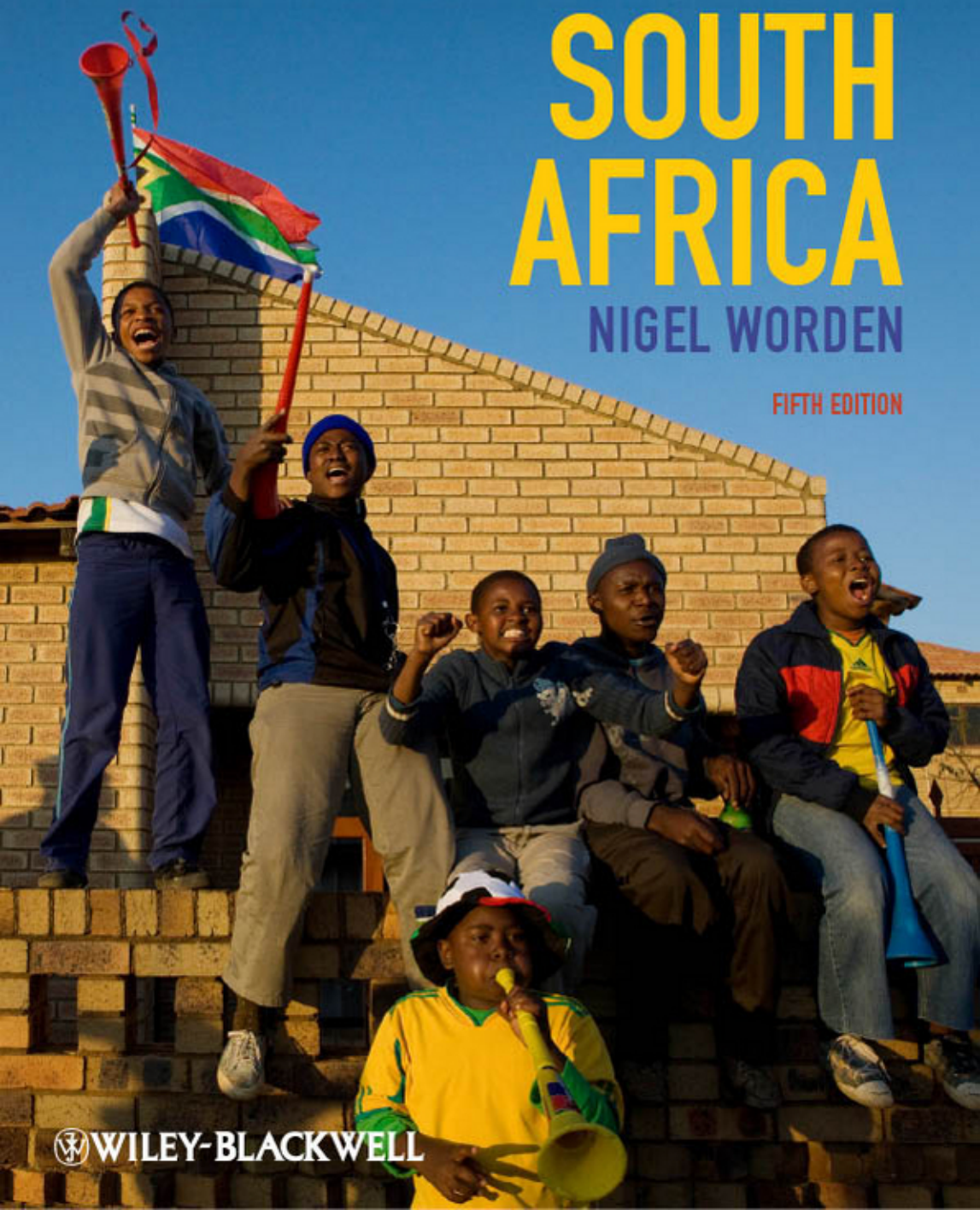


THE MAKING OF MODERN SOUTH AFRICA

NIGEL WORDEN

FIFTH EDITION



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The Making of Modern South Africa

