the German legal system, while the “natives” were subjected to either the law of their people or to German colonial officials’ interpretations of the law. In effect this meant that Germans were scarcely ever called to account for criminal acts committed against Africans.

In 1905 racial segregation was adopted in an effort to keep the “races” separate. A matrimony act was introduced, prohibiting marriages between white men and African women, and it was applied retroactively, annulling all prior “mixed marriages.” Protests of men, whose de facto wives and children were excluded from the social order and denied inheritance rights, were to no avail. Matters were made even worse by the “one-drop rule,” which meant that a single non-white forebear was enough for a person to be deemed “black.” The reasons for this prohibition of “mixed marriages” were a scientifically unsound belief in eugenics and the notion that marriages with races considered inferior jeopardized racial segregation and the prestige and hegemony of the white “masters.” The issue of “mixed marriages,” incidentally, was always a matter of relationships between German men and African women. Relationships between white women and African men were regarded as a national disgrace and scarcely ever occurred in the colony. Concurrent with the prohibition of mixed marriages was the enactment of a 1905 imperial decree that ordered the unconditional seizure and confiscation of the territories of most ethnic groups.

The Protectorate Law of 1886 was amended in 1907, subjecting Africans to the jurisdiction of German colonial officials.⁴⁹ In practice, this meant that “natives” were sentenced to physical punishment even for minor offenses, not infrequently resulting in death, while “whites” were able to avoid punishment for such serious crimes as rape. The indigenous population, to a large extent, had no rights, faced discrimination, and was ill-treated, while white colonizers were hardly ever called to account for their actions.

The “Measures for Controlling the Native Population” of 1907 prohibited ethnic groups from living in tribal clans as well as from keeping cattle. Through these measures and through labor laws passed in 1908, Africans were forced to give up their traditional way of life and culture and sell their labor to white employers. In addition, they were required to carry identification cards—a measure intended to facilitate control of the black population, especially with regard to

enforcing compulsory work for Africans. Though terms of employment were supposed to be laid down in contracts between employers and black laborers, stipulating the rights and obligations of both parties, there was no guarantee of even a small measure of fair treatment and full payment.

In summary, the government in Germany, the colonial administration, and the white settlers all endeavored, openly and without the slightest awareness of the injustice of their actions, to expropriate land from rightful owners and impose forced labor on free human beings. They wholly succeeded in their endeavors.

Their racist attitude towards the indigenous population was clearly seen in many areas of life. In Swakopmund, for instance, it was forbidden for “natives as well as members of other colored tribes of the same status” to loiter on pavements, and they had to obtain special permission to drive a vehicle. The blacks’ place in society—and where it was to remain if whites had their way—was also revealed in educational policy. Schools for “native” children were set up exclusively by missionaries; the colonial administration and thus the German government, too, both of which had justified colonization as part of Germany’s cultural mission, showed a complete lack of interest in the education and training of black people. Secondary schools were established solely for white children, which qualified them for white-collar jobs. Educating blacks was certainly not in the interests of the whites who needed manual laborers in the fields and mines.

The role played by “natives” can also be seen in the controversy concerning language education for blacks. The argument revolved around the question of whether teaching the Africans German “served to secure German domination or whether, on the contrary, it undermined it. Thus, the German language was regarded both as a symbolic instrument of exercising power as well as a medium of communication. “On the one hand, it was important for white employers to be able to make themselves understood amongst their black workers, while on the other, numerous missionaries, colonial officials, and even teachers believed that segregation and the whole hierarchy of the races would be imperiled if Africans learned to speak the language of their “masters.”

In addition to general cultural and demographic changes under German rule, the political structure of Namibia went through some significant changes. Before colonization, each ethnic group was separate, with very minimal contact. Even within groups, power was rarely centralized. Germany largely ignored the political structures of the different groups and set up their own tyrannical rule when they took over. Their rule was based out of the south, from the “Police Zone,” where they subjugated black Namibians to forced labor and police brutality. At first the area Germans controlled was confined to Windhoek, located in the middle of the Herero settlements. Their political strategy over the Namibian people was known as “divide and rule.” This policy was based entirely off of making profit from colonization without regard for how the native people were affected. This philosophy seems to contradict with colonization, as colonizing

