The State, Sharpeville Massacre and Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa: An Historiographic Overview

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ABSTRACT: Racial discrimination in South Africa, used as a camouflage, constantly and ostensibly appeared and presented as a central focus while the primary contradictions were used under the canopy of secondary ones in the ownership, control and utilization of the benefits of the means and relations of production. These were used and manipulated under the umbrella of apartheid rhetoric in order to violate the dignity of Blackman. The Sharpeville massacre of 1960, as a by-product of agglomeration of protests against the corrosive apartheid regime, constituted a central event in the South Africa history that upturned and continued to weaken apartheid. When the peaceful protest turned violent, killing Africans who were demonstrating against racist policies, the tragic episode marked a watershed in the anti-apartheid movement. The Sharpeville massacre, therefore, marked a turning point and shifted from a non-violent resistance to an increased and intense militancy to armed struggle. This also galvanized global solidarity with anti-apartheid movement, provoked the process of the dismantling of apartheid and paving a path to a democratic politics in South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

On March 21, 1960, the South African police, in Sharpeville, a town near Vereening (in the Transvaal) and Langa (in the Cape) barbarically massacred unarmed Africans who were peacefully demonstrating against one of the obnoxious clauses of the racist regime. Both the African National Congress (ANC) and its breakaway splinter group, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), demonstrated against the Pass Laws. They demonstrated against the Pass book by converging at the Sharpeville police station, singing and offering themselves up for arrest for refusing to carry Pass books. These incidences of black massacres in South Africa generated international condemnations. Since then, however, many organizations in many countries have set aside 21 March every year to commemorate the day in forms of seminars/symposia with a view to reflecting the problems and prospects of unity government in South Africa. These are further designed in cognizance of the structure of state activity in South Africa as well as the fallacies and hypocrisies in international Law and its enforcement. Invariably, there are more problems than prospects of a 'unity' government in South Africa. It is also to assess how the nature of the repressive state in South Africa, within the context of anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, would overtime turn or transform the structure of the racist regime.

The Political Economy of Apartheid and South African State

The white minority that pursued the apartheid policy in South Africa were lured into the territory by the presence of gold, diamond and other resources. Unlike most of African states, South Africa occupies a central and advanced position in the growth and development of orthodox capitalism as well as the circulation of International Capital on the continent. Apparently, South Africa possesses all the symbolism of modern and advanced economy, especially when perceived from its misleading Gross Domestic product, Per Capital income, and industrial output, production of steel and manufacture of other sophisticated machines (Wilmot, 1979:1). All these indices on the surface, compare very favourably with the advanced capitalist world. South Africa, therefore, represents or reflects the totality of International Capitalism characterized by super-exploitation of cheap, oppressed and migrant labor. This in addition had enhanced the creation of labor reservoirs and divorcing the peasants from their land and thus subsuming the entire system of production into the essential elements of primitive accumulation.

This class of the white ruling minority owned resources and controlled the dominant classes in their transitions into the ruling class. As the central policy of South Africa was apartheid, the state represented an embodiment of high repression and oppression. The state equally exercised absolute totalitarian power with a view to brutalizing and terrorizing the impoverished

dominated classes. Class interest aggrandizements, therefore, began to be nurtured under the canopy of the apartheid state; from its evolution to the performance and perfection of its primary role. What the class intended to achieve predominantly depended on the state support, sanctions and power as well as how it was capable to influence the appropriate allocation of the state coercive instrument. It was therefore for this overwhelming state power that the racists competed to control the vital resources exclusively for themselves which created a chain of social tension and conflicts resulting in confrontational struggles in social, political and economic contestations.

Since there was an emphasis on the race issues in South Africa, the realm of our scholarship on apartheid as accrued has provoked the need to dismantle this emphasis with a view to understanding the issues and problems of South African politics and economy vis-à-vis the entire world capitalist system. At this juncture, it should be stated that the crux of South African issue was not fundamentally a question of race. The race issue constantly and ostensibly appeared to be presented as a central focus of attention whereas the primary contradiction was being camouflaged under the secondary one. In other words, the ownership, control and utilization of the benefits of the means and relations of production were being manipulated under the umbrella of apartheid rhetorics. Hence, the grand design to establish a capitalist state on African continent exclusively for the whites had, over time, been put under experiment with its accompanying accomplishments.