The Making of Modern South Africa

Conquest, Apartheid, Democracy

Fifth Edition

Nigel Worden

 **WILEY-BLACKWELL**

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To the memory of my parents, Vena and John

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Outline Chronology

c.1000 BC–AD 200	‘Pastoralist revolution’: Khoekhoe herders move into South Africa
AD 300–1000	Bantu-speaking farmers move into South Africa
1652	Dutch East India Company establishes settlement at Cape Town
1650s–1780s	Colonial expansion into northern and eastern Cape and conquest of Khoekhoe
1658	First slaves imported to Cape
1760s	Slaves and Khoekhoe obliged to carry passes
1799–1803	Khoekhoe rebellion in eastern Cape
1806	British establish permanent control over Cape Colony
1812	Indenture of Khoekhoe children on settler farms
1820s	Expansion of Zulu kingdom (‘Mfecane’)
1828	Ordinance 49 imposes pass controls on African workers in Cape Colony; Ordinance 50 ends Khoekhoe indenture
1834	Slave emancipation
1836	Settlers leave eastern Cape (‘Great Trek’)
1838	Trekkers defeat Zulu and establish Republic of Natalia (Natal)
1843	British annexation of Natal
1846	Shepstone introduces segregated administration for Africans in Natal
1852	Sand River Convention: British recognize Boer independence in region north of the Vaal River (Transvaal)

- 1854 Bloemfontein Convention: British recognize Orange Free State; Cape Colony obtains Representative Government
- 1856–7 Xhosa cattle killing
- 1860 Introduction of Indian indentured laborers to Natal (ended 1911)
- 1866 Cape annexes British Kaffraria
- 1867 Discovery of diamonds at Vaal-Hartz river (Kimberley)
- 1871 British annex diamond fields (Griqualand West)
- 1872 Cape obtains Responsible Government
- 1875 ‘Black Flag’ revolt at Kimberley
- 1877 British annex Transvaal
- 1875 Foundation of Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Paarl)
- 1878 British defeat Thlaping (Tswana) rebellion in Griqualand West
- 1879 British invasion of Zululand; British defeat Pedi
- 1879–85 Transkei annexed to Cape Colony
- 1880 Griqualand West annexed to Cape Colony; Cape war with Sotho; Foundation of Afrikaner Bond (Cape)
- 1881 Transvaal rebellion forces British withdrawal
- 1882 Foundation of Imbumba ya Manyama (eastern Cape)
- 1884–5 British annex southern Bechuanaland
- 1886 Gold discovered on Witwatersrand (Johannesburg)
- 1887 British annex Zululand
- 1893 Natal obtains Responsible Government
- 1894 Glen Grey Act establishes separate land and tax system for Africans (eastern Cape)
- 1895 Southern Bechuanaland annexed to Cape Colony; Transvaal government asserts control over Swaziland; Jameson Raid from Cape fails to topple Transvaal government
- 1896–7 Rinderpest epidemic
- 1896 Thlaping revolt (Langeberg) defeated by British
- 1897 Zululand annexed to Natal
- 1899–1902 South African (‘Boer’) War: British conquest of Transvaal and Orange Free State
- 1902–5 ‘Reconstruction’ of Transvaal and Free State under Milner

1902	Foundation of African People's Organization (APO) in Cape Town; Treaty of Vereeniging ends South African War
1903–5	South African Native Affairs Commission recommends blueprint for segregation
1904–7	Chinese indentured laborers used on gold mines
1907	Election victory of Het Volk (Transvaal) and Orangia Unie (Orange River Colony)
1906–8	Bambatha (Zulu) rebellion defeated
1910	Union of South Africa
1911	Mines and Works Act imposes color bar in mines
1912	Foundation of South African Native National Congress (SANNC) (later ANC)
1913	Natives Land Act segregates land ownership and restricts African land ownership to the 'native reserves'; Indian general strike in Natal led by Gandhi
1913–14	White strikes on Rand
1914	South Africa enters First World War; Afrikaner rebellion
1915	South African invasion of German South-West Africa
1918	Status Quo Act modifies job color bar on mines; African municipal workers strike in Johannesburg; Foundation of Afrikaner Broederbond
1919	Foundation of Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU)
1920	Native Affairs Act establishes separate administrative structures for Africans; African mine workers' strike
1921	Massacre of 'Israelites' at Bulhoek
1922	Rand Revolt
1923	Natives (Urban Areas) Act provides for urban segregation and African influx control; Industrial Conciliation Act excludes migrant workers from trade union representation
1924	Coalition of Labour and National Party win election: 'Pact' government under Hertzog; Afrikaans language given official recognition
1926	Mines and Works Amendment Act extends employment color bar