powers often took economic advantage of African countries without taking over control of the government. Hence, there must have been an underlying factor in reasons for colonization, and one author points to racism as a reason, citing the outlawing of mixed marriage and distinguishing of classes by race in German Southwest Africa. In addition to the laws against mixed marriages, the German government focused on recruiting Ovambo workers, passing a law that regulated the movement of Africans within Namibia. The attempts at centralization by ruling Germans greatly contradicted with the political systems tribal groups were used to and could very well be a reason why Germany ended up violently establishing their rule. The Namibian people could not adjust to such a drastic change in political structure and they naturally resisted. Feeling the unexplained need to centralize power in Windhoek, Germany met this resistance with violence and set up an autocratic and unpopular governmental structure.

14.8 Colonization by South Africa

Despite the great resistance to German attempts at centralization, South Africa went about a similar means of holding power when they took over. After Germany lost World War I, they were forced to hand over all of their colonies in the Treaty of Versailles. Due to the increasing amount of South African involvement in Namibia, South Africa was granted an administrative mandate in the understanding that they would reform Germany's colonial practices to prepare South West Africa for independence. What actually happened could not have been further from that understanding. The South African government's first act in South West Africa (the new name changed from German South West Africa) was to establish a hunting tax to encourage Namibians to give up hunting and join the wage labor market. Many Namibians resisted paying this tax, and in response South Africa became the first colonizing power to conduct an air strike against its own people. By the end of the air strike, South Africa had killed 100 Namibians and injured and captured 468.²¹ In addition to violence carried out by South African leaders, all of the race discriminatory laws developed for South Africa were extended in South West Africa. The German system of segregation was accelerated under South African rule. White control of politics and the economy was guaranteed, with laws restricting the political and socioeconomic rights of blacks while reinforcing the roles of black Namibians being subservient to those of white Namibians. In general, the transition from German to South African rule can be described as a violent continuance of German policy. South West Africa went through a number of cultural changes under South African rule. While segregation and class distinctions started under German rule, they were highly intensified after World War I. Reserves for black Namibians became increasingly overcrowded and poverty-stricken. These lands that countless black Namibians were forced onto were the least fertile lands and significantly separated from white communities. Meanwhile immigration rose, and by 1936 there were more than twice as many European immigrants to South West Africa (31,200) than there were in 1913 (15,000). The increase of white immigrants along with the increase of poverty and separation of black Namibians intensified racial discrimination and the destruction of black culture throughout South Africa's rule. Even mixed raced people were given more rights than blacks, with the Bastards receiving

high levels of schooling and access to better jobs. Ethnic divisions in the country became clearer as South Africans continued the German policy of separating groups on an ethnic basis to assert indirect rule. Racism and sexism both played a prominent role on the reserves. It was not uncommon for black workers to get 1/10th the pay of a white worker for doing the same job. The work was for men only, and women were forbidden from doing any of the jobs on the reserves involving higher pay. Sexism was certainly not a foreign concept to colonizing powers at the time, but in a society traditionally matrilineal, women experienced a significant shift in their role. The politics in South West Africa were based in South Africa, unlike the previous German government based out of Windhoek. Due to their geographic proximity South

Africa was able to govern Namibia without too much of a presence in the country.

Especially in northern Namibia (Ovamboland), South Africa used indirect rule to keep the control that Germany formally held over the area. However, they still continued many German policies. For example, the Land Ordinances of 1903 and 1912 were extended under South African rule, stating that blacks in what was formally known as the “police zone” were not allowed to own land. Whites living in South West Africa were given citizenship in South Africa and could vote and be represented in Parliament. Black South West Africans had no representation in South African parliament, and had no choice in their leadership. Through a system known as “native reserves” South Africa gave blacks the power to run their own local affairs. However, they had little to no actual power and since South Africa could appoint and dismiss the leaders of these reserves, most black leaders lost legitimacy. These “native reserves” or “native administrations” had locally born Magistrates who controlled administrative and judicial responsibilities at a local level. It was common for Magistrates’ power to be taken away and “relieved” by policemen, giving further evidence to the lack of ability to govern at a local level. South Africa established a harsh, rigid and extreme hierarchical power structure that put a greater stress on ethnic identity. The pre-colonial established groups became violently competitive as a result. By the time South Africa had solidified their political changes in the land to their north, the pre-colonial African political systems were barely recognizable. The “native reserves” system eliminated traditions such as the Ovambo kingship and the seasonal migration of Herero communities. Even whites in South West Africa had little power, as South Africa controlled foreign policy, defense, “native affairs,” and all infrastructure.³³ South Africa took great steps to integrate many parts of South West Africa into the other British controlled areas of southern Africa. The South West African railway system became incorporated into the Union system, and all waterways and harbors were also controlled by South Africa.³⁴ South Africa turned South West Africa into a completely economic dependent country through policies they enacted making it a product, export-oriented, foreign-dominated economy that South Africa used for raw materials and one of their main exporters.³⁵ After making South West Africa completely dependent on them economically, it was easy for South Africa to maintain political control.