The violations of the dignity of blackman by Europeans on the South African sub continent began since three centuries ago. This was when the Dutch settlers, the Boers, forcefully seized African land, livestock etc from Africans and subsequently used Africans as slaves. In 1806, the British imperial government took the control of the Cape colony from the Boers and by 1902 the European population in South Africa had accomplished the dramatic theft of over three quarters of all the land and resources available. However, in 1910 the British imperial government declared South Africa 'Independent' under Europeans and equally recognized the racist regime. This attempt was designed with a view to subsuming, integrating and coordinating the South African economy within the circuit of imperialism and capitalism as well as the western desire to dominate the entire African continent from the Cape to Cairo with South Africa serving as the base. It should be remembered that the British imperial government had established, among other things, a railing support infrastructure from Cape Town to Cairo all in the attempt to have an upper hand in the control and conduct of affairs of the entire African Continent.

By the beginning of 1800, South Africa had witnessed and entered a new stage in its history. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that before the mineral revolution, almost everybody, irrespective of colour, was completely dependent on land for the means of sustenance. This was because the dominant way of life was based on large scale grazing. On the eve of the mineral revolution (1860s to 1880s) a fundamental change, (more revolutionary than the Mfecane and more influential than the great trek of the white colonialists) had recurred in the entire Southern African history. Trekking was not a new thing in Southern Africa. When the Dutch arrived at the Cape, they became pastoralists and hunters by transforming their lives closer to the inhabitants. The Great Trek led to, inter alia, the intensification of Boer nationalism and individualism, forceful slave labour of Africans by the Boers after the Africans had been pushed to the overcrowded and infertile land and the gradual drawing of the imperial Britain into the affairs of the entire South Africa. Hence, without the revolution, the powerful racist state could not have been established and developed (Denoon, 1974:55-65).

It should be emphasized and noted that the motive force behind the white penetration into the hinterland was provoked and accelerated by the benefits occurring from diamonds found there. Since economic control was not enough, due to the non-intrinsic value of diamond, it was necessary to ensure that the sources of supply were controlled and restricted so as to avoid fierce competition, maintain its scarcity and expensiveness. Hence, white miners replaced the coloured and African claim-holders as monopolistic companies took absolute control and were in a position, because of their alliances with the regimes, to ensure a docile African labour force. De Beer Company was, for instance, one of the monopolistic companies, (Denoon, 1974:67-73). From the beginning of industrial set up, the gradual collapse of African power and initiative had assumed greater proportions while the strengthening of white communities in the politico-economic realm had been significantly enhanced. Thus, by the end of the 18th century, Africans had lost grips of their political economic control and situation.

Overtime, the white interests in South Africa had become more consolidated and, therefore, their politico-economic unity and regroupings were equally more solidified. But notwithstanding the battles and squabbles between Africans and the white communities over resources, there were, at the same time, a wide range of agreements between them. Among the agreements reached was that Africans must not be allowed to carry any arms or given any rights. There was also the need for a partnership to exist between the controllers of the state machinery and the controllers of the means of production as a preparatory stage for a state monopoly capitalism. However, the unification of the four colonies (Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State) was imperative as a condition for the amalgamation of the Neo-fascist Afrikaner political parties.

This political unification was designed to achieve political cohesion and hegemony, which the various fractions of the new South African bourgeoisies could not realize or achieve on their own independently. This attempt was crucial so that the South African State could ensure capital accumulation, regulate class antagonism as well as sustain and stabilize the resisted social order. A central theme in the South African race relations had been the struggle for possession and use of the land. To be landless was to possess no ability to produce wealth or sustain life independently until after the mineral revolution in the 1860s. During the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a tremendous industrial growth in South Africa but that did not correspondingly make majority of South Africans economically endowed and to be dependent on agricultural products for the most part of their incomes.

The state of South Africa is an embodiment of a stratified society divided into hostile, antagonistic classes with inherent class conflicts and class struggles. The evolution of the state was purposely designed to defend a class exploitation and maintain a class domination. Since the means of production exist in private ownership and control, the state coercive instruments are for the protection of private property. Therefore, the owners and controllers of the means of production have continued to increasingly use state power to regulate wages, extract surplus value by lengthening the working day through keeping the African labourer in perpetual dependence and bondage.