- 1927 Native Administration Act 'retriblizes' African government and law
- 1930–3 Great Depression
- 1932 Native Service Contract Act restricts black labor tenants on white-owned farms; South Africa abandons gold standard
- 1934 South African Party (under Smuts) and National Party (under Hertzog) form coalition 'Fusion' government; Slums Act gives local municipalities right to move inhabitants of low-grade housing
- 1935 Formation of All African Convention (AAC)
- 1936 Native Trust and Land Act consolidates reserves; Representation of Natives Act removes Africans from Cape common franchise
- 1937 Marketing Act gives state subsidies to white farmers; Native Laws Amendment Act intensifies urban pass laws
- 1938 *Eeufees* centenary celebration of Great Trek mobilizes Afrikaner nationalism
- 1940–5 Rent and transport boycotts and squatter resistance on Rand
- 1941 Formation of Council for Non-European Trade Unions
- 1943 Non-European Unity Movement produces 'Ten Point Programme'; Foundation of ANC Youth League
- 1946 African mine workers' strike
- 1946–7 Natal Indian Congress resists 'Ghetto' Act restricting Indian property ownership
- 1946 Sauer report recommends intensification of segregation
- 1948 'Herstigte' Nationalist Party forms government
- 1949 ANC Youth League produces 'Programme of Action'; African and Indian conflict in Durban
- 1950 Population Registration Act; Immorality Act; Group Areas Act; Suppression of Communism Act
- 1951 Bantu Authorities Act
- 1952 Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act extends pass laws; ANC launches 'Defiance Campaign'
- 1953 Separate Amenities Act; Bantu Education Act; Criminal Law Amendment Act

- 1953–4 Resistance to destruction of Sophiatown
- 1955 Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act extends urban influx control; National Congress of the People adopts 'Freedom Charter'
- 1956 Coloreds removed from Cape common franchise; Mass demonstration of women against pass laws
- 1956–61 Treason trial
- 1956–7 Rural revolts in Transvaal and Free State
- 1957 Alexandra bus boycotts
- 1959 Foundation of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC); Promotion of Bantu Self-Governing Act sets up ethnic 'homelands'; Cato Manor (Durban) beerhall protests
- 1960 Sharpeville shootings and State of Emergency; Banning of ANC, Communist Party and PAC; Pondoland revolt
- 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrilla movement founded; Poqo revolt; South Africa leaves Commonwealth and becomes a Republic
- 1963 General Laws Amendment Act permits detention without trial
- 1964 Rivonia trials sentence ANC leaders to life imprisonment; Black Labour Act tightens influx control
- 1969 Foundation of South African Students' Organization (SASO) under Biko
- 1971 Establishment of Black People's Convention (BPC)
- 1973–5 Widespread African strikes in Natal and eastern Cape
- 1975 Foundation of Inkatha under Buthelezi
- 1976 Revolt in Soweto and other townships
- 1977 Detention and murder of Biko; Banning of Black Consciousness organizations
- 1976–81 Nominal independence of homelands: Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979), Ciskei (1981)
- 1978 P.W. Botha introduces 'total strategy' policy; Foundation of Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)
- 1979 Carlton Conference meeting of government and business leaders; Riekert Commission recommends easing of job color bar; Wiehahn Commission recommends recognition of African trade unions