Since South Africa was a colony of Great Britain throughout much of its rule over South West Africa, Great Britain's role in colonization should be briefly noted. Despite always having a presence in Walvis Bay, Britain never claimed South West Africa as an official territory. Even though they made an attempt to get South West Africa after the Berlin Conference and again at the Treaty of Versailles, they never had official control.

Great Britain still had a transitive affect through ruling South Africa. South African leaders insisted that South West Africans report to the leaders of South Africa and not to the crown. While Great Britain did include South West Africa in their British Empire Exhibition held in Wembley in 1925, South Africa insisted on having primary control of the region, continuing to govern it separately of the British crown. This ended up being a significant step in South Africa's road to independence. Overall, the time that South Africa was ruling what is today Namibia can be described as a power-limiting violent period in Namibian history. What was most distinctive about South Africa's style of colonization was how much they ruled from outside of the territory. Since they had the unusual advantage of being neighbors with South West Africa they ended up conducting most affairs from South Africa, giving even fewer rights to Namibians than Germany did. This is clearly a negative trait because of how individual freedoms were limited in Namibia, but in a way it can be seen as something positive because it put Namibians on a more level playing field. White Namibians had almost as few rights as black ones. And even though racism and segregation still existed under South African rule, South Africans discriminated against both groups, arguably limiting inequality. This argument however is almost pointless, because South Africa brought Namibia so far backwards culturally, economically and politically that it hardly matters what silver lining there was in their brutal policies. South Africa's long rule in South West Africa was marked by the institutionalization of racism and a new economic dependence on South Africa.

14.9 Rise of African Nationalism and Role of SWAPO in the Struggle for Independence

The struggle for Namibian independence was by no means an easy or peaceful one, as Namibia was the last colony in Africa to become independent (with the exception of Western Sahara which remains today to be a colony of Morocco). Namibia broke free from South Africa in 1990 after 75 years of struggle and contested rule. In this time South Africa resisted many international pressures to grant Namibia independence. When the League of Nations was disbanded in 1946, the mandate that gave South Africa the authority to rule Namibia no longer stood, but South Africa continued to rule. The new United Nations called for all ruling powers to have a definite independence schedule, and despite many Herero tribes submitting petitions for independence, South Africa still ruled. In 1966 both Ethiopia and Liberia submitted complaints to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) about South Africa's presence in Namibia, but the complaints were dismissed. Later, the UN General Assembly revoked South Africa's mandate, having no effect. And in 1971, the ICJ issued an "advisory opinion" that declared South Africa's

administration of South West Africa to be illegal. In 1978, the UN Security Council drew up an internationally-agreed decolonization plan for Namibia. None of these attempts ended South Africa's rule. Meanwhile, numerous attempts at independence were being made inside the country, both politically and militarily. The Ovamboland People's Congress was formed in 1958 to protest the contract labor system. They changed their name the next year to the Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO) and made their main goal independence.