Since the South African State is a product of the forceful creation of a class of wage-labourer, it has been characterized by bloody legislations employing the fascist police actions to brutalize Africans and assist in the acceleration of capital accumulation through the expropriation of surplus value and intensive labour exploitation. It should be realized that the entire South African economy has been fully integrated into a world-wide capitalist economic system. Vast majority of the people mainly live within a cash economy without land to rely on to supplement the cash income. This further constitutes serious problems to a just and democratic government.

The racial conflicts in South African were acute and steadily growing day by day. The political reform, notwithstanding, had not altered the basic and primary ideology of the apartheid regime. It should be noted that President Fredrick de Klerk declared that his government would carry out piece-meal reforms on apartheid. These reforms were only populist and ostensible without serious commitment to dismantle the system. (African Concord, 1989: 21-22). There are no fundamental and radical political system that tempered with the structure of apartheid policy. Hence, the change was only reformist in nature and constituted great impediments to unity government in South Africa. Even the bourgeois ideas of democracy, universal suffrage, parliament, elections etc. were only populist and presented in disguise, they did not fundamentally alter the primary character of the state. All these have emerged under the dictates of the ruling class for the domination of other classes, which adequately guarantees the interest of capital and its accumulation.

Interracial conflicts between the various black organizations, tribes etc. (Zulus and Xhosa for example), aided and abated by the neo-fascist Afrikaner, were serious drawbacks in the realization of a unity government. For example, there were more than 24 blacks who were killed in the 1991 instigated by tribal war in South Africa (New Nigerian Newspaper 1991). Unity government was further a mirage, frustrated and thwarted by imperialist interests within the framework of the protection of foreign capital and investments. This is so because capitalism is racism in all its manifestations and ramifications. It is, therefore, dictated by the policy of inequitable distribution of power and resources among people with all forms of repressions in order to enhance and sustain the maintenance of the status quo.

To the racist capitalists, freedom and unity for Africans at any conjuncture would spell doom. Hence, black freedom and unity were constantly perceived by the racist regime as treasonable and employed all fascist efforts to suppress any liberation organizations and struggles. But these corrosive influences of the racist regime were greatly frustrated by the ANC and other freedom fighters. Their struggles have been based on no retreat, no surrender policy, fierce, decisive and consistent fighting. Black struggles corrosively weakened government plans and strategic interests. These strategically mobilized the people, fashioned new alliances and unity, stimulated and inspired radical vision. All these were designed to achieve objectives, and unite the unbreakable ties of solidarity, commitments and thus produce a chain of revolutionary transformations of South Africa. These developments, not only in South Africa, but also all over the world, tilted the psyche of the racist regime and its mentors, the Western Europe and U.S.A, to start reading the writing on the wall.

Sharpeville Massacre: The ANC and the Challenge of Apartheid
The Sharpeville incidence was essentially a by-product of agglomerations of protests against the corrosive racist regime. It should be noted that Africans, during the apartheid era, were practically debarred from moving freely into the urban areas. They had to pay rent or provide cheap labour in order to remain in the 'white areas only'. Since Africans were hired on short contracts, they were rarely permitted to bring their families there. The Africans, however, must at all times carry passport or identity cards. Thus, it was a criminal offence for the blacks to be in the prohibited areas if they were not employed. It was also a crime not to be in possession of passport and if found without them, they were immediately 'deported' to their homelands. It should be noted that Africans had been systematically stripped of their citizenship and made foreigners in their birthplace. Once employed, however, Africans had no right to quit their jobs.

Africans constituted over 80% of the population but occupied only 13% of the land popularly called the 'African Homelands. (Heinecke, 1980:177-180). These lands are extremely crowded, barren and predominantly characterized by draught and soil erosion. They were, however, scattered in different enclaves separated from each other. Hence, the Bantustan policy (rejected by all African people) was a criminal attempt designed to divide and dispossess Africans of their land and resources with a view to achieving perpetual Africans subordination, intensive exploitation and systematic destruction of national unity by creating the

tribal satellite states. With all these developments, there arose consolidated black consciousness and movements in a new wave to clamp down the racist clandestine activities. The ANC finally decided to start anti-pass campaigns and demonstrations in March 1960. The date coincided with the UN declaration as a year for African. PAC also resolved to demonstrate on 21st March 1960. Pass demonstrations and campaigns were selected and resolved because of their political nature that led to spontaneous protests, expressing disgust for the inferior status attached to passes and the restrictions on the rights, liberty and powers of Africans.