- 1982 Formation of Conservative Party under Treurnich; Black Local Authorities Act extends Community Council powers in townships
- 1983 Foundation of National Forum (NF) and United Democratic Front (UDF)
- 1984 Elections under new tricameral constitution widely boycotted by Indian and colored voters
- 1984–6 Widespread resistance; State of Emergency and troops moved into townships
- 1985 Foundation of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU); International bank loans called in and sanctions intensified; Uitenhage shootings; National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) calls for ‘People’s Education’; Conflict in Inanda (Natal)
- 1986 Repeal of pass laws; Commonwealth delegation visit aborted by South African raids on neighbouring countries
- 1986–9 Widespread conflict between Inkatha and UDF in Natal
- 1988 KwaNdebele resistance to ‘independence’
- 1989 Botha replaced by F.W. de Klerk; Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) launches civil disobedience campaign
- 1990 De Klerk unbans ANC, PAC and Communist Party; Nelson Mandela released from jail; Namibia obtains independence
- 1991 Repeal of Group Areas, Land, and Population Registration Acts; Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) formed to negotiate democratic constitution; Government backing of Inkatha vigilantes against ANC
- 1992 White referendum supports CODESA negotiations but they break down and Inkatha–ANC conflict intensifies
- 1993 Negotiations resumed at Kempton Park to form interim constitution
- 1994 Government of National Unity elected with ANC majority; Mandela inaugurated as State President

1996	Adoption of new constitution incorporating Bill of Rights
1996–8	Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings
1997	GEAR economic policy introduced. Thabo Mbeki launches African Renaissance concept
1999	ANC wins overall electoral majority. Mandela retires and Thabo Mbeki elected President
2004	ANC secures electoral victory with 70 per cent support
2005	National Party disbanded
2007	ANC conference at Polokwane ousts Mbeki and elects Jacob Zuma as president
2008	Zuma becomes State President
2010	South Africa hosts soccer World Cup

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As the references and bibliography show, I am indebted to a large number of historians of South Africa for the content of this book. In the process of summarizing and selecting I hope that I have not offended any of them too much. In addition, I am particularly grateful to the reviewers of previous editions, especially John Wright, and to Russell Martin, Christopher Saunders, Iain Smith, David Lowe and James Patrick. None of them, needless to say, are responsible for the misjudgments that may remain.

Acronyms

AAC	All African Convention
ANC	African National Congress
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
APO	African People's Organization
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organization
BPC	Black People's Convention
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSAG	Concerned South Africans Group
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	Conservative Party
DA	Democratic Alliance
DP	Democratic Party
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
ECC	End Conscription Campaign
FAK	Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings
FF	Freedom Front
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NF	National Forum
NLL	National Liberation League
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACP	South African Communist Party

SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SASO	South African Students' Organization
SWAPO	South-West African People's Organization
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNIA	United Negro Improvement Association
UWUSA	United Workers' Union of South Africa
VOC	Dutch East India Company

Introduction: The Changing History of South Africa

In the late twentieth century South Africa was much in the public eye. Events such as the Soweto uprising of 1976, the virtual civil war of the 1980s, the collapse of apartheid and the 'small miracle' (in Nelson Mandela's words) of a peaceful transition to democracy in the 1990s brought widespread attention to a country whose policies of legislated racial discrimination had made it an anomaly in the post-colonial world. South Africa 'has ignited international passions in a way that few nations in recent history have managed' (Andrews 2007: 148).

Over the same period, the study of South Africa's past mushroomed. Many new academic works appeared from the mid-1970s and university courses on South African history were offered widely in Europe, the United States and Africa. Not only did the volume of scholarship increase: its general findings significantly transformed our understanding of the making of modern South Africa in a process which 'in historiographical terms represents a revolution' (Smith 1988). Although something of the ferment in historical writing of those decades has now passed, new work is constantly appearing and South African history continues to be an engaging field for students.

This book attempts to introduce readers to some of this historical scholarship. It may be read as a self-contained work, although it is not a complete general history of South Africa, and the reader may choose to supplement it with one of the several good recent overviews on the market (see general surveys, p. 170). Although it ranges from the pre-colonial period to the