Meanwhile, in Hereroland the South West African National Union (SWANU) sprang up to give the Herero people more political representation.³⁸ The OPO started to gain strength with contract workers in Windhoek, and before long a SWANU-OPO alliance formed, a significant step in bringing together the Ovambo and Herero people. The turning point in the Namibian struggle for independence, where political mobilization turned into violence was in December of 1959 when Sam Nujoma led an OPO peaceful protest march to the municipal offices where they were met with police resistance. Then protesters began to throw stones at the police officers, the police opened fire, killing thirteen and wounding 54. Nujoma and others involved in the protest were arrested and jailed, but later freed by Herero supporters. The fact that this event was the beginning of violent resistance led many to call it the "Namibian Sharpeville." The OPO then broke off from SWANU and changed their name to the South West African People's Organization, or SWAPO. SWAPO was proclaimed by UN Resolution 3111 in 1973 to be the sole voice of the Namibian people. Other independence groups that were less influential included the National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO), the People's Liberation Party of Namibia (PLAN) and the Rehoboth Volksparty, who all aligned with SWAPO at various times. Due to conflict over who was the dominant party in Namibia in the view of the international community, these independence groups were not able to work together very often, and often split into factions, with numerous independence groups splitting off of SWAPO. This was an ironic misfortune, as international support created tension between different groups who all wanted the same things. If there had not been so much attention from the international community on who the ruling party should be in Namibia, perhaps the different independence movements could have been more united and Namibia could have gained independence much earlier.

South Africa was able to maintain rule despite internal and international pressures by way of a variety of political and military acts. The Odendaal Commission of 1964 divided South West Africa into 11 mini-states, 10 black and one white, with the 93% of the population that was black divided separately into reserves that took up a total of 40% of the land. This served to weaken black opposition by dividing black Namibians into smaller, more manageable ethnic groups and by focusing all political and economic decisions around ethnicity.

This attempt to decrease resistance while other countries in Africa were gaining their independence worked despite great resistance and disapproval, as the system stayed in place for 27 more years, until Namibia was independent. While weakening black resistance with the Odendaal Commission, South Africa made efforts to make it look like they were helping

Namibia gain independence when in reality they were just reinforcing South African rule. In 1975, South Africa invited Namibian political leaders to draft an interim constitution and set up an Interim Government. This created the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a white Namibian political party to provide an alternative to SWAPO. The DTA then won an election (where only whites could vote) with 82% of the vote. The South African controlled media touted this election as the beginning of self-determination, when in reality it was just an effort to suppress the rising independence parties such as SWAPO. Some claim that the reason for South Africa's ignoring of international and internal pressures can be attributed to the Afrikaners' fear of losing the buffer they had between themselves and the rest of "black Africa." While this might have been a factor in South Africa's continued presence in Namibia, the main reason why South Africa ignored the orders of the UN is simply because the UN had no way of enforcing their orders. South Africa felt like they had the power to play with the UN, putting on the charade of having elections and self-determination in Namibia, knowing that the UN would not be able to interfere. This is a common problem in the international community, as the United Nations has no real power of enforcement, so there is not great incentive for countries to listen to their demands.

South Africa's control over Namibia could not last forever, and after much negotiation and warfare Namibia gained its independence. Surprisingly, the United States played a significant role in the process. The time of Namibia's independence struggle lined up with the Cold War between the US and USSR, as the United States made many questionable foreign policy decisions in an effort to prevent the spread of communism. In southern Africa, the US had a vested interest in South Africa maintaining control of Namibia because South Africa was a non-communist ally, and the US also had a strong interest in keeping the Cuban and Soviet forces from influencing the Angolan government. The US developed a policy in the region known as "linkage," where it tied two of its main interests in southern Africa into one issue. As a result, President Reagan had a summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev where they decided that Cuban and Soviet presence in Angola would cease as soon as South Africa withdrew from Namibia, and would follow the UN Security Resolution that mapped out a plan for Namibian independence. This agreement was signed in December of 1988 in what was called the New York accords. Soon after, Cuba agreed to withdraw their troops from Angola and South Africa pulled out of Namibia. Then, after an 11-month transition period, Namibia was declared independent on March 21, 1990. There have been books written on the details of the war for independence, and for the purposes of this study it will suffice to say that the war for independence was a violent one, being fought by many different groups in a disjointed effort against a much stronger enemy. Independence was a great victory for Namibia, but it was by no means the end of their struggle. The country was left in pieces after South Africa's long and violent rule, and finally had to adjust to being independent.