On March 21st, 1960 Africans moved peacefully to the police station to surrender their passes or to publicly burn them. Their vision was inspired by the struggles, which unite them in unbreakable ties of solidarity to dismantle apartheid. Rallies were successfully mounted while tension began to rise all over the country. In reaction to this popular struggle the police forcefully dispersed the gathering by firing upon them even at the backs of those fleeing; murdering over 80 and injuring about 350 demonstrators with no police causalities. The government blamed the Africans Congresses for the incidence and were immediately banned and hundreds of black political leaderships detained by the racist regime. Africans were carried back to work sequel to the ANC's one-day-stay at home mourning and protest.

Due to the apartheid policy, there was a clear African failure to achieve comparable working conditions and standards of living as empirically evidenced by the overwhelming successes of the white workers in South Africa. Our understanding has tended to explain these successes and failures on an entirely political power of the state. This is because in almost all the labour struggles (in diamond, gold and coal mining areas etc.) African or black workers tried but failed in their industrial strikes (African Communist, 1980:32). This is logical in the sense that these industrial establishments were all based on the ideology of apartheid, which dictated the policy of inequality between races in every sphere of life. Furthermore, African workers were not permitted by the racist laws to form or belong to any trade unions. Consequently, the African labour force had no option other than to withdraw its labour and discourage other labours from accepting similar employment by organizing rebellions against the racist authority. The other option left was to violently go against the entire racist practices, through armed struggles.

Between 1910 and 1948 there was an increasing white power and supremacy, over and above all other African and coloured communities. This brought about a huge consolidation of white positions within the privileged class; backed by both government apparatuses and policies as well as external support forces. In 1910, for example, the union of South Africa had to be heavily dependent on external military power for the survival of its vested interests and absolute control. In 1905 and 1906 the government was compelled to invite imperial troops to suppress internal revolts. However, even after the creation of union in 1910, the white community had not secured a permanent solution to possible challenges of black organizations. This is because in 1913, the government was forced to call in the British imperial troops to deal with an unprecedented strike in the mines. These cumulative events subsequently led to the promulgation of the Union Defense Force to deal with all the opponents of the racist government.

It should be emphasized that from the establishment of the union government in 1910 to the Nationalist government in 1948, the foundations of a totalitarian government in South Africa had been laid down. This simultaneously made the communities to increasingly arm themselves so as to become militarily safe and ready to contain any African rebellions and protests. Since 1948 however, when the Nationalist Government occupied the political fora, its actions were to transform the existing institutions and ideas into their extreme conclusions. It is against these repressive and exploitation nature of South Africa regimes, coupled with other developments, that transformed the African National Congress and other similar organizations to be more cohesive, militant, assertive and unequivocal in their struggles against Pretoria and external forces.

During the 1940s, the African National Congress was still undergoing major structural and mechanical changes. These changes were imminent in view of the serous threats facing the African Community. Among these changes was the recruitment of younger and more militant members into the middle-aged organization. Initially the younger members faced serious problems within the organization, particularly on how to properly fit themselves within the scheme of things. These younger men include Walter Sisulu, Oliva Tambo, and Nelson Mandela etc. who later occupied the prominent positions in the organization.

Since the youth initially faced serious problems within the organization, particularly on how to fit themselves, they had to provide for themselves a platform with which to express their objectives or ideas and for dialogue within the entire members and amongst themselves. Consequently, they formed the youth wing of the ANC, which served as a power-base and a forum for recruiting young, and militant men into the ANC. In 1949 the youth wing drafted a programme of Action which became very popular and subsequently adopted by the ANC, these in principle committed the ANC to be more determined and consistent in the struggles to dismantle the apartheid. Hence, since 1949, the transfer of power in the ANC from the old to the young and militant members had logically begun.

