QUESTION 4: THE PERIOD 1924 TO 1948

4.1 HOW SIGNIFICANT WAS AFRIKANER NATIONALISM IN THE 1930s?

SOURCE 4A

This is an extract taken from the book *South Africa, 1948 - 1994* by Rosemary Mulholland. It focuses on Dr D.F. Malan's speech at the commemoration of the battle of Blood River, 1938.

From the late 1930s the Afrikaner leaders set about creating a strong nationalist identity. On 16 December 1938, on the 100th anniversary of the victory of Blood River, the steps of the Voortrekkers were traced in a pilgrimage across South Africa, with gatherings attended by huge crowds.

Dr Malan gave the main address at Blood River. He said that in 1838, by God's grace and self-sacrifice of the Voortrekkers, Afrikanerdom had prevailed. Now, he said, Afrikaners faced a new Blood River.

"In that new Blood River, black and white meet together in much closer contact and in a much more binding struggle. Today black and white jostle (push) together in the same labour market. Their [the Voortrekkers'] freedom was also and above all the freedom to preserve themselves as a white race. You realise today [that] their task to make South Africa a white man's land is ten times more your task. As a sign of your national pride you are naming your streets after Voortrekker heroes and demanding that *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* should be recognised as your national anthem. Have you the patriotism and sufficient power, in this year of celebration, to use this God-given opportunity also to demand something infinitely more important: the assurance that white civilisation will be assured?"
SOURCE 4B

The following extract taken from the book *A History of South Africa* by Martin Roberts, focuses on the significance of the centenary celebrations of Blood River for Afrikaners.

The appeal of Afrikaner nationalism became clear in the enthusiastic celebrations of the centenary of the Great Trek. Two ox-wagons modelled on those used in 1838 and accompanied by men and women in Voortrekker dress left Van Riebeeck's statue in Cape Town in August 1938 and arrived at the site of the Voortrekker monument near Pretoria the following December. Wherever they went, huge crowds gathered. Gideon Roos reported for the South African Broadcasting Corporation:

‘You have no idea what emotion it caused. I saw people in tears because of this wave of intense patriotism, crystallised around the pride in this romantic page in our history. We never had a symbol before; the ox-wagon became that symbol.’
SOURCE 4C

This extract taken from *South Africa 1948 – 1994* by R Mulholland, focuses on Solly Sachs who wrote a letter to the organisers of the Blood River Centenary celebrations and the response he received.

Solly Sachs was General Secretary of the Garment Workers Union. Though himself a Jew and a Communist well known for his opposition to the government's policies of racial segregation, most of his members were Afrikaner women so he wrote to the centenary celebration organisers and asked that his union could send a delegation to the celebrations. The following is the response Solly Sachs received from the organisers of the centenary celebrations:

'The Afrikaner nation is busy uniting, to mobilise its forces against you and your sort. The thousands of Afrikaner daughters, which you have in your clutches will settle with you .... Our people do not want anything to do with Communists and Jews, the high priests thereof, least of all. The day when we Afrikaners begin to settle with you Jews, you will find that Germany is a Jewish paradise compared with what South Africa will be .... You ... who all day long, organise and address [Africans], will you dare bring them along also to the celebrations? They are your fellow-workers and "Comrades".'

Solly Sachs addressing a meeting of the Garment Workers Union in Johannesburg in 1938.
QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976

5.1 DID THE TREASON TRIAL CONTRIBUTE TO THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE 1950s?

SOURCE 5A

In 1956 the apartheid government (National Party) arrested 156 political activists who were identified as leading figures by the Security Branch at Kliptown (adoption of the Freedom Charter) in 1955. They were charged for High Treason (serious charge of attempting to overthrow the state violently). This is a foreword to the book by Helen Joseph If This be Treason published 1963.

The treason trial must occupy a special place in South African History. That grim pre-dawn raid, deliberately calculated to strike terror into hesitant minds and impress upon the entire nation the determination of the governing clique to stifle all opposition, made one hundred and fifty-six of us, belonging to all the races of our land, into a group of accused facing one of the most serious charges in any legal system.

The dictatorial minority, which ruled South Africa, made a desperate gamble when it decided to indict [accuse a person formally by legal process] a large section of its opponents for treason. The reason and intention are obvious. In most parts of the world, law and order are still supposed to be the supreme good. Whatever is, is supposed to be right by some strange logic. The universal prevalence of this view shows to what extent humanity is still under the thrall[dom] [state of slavery] of mere habit. Innovators and initiators of progressive change are always suspect, and all the more to be dreaded and put out of the way if they are addicted to irresponsible violence, or, nowadays if they are merely suspected of keeping company with communism. Nationalist logic was naively simple, almost to the point of stupidity. They would convict us of being Communists, of not only having dark designs to overthrow the State, the established order, by violence, but of actually plotting the means to this end. They would also drive terror into would be opponents, showing them the high cost of opposition, in the way of disrupted families, insecurity, loss of employment and the host of difficulties which attend such lengthy trials. The treason trial would be notice to the whole world, especially to 'Communism-haunted' people of the Western world, that the minority white government of South Africa is indeed a bastion of Western Civilisation (whatever that may mean), and a foremost ally in the struggle against communism...
SOURCE 5B

This is a speech by AM Kathrada at a meeting of People’s Defence Committee held after arrests of leaders on charges of High Treason, December 1956. They are taken from the transcript of the treason trial, pages 7664 – 7668. Kathrada was himself subsequently arrested and was one of the accused in the trial.