After gaining their independence Namibia still had to make the final transition to being internationally recognized as a free country. In November of 1989 they held their first elections

in the country that were certified as free and fair by the UN, as the people voted for a Constituent Assembly. There were nearly 98 percent of registered voters who turned out in celebration of finally gaining independence. SWAPO took 57 percent of the vote, with the white Namibian-led Democratic Turnhalle Alliance receiving 29 percent. SWAPO fell just short of the 67 percent necessary to have full control of the constitutional process, with the UN leading the efforts instead. Most of SWAPO's support came from Ovamboland, with 92 percent of the northern district voting for the Ovambo-based party. It was reported at the time that the South African government paid more than 20 million pounds to opposition parties of SWAPO before the election, as they did not want SWAPO to gain control of the government. This brings up the question of the actual fairness of these first free elections. A foreign government would not be allowed to play such a prominent role in campaigning for the President of the United States, and the case should be the same in Namibia. A true democratic movement should rise from the grassroots of a country, and when foreign countries are trying to exert their influence in politics it become much more difficult for a newly independent country to democratize. Even though later elections would be less corrupt, it is significant to note that the first "free" elections in Namibia were heavily funded by South Africa and had the white Namibian party (keep in mind that whites accounted for roughly 6 percent of the population) receiving 29 percent of the vote.

Nevertheless, the assembly drafted and adopted a constitution on February 9, 1990 and declared official independence the next month. The Namibian constitution was the first gender-neutral constitution passed, a feat that will be addressed later when cultural changes are examined. The constituent assembly unanimously voted to elect Sam Nujoma as the first president. In regards to being elected as Namibia's first president, Nujoma wrote in his autobiography, "The chains of slavery and colonialism were at last broken, but for the future there were other chains to be wrenched apart." Nujoma could not have put it better. His country was free, but there were still lasting effects from the time that Namibia was a colony. Namibia must recognize the role that those effects play in the country today and how they will play a role in determining Namibia's future stability and prosperity.

ACTIVITY FOURTEEN

1. Describe the German colonization of Namibia to 1900
2. Why was there resistance to the German colonization of Namibia?
3. Describe the various indigenous people of Namibia.
4. State why German colonial rule in Namibia was brutal.
5. Analyse African resistance to German colonization.
6. Discuss the liberation struggle for independence in Namibia.
7. Examine the role played by SWAPO in the liberation struggle for Namibia.
8. State factors that hindered attainment of Namibian Independence.

UNIT

15

15 SWAZILAND, LESOTHO AND BOTSWANA

15.1. Introduction

Although the British had taken responsibility for all three of these territories by the beginning of the twentieth century, their lack of interest in the areas from then on resulted in fifty years of neglect. This neglect could be seen in the political sphere where little attempt was made to modernize the traditional form of African government. This unit discusses the major socio-political and economic developments from colonization to the achievement of independence in the three High Commission Territories of Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana.

15.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- Discuss the socio-political and economic developments from colonization to the achievement of independence in;
 - (a) Swaziland
 - (b) Lesotho and
 - (c) Botswana

15.3. Swaziland

15.1.1 Political developments up to independence

During most of the protectorate period, the traditional Swazi administration, headed by the King carried out its functions separate from the central governing body of the High Commission. Traditionally the King was unable to act without the approval of two councils. The *Liqoqo* was smaller and contained the more influential advisers and members of the royal lineage. The *Libandla* was the largest council of which every adult male was a member. This council met about once a year. It had to agree to any change in legislation considered necessary by the *Liqoqo*. Communication between the central government and the main council was through a standing committee called the *Swazi National Council*.

From 1928 regular meetings were arranged between the Resident Commissioner and the *Ngwenyama*, the King, and between local district officers and the chiefs. These meetings did not

affect the main emphasis, which was still of a traditional system working parallel with the Commissioner's officials. In Swaziland, legislation affecting many routine African affairs was still in Swazi hands. It must be said that, the King, Sobhuza II, exerted tremendous influence on all deliberations of the council.

15.2 King Sobhuza

Sobhuza was born in 1899 of the Swazi ruling family, the *Dlamini* and he became Paramount Chief in 1921. He was a traditionalist and paid great attention to his responsibilities and traditional duties. He was more of a realist who formed his own political party that won the first election in 1964.

The *Native Administrative Proclamation* of 1944 tried to promote the status of the King to that of being the native authority in Swaziland but it met with so much opposition that it was replaced in 1950 by a system which gave some expression to the growing demand for a more modern approach to government. The 1950 proclamation dealt with the form of Swazi courts and the creation of a *Swazi National Treasury*, both important elements of the present Swazi administrative system.