This period was also characterized by a number of interracial cooperation and campaigns with concerted revolts against the racist regime. It equally marked a period of mass campaigns, mass recruitment as well as mass support for the ANC. These developments provoked race riots, which broke out in a number of areas. The riots invariably provided suitable avenues for the racist regime to impose severe penalties on the ANC. Hence, the criminal Law Amendment Act was rushed through the parliament, giving the government the dictatorial power to imprison any individual found to be 'breaking' the trivial regulations. In a further attempt to limit the influence and power of the ANC, the government established more Acts and often engaged in

clandestine activities against individual leaders either in dismissing or banning them under the guise of the suppression of communism Act.

In the mid 1950s, the ANC and other freedom fighting organizations were engaged or involved in intensive and extensive building of inter-racial alliances against the racist regime. This alliance building pursued by the ANC was highly tactical and political. A formal alliance, therefore, began to emerge between the ANC and the predominantly white liberal party, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Coloured People's Organization. In 1955, the congresses adopted a freedom charter proposing to pursue equal rights for all citizens with in a socialist economic policy. The racist government's quick response was very bitter and decided to act decisively and swiftly by arresting many leading opponents. This action cut across all races and political organizations, and charged them under the high treason offences. The Treason Trial was basically designed to rupture and disrupt the leadership alliances and agreements entered between the ANC and other congresses with a view to paralyzing the congresses on the imminent campaigns of mass mobilization. The four-year period which the trial lasted had seriously incapacitated the African political leadership to maneuver and devote time and energy to its political activities. These had consequently led to the hitherto existing dynamism and momentum of the alliance gradually to melt away.

The late 1950s, therefore, witnessed a gradual decline in power and influence of the ANC leadership. Mass coordinated actions did not yield the sufficient widespread support and mobilization. However, the locally initiated actions, which occurred during that period, did not register the anticipated nation-wide mobilization of large number of people largely because of the partial paralysis of the ANC. But when the government began to implement the Bantu education policy, through taking over the mission schools and imposing the type of education which it designed for the African, the ANC attempted to organize a boycott of the schools and the then objected to the idea of separate universities for races. Even in the University established for Blacks and other Coloured categories, only the third-rated lecturers and drop-outs were employed to teach with outdated and rudimentary materials. At the same time, however, there were a number of protests, which went on without the ANC support, which suggested that the initiative of action against the racist regime was transferred to the local groups. For example, in 1956 when the African women were included in the operation of pass legislation, demonstrations by women were spontaneous all over the country. In 1957, the residents of Alexandra protested against the increased bus fares, boycotted bus service and walked to work. It was also in 1958 that an impeccable break of the ANC came into existence with the establishment of the Pan-African Congress (PAC). But despite all the riots, violent protests, attempted boycott of schools and work, the government seemed capable of bringing the pressures down by tactfully and successfully isolating the Africa leadership through Treason Trials. These tactics successfully prevented, for the time being, mass movements becoming concerted, effective and out of control.

The Economic Structure of the White Settler State

The white settler colonialism in South Africa had similar motives that were common in other settler colonialism in other parts of Africa, such as in Algeria, Angola, Kenya and Zimbabwe. The forces and motives of the economic and political trends of the white settler state were for the exploitation of raw materials by the foreign capitalist firms. This was in order to build or establish a separate or different but sustainable local capitalism for the settlers. There are numerous social, cultural, political and economic consequences or implications for the strategy adopted in the implementation of policies and tactics of white seller colonialism in South Africa (Veracini, 2020, 2015). The pioneering groups that occupied South Africa since the 1890s were lured and granted lands with amorphous chunks of fertile and settled land.

Hence, a large piece of land was brought under white control and possession. This invariably meant that a large segment of Africans was forcefully dispossessed of their lands and thus rendered them as tenants, landless or even homeless. Since the best and richest agricultural lands were under the control of the few whites, the Africans were systematically pauperized. The bulk of African population was thus left with barren and less fertile lands. All such acquired lands were strategically linked with railway and major roads for easy repatriation of products. Since land expropriation in South Africa meant that the forceful deprivation of the peasant Africans of the means of subsistence, with the employment of all the crude forms of primitive accumulation, the consequences on the state's political economy were highly deep, wide and intense.