Afrika! Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuye!

Mr Chairman and Friends,
I speak today not as an individual, not as Kathrada, I speak today on behalf of a minority of people in South Africa – on behalf of the Indian people who are also oppressed and enslaved like yourselves. Strijdom and his henchmen say that my people are foreigners in this country. I want to tell you something that perhaps you don’t know, and what Die Vaderland does not write about. Ninety percent of the Indian people of this country were born and bred in this country. I was born and bred in this country. I am not from India, but I will tell you who is a foreigner in this country. Dr H.F. Verwoerd is a foreigner; Dr. H.F. Verwoerd was born in Holland….

The people of South Africa have seen too much blood. Western civilisation has shown us the horrors of machine guns and of atomic bombs. Ever since Jan van Riebeeck came to this country we have seen nothing else but blood. We don’t want to spill our blood unnecessarily, and if in the past, as a result of provocation blood has been spilled, that provocation has not come from you people: all the blame rests at the door of Mr C.R. Swart. We have our peaceful meetings and I think we will get on very well without ugly brutes standing in uniform around us ….

We are not frightened of imprisonment because we read the newspapers. Swart and Dönges like to stop literature from coming into this country, but they will never stop the messages of freedom from coming in and we know what is happening. The message of freedom cannot be stopped. Nehru was in jail not for one year but for more than twelve years but he came out of jail to take his place as Prime Minister of India. And on this continent of Africa Dr Nkrumah was in jail. The struggle went on, and today he is Prime Minister of Gold Coast. We know that history teaches us that there are thousands and thousands of people who went through rigours, the rigours of prison life and came out ….

I want all of you to say after me: ‘Long Live Chief Luthuli! Down with Strijdom and Swart! Long live Freedom!’
SOURCE 5C

This is part of Nelson Mandela’s testimony at the 1956 Treason Trial. It is taken from the transcript of the court hearings.

**PROSECUTION**: Do you think that a process of gradual reforms could achieve your People’s Democracy? Suppose, as a result of pressure, the ruling class were to agree next month to a qualified franchise for the Africans, an educational test perhaps [not a stringent one] and next year, as a result of further pressure, a more important concession is made - a further concession is made in 1962, and so on over a period of ten or twenty years - do you think that the People’s Democracy could be achieved in that fashion?

**MANDELA**: Well, this is how I approach the question. I must explain at the outset that the Congress, as far as I know, has never sat down to discuss the question…. We demand universal adult franchise and we are prepared to exert economic pressure to attain our demands, and we will launch defiance campaigns, stay-at-homes, either singly or together, until the government should say, ‘Gentlemen, we cannot have this state of affairs, laws being defied, and this whole situation created by stay-at-homes. Let’s talk’. In my own view I would say yes let us talk and the government would say, ‘We think that the Europeans at present are not ready for a type of government where there might be domination by non-Europeans. We think we should give you 60 seats. The African population to elect 60 Africans to represent them in Parliament. We will leave the matter over five years and we will review it at the end of five years, in my view that will be a victory my lord … .
QUESTION 6: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994

6.1 WHAT EFFECT DID THE TRI-CAMERAL PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM HAVE ON THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA?

SOURCE 6A

When P.W. Botha became Prime Minister of South Africa in 1978, he began a process of constitutional reform.

**Extract 1: Extract from P.W. Botha’s speech to explain the reasons for the changes to the constitution:** From Apartheid, A History (1986) by Brian Lapping.

“We are moving in a changing world, we must adapt otherwise we shall die … . The moment you start oppressing people … they fight back … . We must acknowledge people’s rights and … make ourselves free by giving to others in a spirit of justice what we demand for ourselves…. A white monopoly of power is untenable (unjustified) in the Africa of today …. A meaningful division of power is needed between all race groups. Apartheid is a recipe for permanent conflict… ."

**Extract 2: National Party’s answers to some key questions on the new constitution:** From The Rand Daily Mail, 16 September 1983.

Question: Will ‘Coloureds’ and ‘Asians’ be on the same voter rolls as whites?
Answer: No. Each group will have its own voter roll.

Question: Are ‘Blacks’ included?
Answer: No. But they are included in the constitutional process and their development continues to progress along a different route

Question: What is ‘own’ affairs and what is ‘general affairs’?
Answer: ‘Own affairs pertain (refer) to those matters which each group considers to be important to the maintenance of its identity and cultural security, for example schools. ‘General affairs’ relate to matters of common interests such as financial matters.