15.2.1 Independence

Swaziland's gained its independence in 1968 after the Swazi monarchy had become the champion of the nationalist cause, playing on the homogeneous nature of the Swazi population and a Swazi tradition, most of which is surprisingly recent in origin. The reason for Swaziland's relatively smooth road to independence had indeed been the patient diplomacy of the Swazi monarch, King Sobhuza II. The democracy that had been agreed upon with the British colonisers soon broke down, however, and King Sobhuza II suspended the Independence Constitution in 1973, proclaimed a state of emergency, banned demonstrations, political parties and meetings in the process, and began ruling by decree – probably because he feared the steady increase of progressive politics and votes for the main opposition party, the *Ngwane National Liberation Congress (NNLC)*. The reasons given for the suspension were more along cultural lines, however, the King claiming that “*the constitution has permitted the importation into our country of highly undesirable political practices alien to, and incompatible with the way of life in our society*”and was therefore “*unfit for the Swazi way of life*”.

15.2.2 Cooperation with the apartheid regime

The Swazi monarchy was certainly not progressive in its politics nor in its friends as it had cooperated closely with apartheid South Africa, as well as with the Portugese in Mozambique. Not only had King Sobhuza II based his post-independence strategy on advice from a prominent member of the South African *Afrikaaner Broederbond*, Van Wyk de Vries, but from around 1978 both Sobhuza II and his successor choose to sign security pacts with its southern neighbour, as well as to help in, or at least not impede, the hunting down and killing of ANC members based in Swaziland. The Swazi government also criticised the campaign of sanctions and disinvestment that was mounting against South Africa in the eighties, making it the only Commonwealth country besides Thatcher's Britain to do so. This harassment of the ANC continued right up until the unbanning of the ANC in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela, although members of the democratic movement disagreed with this policy and helped protect and aid ANC members.

15.3

Lesotho

Cape Town's inability to control the territory led to its return to crown control in 1884 as the Territory of Basutoland., Natal Colony, and Cape Colony. The colony was ruled by the British Resident Commissioner, who worked through the *pitso* (national assembly) of hereditary native chiefs under one paramount chief. Each chief ruled a ward within the territory. The first paramount chief was Lerothodi, the son of Moshoeshoe.

When the Union of South Africa was founded in 1910 the colony was still controlled by the British and moves were made to transfer it to the Union. However the people of Basutoland opposed this and when the National Party put its apartheid policies into place the possibility of annexation was halted. In 1959, a new constitution gave Basutoland its first elected legislature. This was followed in April 1965 with general legislative elections.

At the end of the Boer War, it was colonised by the British, and this colony was subsequently. In contrast, Basotholand, along with the two other British Protectorates in the sub-Saharan region (Bechuanaland and Swaziland), was precluded from incorporation into the Union of South Africa. By becoming a protectorate, Basotholand and its inhabitants were not subjected to Afrikaner rule, which saved them from experiencing Apartheid, and so generally prospered under more benevolent British rule. Basotho residents of Basotholand had access to better health services and to education, and came to experience greater political emancipation through independence.

After a 1955 request by the Basutoland Council to legislate its internal affairs, in 1959 a new constitution gave Basutoland its first elected legislature. This was followed in April 1965 with general legislative elections with universal adult suffrage in which the Basotho National Party (BNP) won 31 and the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) won 25 of the 65 seats contested.

15.3.1 Independence

On October 4, 1966, the Kingdom of Lesotho attained full independence, governed by a constitutional monarchy with a bicameral Parliament consisting of a Senate and an elected National Assembly. Early results of the first post-independence elections in January 1970 indicated that the Basotho National Party (BNP) might lose control. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan, the ruling BNP refused to cede power to the rival Basotholand Congress Party (BCP), although the BCP was widely believed to have won the elections.

Citing election irregularities, Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan nullified the elections, declared a national state of emergency, suspended the constitution, and dissolved the Parliament. In 1973, an appointed Interim National Assembly was established. With an overwhelming progovernment majority, it was largely the instrument of the BNP, led by Prime Minister Jonathan. In addition to the Jonathan regime's alienation of Basotho powerbrokers and the local population, South Africa had virtually closed the country's land borders because of Lesotho support of cross-border operations of the African National Congress (ANC). Moreover, South Africa publicly threatened to pursue more direct action against Lesotho if the Jonathan government did not root out the ANC presence in the country. This internal and external opposition to the government combined to produce violence and internal disorder in Lesotho that eventually led to a military takeover in 1986.