It should be noted that the white settler colonialism rapidly came into existence sequel to the European expansionism into the other parts of globe since the fifteenth century. Such settler-colonialized states were declared sovereign by the migrant white settlers and thus considered the colonized territories or states as their homes. They invariably exploited the richest land and claimed ownership and control of all prime natural resources. In addition, they introduced social segregation or racial superiority. Hence, settler colonialism, based on exogenous domination, was a cardinal principle of the European imperial plunder between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This principle advocated and advanced the practical replacement of the original population of the colonized states with a new set of settlers through the imposition of imperial power.

Invariably, this form of settler colonialism usually emerged and imposed by means of violent depopulation of the inhabitants. With racial superiority against the inhabitants, the settler colonial authority granted the settlers absolute social movements and physical rights over and above the colonized inhabitants with greater legitimacy. The arrival of Europeans in South Africa in 1652 ignited the commencement of settler colonialism in the country. The role of the Dutch East Indian Company set up at the Cape

was profound during the mid-seventeenth century. Policies that accompanied the white settler colonialism were also profound with regard to the founding farms and plantations as well as the imposition of extortionary taxes which created social tensions and upheavals in the rural economy.

However, the systematic process of proletarianization of the economy was further set in motion. This meant that there was the need to enact relevant laws in order to enhance the and needed enforcement towards bringing into force the crucial labour necessary for the exploitation of mines and for the established factories to be productive. Complementary to this was the need to employ and enforce a regime of taxation, detention and curtailing of violence in the forceful recruitment of the workers towards the establishment of the colonial and settler state. Such coercive forces were essential ingredients in the maintenance and sustenance of the Apartheid State. Hence, with the super abundant supply of labour, there emerged low wages, to keep Africans minimally survive, in order to enhance the maximum profit and further colonial exploitation. Such a construction of the white African capitalism was characterized by its preponderant control and sustenance of the Settler State (Veracine, 2015:7).

This phenomenon is South African was indeed similar to what happened in Australia and North America where the Aboriginal population and Red Indians (native Americans) were respectively extincted and violently displaced by the European imperialists and colonialists. These imperial conquests had significantly brought about violent and traumatic loss of lives, cultural suppression, land and resources to the invading Europeans. Hence, the population and ways of life of the natives in Australia and North America were severely destroyed and destroyed by the acts of imperialism and settler colonialism. These were realized, among others, through the importation of diseases, forceful removal and deaths of the native population by the instrumentality military subjugation or invasion. These inevitably brought about the less of cultural heritage, native land and resources as the local population confined to small, infertile lands with limited access to resources, economic opportunities and basic services.

Settler colonialism, as a distinct form of conventional colonialism that sought for the replacement of the local inhabitants with an invasive settler society, had overtime developed a clear and unique identity and distinctive sovereignty. The settler colonial theories have served as important landmarks in understanding the casual factors of conflicts in states by tracing the colonial legacies and histories of states engaged in the colonial settler state adventure. Hence, settler colonialism can be clearly distinguished from other forms of colonialism by a number of key features. These distinguishing forms of colonialism were;

1. Settler colonialism was objectively established for the migrants to permanently come to stay. Unlike the conventional forms of colonialism, the colonial agents such as traders, explorers, soldiers, governors and settler colonizers actually and forcefully occupied territories/States and asserted their overlordship against the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants.

2. Settler colonialism initially sought to establish a new and permanent home for the immigrants. This is with a drive not only to eliminate challenges by the claim indigenous people's claim to land and other resources but at the same time completely destroy such people by asserting racial narratives and false settler structures and ideology. This was largely contrary to the conventional types of colonialism designed to maintain colonial structures and imbalance of power between the colonizers and colonized.

3. Settler colonialism, hinged on outright invasion with a firm structure, not on fluid events, was basically established under the continuous elimination of the indigenous populations and assertion of state control overland over land and sovereignty (Veracini, 2010, 2015, Baker, 2012).

Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in South Africa

Anti-Apartheid movements (AAM) for South Africa were launched on two complementary platforms. These consisted of the external and internal resistance movements against apartheid. The external resistance movement was initially commenced and known as the boycott movement. In essence, the AAM was actually a British formed organisation centred on international movement opposed to the South African racist system. It primarily generated international support for the non-white population who were in segregated by the racial policies of apartheid regime in South Africa.