**Extract 3: Rian Malan’s report on the changes in the new constitution:** From My Traitor’s Heart (1990).

… One of Botha’s first moves was to scrap the grand apartheid blueprint, which called for all blacks to be removed eventually from ‘white’ South Africa. He recognised blacks as permanent residents of white cities and granted them the right to own houses and property in townships. He rescinded [got rid of] some of the more odious (hateful) apartheid laws… and allowed hostile trade unions to organise openly… hoping to create a black middle class as a bulwark against revolution … .
SOURCE 6B

The new constitution that was proposed by PW Botha in 1983 was immediately rejected by most democratic organisations like the UDF. A number of them joined forces to resist it by urging voters not to register and vote in the elections, using pamphlets and demonstrations.

This a photograph of a protest march against the Tri-cameral parliament, 1983.

Township residents are dissuaded (discouraged) from voting for the state's undemocratic community council structures (1983).
SOURCE 6C

This is an extract from a Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) pamphlet, *What do the sell-outs say?* used to gain support against the Tri-cameral system.

Sell-outs: 'It is time for negotiation. The Nationalists are changing and we must make sure that change is in the right direction.'
FOSATU: Where is the real change? The fact is that racism is still the law of the land -- we still have the Group Areas, Influx Control, the Immorality Act and the Internal Security Act, amongst others. Poverty, unemployment and inflation remain as bad as ever. What will these people negotiate? Can a fly caught in the spider's web negotiate with the spider?
Sell-outs: 'Once we are inside the system we will use this to negotiate for the African people.'

SOURCE 6D

This is an extract from a newspaper *Mayibuye* (1985) reflecting on the effects of the Tri-cameral Parliament on South Africa.

| The racist Tri-cameral Parliament Must go! |

It is now twenty months since the Tri-cameral parliament was imposed on us despite our overwhelming rejection of this racist parliament, demonstrated in August 1984. In its early days, we instituted vigorous activity to make the participation of the traitors difficult. So intense were our struggles that they fuelled other struggles against apartheid rule such as the community councils. The anti-councils struggles that erupted in the Vaal Triangle and soon engulfed nearly the whole country are an example.

Yet, today, the traitors participating in this racist structure seem to be acting with impunity [without consequences] and even loudly calling on the racists to end the uprisings in the country through a mighty show of force. This means, that they have not been touched by our people dying in the streets, as the fascists unleash their military might on us. They are even more firmly entrenched on the enemy's side. They went into this parliament with miserably low support. Yet even their few misguided supporters must now realise that there can be nothing achieved through participation in the white parliament, whatever form of participation. How pitiful was their token struggle to be allowed to eat with their masters when apartheid rule continues to drive hundreds of thousands of 'Coloureds' and Indians deeper into poverty and squalor [misery] ....

... It is imperative that the democratic organisations that were set up to oppose the Tri-cameral parliamentary elections take up this struggle with renewed determination to see the Botha regime's 'reform-dream' shattered once and for all...

Our ability to organise against these traitors was able demonstrated during the anti-election campaign in 1984. History calls on us to once more rise to the occasion and destroy the racist Tri-cameral parliament ...
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Extracts and visual sources used in this addendum were taken from the following publications:

ANC (n.d.) What Can I Do? – A Guide to Action Against Apartheid ([Amsterdam]: World Assembly of Youth)
Berry, A. 1989 Act by Act – 40 Years of Nationalist Rule in South Africa (Johannesburg: Lowry)
Bottaro, J and P. Visser 1999 In Search of History Grade 12 (Cape Town: Oxford University Press)
Callinicos, L. 1993 A Place in the City – The Rand on the Eve of Apartheid, (Cape Town: Ravan & Maskew Miller Longman)
Cronin, J (et al) 1986 30 Years of the Freedom Charter (Johannesburg: Ravan)
Frederikse, J. 1987 South Africa – A Different Kind of War (London: James Currey)
Graves, F.E and E. Viglieno 2001 History for Today Grade 12 (Landsdowne: Juta Gariep)
Institute for Justice and Reconciliation 2004 Turning Points in History Series Books 4 – 6 (Johannesburg: STE Publishers)
Joyce, P. 1990 The Rise and Fall of Apartheid (Cape Town: Struik)
Mermelstein, D. 1987 The Anti-Apartheid Reader (New York: Grove)
Ministry of Education 2004 Every step of the way: The journey to freedom in South Africa (Cape Town: HSRC Press)
Nasson, B. (ed) 2004 Turning Points in History (Johannesburg: STE Publishers)
New Nation publication (April 16 – April 22 1993).
Nuttal, T. et al From Apartheid to Democracy (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter)
O'Donoghue, C. June 16, 1976: The Day that Shaped a Nation (Marie Claire, June 1998)
Pampallis, J. 1997 Foundations of the New South Africa (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman)
Pape, J. et al 1998 Making History Standard 10 Grade 12 (Johannesburg: Heinemann)
Pike, H.R. 1985 A History of Communism in South Africa (Pretoria; Sigma)
Roberts, M. 1993 A History of South Africa (Essex: Longman)
Seleti, Y. (series ed.) Looking into the Past Grade 12 (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman)
Suttner Raymond (n.d.) The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties (Paper delivered at the University of Cape Town)