Under a January 1986 Military Council decree, state executive and legislative powers were transferred to the King who was to act on the advice of the Military Council, a self-appointed group of leaders of the Royal Lesotho Defense Force (RLDF). A military government chaired by Justin Lekhanya ruled Lesotho in coordination with King Moshoeshoe II and a civilian cabinet appointed by the King.

15.3.2 Political Developments after the 1990s

In February 1990, King Moshoeshoe II was stripped of his executive and legislative powers and exiled by Lekhanya, and the Council of Ministers was purged. Lekhanya accused those involved of undermining discipline within the armed forces, subverting existing authority, and causing an impasse on foreign policy that had been damaging to Lesotho's image abroad. Lekhanya announced the establishment of the National Constituent Assembly to formulate a new constitution for Lesotho with the aim of returning the country to democratic, civilian rule by June 1992. Before this transition, however, Lekhanya was ousted in 1991 by a mutiny of junior army officers that left Phisoane Ramaema as Chairman of the Military Council.

Because Moshoeshoe II initially refused to return to Lesotho under the new rules of the government in which the King was endowed only with ceremonial powers, Moshoeshoe's son was installed as King Letsie III. In 1992, Moshoeshoe II returned to Lesotho as a regular citizen until 1995 when King Letsie abdicated the throne in favor of his father. After Moshoeshoe II died in a car accident in 1996, King Letsie III ascended to the throne again.

In 1993, a new constitution was implemented leaving the King without any executive authority and proscribing him from engaging in political affairs. Multiparty elections were then held in which the BCP ascended to power with a landslide victory.

Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle headed the new BCP government that had gained every seat in the 65-member National Assembly. In early 1994, political instability increased as first the army, followed by the police and prisons services, engaged in mutinies. In August 1994, King Letsie III, in collaboration with some members of the military, staged a coup, suspended Parliament, and appointed a ruling council. As a result of domestic and international pressures, however, the constitutionally elected government was restored within a month.

In 1995, there were isolated incidents of unrest, including a police strike in May to demand higher wages. For the most part, however, there were no serious challenges to Lesotho's constitutional order in the 1995-96 period. In January 1997, armed soldiers put down a violent police mutiny and arrested the mutineers.

In 1997, tension within the BCP leadership caused a split in which Dr. Mokhehle abandoned the BCP and established the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) followed by two-thirds of the parliament. This move allowed Mokhehle to remain as Prime Minister and leader of a new ruling party, while relegating the BCP to opposition status. The remaining members of the BCP refused to accept their new status as the opposition party and ceased attending sessions. Multiparty elections were again held in May 1998.

Although Mokhehle completed his term as Prime Minister, due to his failing health, he did not vie for a second term in office. The elections saw a landslide victory for the LCD, gaining 79 of the 80 seats contested in the newly expanded Parliament. As a result of the elections, Mokhehle's Deputy Prime Minister, Pakalitha Mosisili, became the new Prime Minister.

The landslide electoral victory caused opposition parties to claim that there were substantial irregularities in the handling of the ballots and that the results were fraudulent. The conclusion of the Langa Commission, a commission appointed by Southern African Development Community (SADC) to investigate the electoral process, however, was consistent with the view of international observers and local courts that the outcome of the elections was not affected by these incidents.

Despite the fact that the election results were found to reflect the will of the people, opposition protests in the country intensified. The protests culminated in a violent demonstration outside the royal palace in early August 1998 and in an unprecedented level of violence, looting, casualties, and destruction of property.

In early September, junior members of the armed services mutinied. The Government of Lesotho requested that a SADC task force intervene to prevent a military coup and restore stability to the country. To this end, Operation Boleas, consisting of South African and (later) Botswana troops, entered Lesotho on September 22, 1998 to put down the mutiny and restore the democratically elected government. The army mutineers were brought before a court-martial.

After stability returned to Lesotho, the SADC task force withdrew from the country in May 1999, leaving only a small task force (joined by Zimbabwean troops) to provide training to the LDF. In the meantime, an Interim Political Authority (IPA), charged with reviewing the electoral structure in the country, was created in December 1998 and devised a proportional electoral system to ensure that there be opposition in the National Assembly.