Hence, the strategy on the consumer boycott movement, opposing the apartheid South Africa, had attracted a sizeable number of supporters but with widespread complement support from student groups and trade unions as well as political parties in the United Kingdom, such as Labour and Liberal Parties. A number of activities by the movements was, therefore, launched towards the boycott action. However, within the external anti-apartheid movement, the Sharpeville massacre occurred in March 1960. This spontaneously further triggered off further intensification of action and expansion of anti-apartheid movement. This consequently led to the renaming of the movement to "AAM". Therefore, instead of being the movement being limited to consumer boycott commodities against the apartheid South Africa, the group launched and coordinated actions in all aspects of anti-apartheid. This was in order to ensure that the South Africa's apartheid policy was kept alive at the forefront of British politics. The objectives were to ensure that the apartheid policy crumbled based on the strategic action of the planned total isolation of the apartheid South Africa through all forms of economic, financial and political sanctions. The peaceful resistance earlier embarked by the ANC was transformed into armed struggle in order to actualize the set-out objectives.

Other concerted efforts embarked by the movement against the apartheid South Africa went outside the shores of the United Kingdom and knocked at the Commonwealth member states. The AAM scored its initial victory when the apartheid regime was

forced to leave the Commonwealth in 1961. All the newly independent Afro-Asian countries as well as Canada and India supported the expulsion of apartheid South Africa from the Commonwealth. In addition, further efforts by the AAM convinced the United National General Assembly to pass a resolution towards imposing trade boycott against South Africa in 1962. This also led to the United Nation Security Council to call for the partial arms ban against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

In addition to another agitation, the AAM made the case of sanctions as political and election issues in the UK during the 1964 general elections. Candidates for elective positions for all the parties were requested to openly express positions on economic other sanctions and other punitive measures to be imposed on South Africa. Because of the sensitivity of the issue, most candidates approved the need to impose sanctions on the South Africa in order to bring an end to racism in the country. Consequently, the Labour Party in Britain became victorious in the 1964 election after spending about one and a half decades in opposition. Furthermore, the AAM was also instrumental in initiating an academic boycott campaign against South Africa in 1965. University professors and lecturers from more than 30 British universities signed a declaration protesting against apartheid and all associated violations of academic freedom in the apartheid South Africa.

Due to further agitations by the AAM against the apartheid South Africa to the international Olympic committee, the racist South Africa was suspended for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. In 1970, however, the South African apartheid government was expelled from further participation in Olympics. Again, other economic sanctions imposed on South Africa, sequel to the intense AAM campaigns, made the UN General Assembly to pass additional resolutions by establishing the UN special committee against apartheid, which subsequently called all Nations to impose economic and other sanctions against South all Africa. Even though all the Western Nations refused to join the committee as members, the South African regime was gradually and seriously crippled which, however, strengthened the sprits and activities of the AAM. This further stimulated and facilitated the convening of the international conference on sanctions against the apartheid South Africa held in London in 1964. This conference was to work out the modalities and practicability of economic and other sanctions against the South Africa as well as understand the strategies on how to deal with further implications of the economies of the West and other South African allies.

Confronted with the failure to persuade the West to impose economic sanctions against the racist regime, the AAM formulated a strategy in 1966 by shifting towards championing an international campaign against apartheid South Africa under the auspices of the UN. The proposed strategy by the AAM was approved by the UN special committee on apartheid and subsequently by General Assembly. These include the isolation of the racist regime and its major trading partners, support for the liberation movements, promotion of public opinions with wide information on public actions against the apartheid regime. Others were the continuous pressures for effective sanctions and securing other measures which would be decided and resolved by majority vote in the UN general election.

The internal resistance to apartheid South Africa originated from several independent sectors to South African society. This took different forms and dimensions, ranging from social movements and passive resistance to guerrilla warfare. However, mass action against the ruling National party government, coupled with South Africa's growing international isolation, condemnation and economic sanctions, were instrumental that lead to state negotiations in ending of apartheid policy. This formally commenced in 1990 that produced the South Africa's first multiracial elections under a universal franchise in 1994 (Thomas, 1995:202-210).