The new system retained the existing 80 elected Assembly seats, but added 40 seats to be filled on a proportional basis. Elections were held under this new system in May 2002, and the LCD won again, gaining 54% of the vote. For the first time, however, opposition political parties won significant numbers of seats, and despite some irregularities and threats of violence from Major General Lekhanya, Lesotho experienced its first peaceful election. Nine opposition parties now hold all 40 of the proportional seats, with the BNP having the largest share (21). The LCD has 79 of the 80 constituency-based seats.

In June 2014, Prime Minister Thomas Thabane suspended parliament because of conflict within his coalition, leading to criticisms that he was undermining the government. In August, after Thabane attempted to remove Lieutenant General Kennedy Tlai Kamoli from the head of the army, the Prime Minister fled the country alleging a coup was taking place. Kamoli denied that any coup had occurred.

15.4 Botswana (Bechuanaland Protectorate)

In the late 19th century, hostilities broke out between the Shona inhabitants of Botswana and Ndebele tribes who were migrating into the territory from the Kalahari Desert. Escalated with the Boer settlers from the Transvaal. After appeals by the Batswana leaders Khama III, Bathoen I, and Sebele I, who personally travelled to London, for assistance, the British Government on 31 March 1885 put "Bechuanaland" under its protection. The northern territory remained under direct administration as the Bechuanaland Protectorate and is today's Botswana, while the southern territory became part of the Cape Colony and is now part of the northwest province of South Africa; the majority of Setswana-speaking people today live in South Africa. The Tati Concessions Land, formerly part of the Matabele kingdom, was administered from the Bechuanaland Protectorate after 1893, to which it was formally annexed in 1911.

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 out of the main British colonies in the region, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Basutoland (now Lesotho), and Swaziland (the "High Commission Territories") were not included, but provision was made for their later incorporation. However, a vague undertaking was given to consult their inhabitants, and although successive South African governments sought to have the territories transferred, Britain kept delaying, and it never occurred. The election of the National Party government in 1948, which instituted apartheid, and South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1961, ended any prospect of incorporation of the territories into South Africa.

An expansion of British central authority and the evolution of tribal government resulted in the 1920 establishment of two advisory councils representing Africans and Europeans. Proclamations in 1934 regularized tribal rule and powers. A European-African advisory council was formed in 1951, and the 1961 constitution established a consultative legislative council.

15.4.1 Independent Botswana

In June 1966, Britain accepted proposals for democratic self-government in Botswana. The seat of government was moved from Mafikeng in South Africa, to newly established Gaborone in 1965. The 1965 constitution led to the first general elections and to independence on 30 September 1966. Seretse Khama, a leader in the independence movement and the legitimate claimant to the Ngwato chiefship, was elected as the first president, re-elected twice, and died in office in 1980. The presidency passed to the sitting vice president, Ketumile Masire, who was elected in his own right in 1984 and re-elected in 1989 and 1994. Masire retired from office in 1998. The presidency passed to the sitting vice president, Festus Mogae, who was elected in his own right in 1999 and re-elected in 2004. In April 2008, Excellency the former President Lieutenant General Dr Seretse Khama Ian Khama (Ian Khama), son of Seretse Khama the first president, succeeded to the presidency when Festus Mogae retired. On 1 April 2018 Mokgweetsi Eric Keabetswe Masisi was sworn in as the 5th President of Botswana succeeding Ian Khama.

ACTIVITY FIFTEEN

1. Trace the political administration of Swaziland as a protectorate.
2. Briefly discuss the circumstance under which Swaziland achieved independence.
3. What were the political and security consequences of the Swaziland relationship with Apartheid South Africa?
4. How was Lesotho administered as a British protectorate?
5. Trace the political development in Lesotho from the achievement of independence in 1966 up 1986.
6. What were the major political challenges that Lesotho faced between 1990 and 2014/
7. Why did the British proclaim a protectorate in Botswana in 1885?
8. Why was Botswana not incorporated into the Union of South Africa after the Second Anglo-Boer War in 1910?
9. Brief account for the smooth transitions of democratic governments in Botswana from 1966 to 2018.

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