It should be recalled that apartheid was adopted as a formal South Africa's government policy by the National Party (NP) following its victory in the 1948 general election (Ottoway, 1993:22-26). From early 1950s, the ANC initiated its Defiance Campaigns of passive Resistance. However, subsequent civil disobedience protests, targeted curfews, pass laws and petty apartheid segregations in public facilities. Some of the apartheid demonstrations resulted in widespread rioting in Port Elizabeth and East-London in 1952. But organised destruction of property was not deliberately employed until 1959 (Lodge, 2011:31-34). That year, anger over pass laws and environmental regulation, perceived as unjust by black farmers, resulted in a series of arsons that targeted sugarcane plantations (Lodge, 2011). The ANC, South African Communist Party remained resolute and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) remained resolute and preoccupied with organising students strikes and work boycotts between 1959 and 1960 (Lodge, 2011). Following the Sharpeville massacre, however, some AAMs, including ANC, PAC etc began to shift tactics from non-cooperation to the formation of armed resistance wings (Mortan, 2013:94-96).

Consequently, mass strikes and students demonstrations continued to feature into the 1970s. These were charged by the growing black unemployment anchored by the unpopularity of South Africa's Border wars and orchestrated by the newly assertive Black Consciousness Movement (Jacklyn and Laurie, 1989:135-136). Hence, the brutal suppression of the 1976 Soweto uprisings automatically radicalized a generation of black activists and greatly bolstered the strengths of the ANC's guerrilla warfare force (Ottoway, 1993:50-52). From 1976 to 1987, however, the guerrilla warfare force carried out a series of successful bomb attacks targeted and hit government facilities, transportation lines, power stations and other civil infrastructures. In retaliation by the South African military, the ANC safe houses were raided in the neighbouring States, such as Mozambique and Angola.

The South African National Party was consequently forced to make several attempts to reform the despicable apartheid system, beginning with the constitutional referendum of 1983. This led to the introduction of the tricameral parliament which allowed for some parliamentary representation of coloured and Indians. This, however, continued to deny political rights to black South Africans (Thomas, 1995:202-210). This resulted in further controversies and resistance which triggered in new waves of anti-

apartheid social movements. This also provoked other community groups' agitations that articulated and pressurized their interests through the national front of politics under the United Democratic Front (Thomas, 1995).

The ruling South African apartheid government instituted a serious and bitter discord among the resistant groups, in order to divide and rule. Such tensions and inharmonious dissensions made inter-factional rivalry among the ANC, the PAC and Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), the third militant Force in the resistance movement, to commence and intensity into fierce hostilities and sectarian violence. This was how each group maneuvered and jostled for position of leadership and influence (Michelle, 2008:194-196). The apartheid regime exploited the opportunity of misunderstanding and violence among the militant groups to declare a state of emergency in 1986 and subsequently arrested and detained its political opponents without trial.

Due to the intense external pressures and internal atmosphere of continuous political unrests and uncertainties in South Africa, the apartheid regime began to succumb and, therefore, started secret bilateral negotiations to terminate the obnoxious apartheid policy in 1987 (Thomas 1995:202-210). This led to the initial release of some top ANC officials from detention, such as Walter Susulu, Govan Mbeki etc. between 1987 and 1989. However, the ANC and PAC were formerly delisted as banned organisations; culminating in the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela from prison. In addition, apartheid laws were abrogated with the establishment of multi-party system that led to further negotiations that gave birth to the first multiracial general election held in April 1994. This produced the first black president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela.

CONCLUSION: The State, Anti-Apartheid Movement and Challenges since Mandela

The South African state and apartheid struggles have faced numerous issues, problems and challenges, in its journey to democratic practise, since the 1994 historical assertion of Nelson Mandela's presidency. The anti-apartheid movements have been led by key players/stakeholders and political party structures. Search key players included Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, etc through the dominance of the African National Congress (ANC) and other parties. The goal of the anti-apartheid activism and movements was to dismantle the fabric of the institutionalised racial ideology of segregation and oppression.

In essence, the need, and goal for the various social movements were, therefore, centred and concentrated on an organised labour rights and struggles, the provision of educational and healthcare access to all towards shaping the politics and society of the South African state and government. In addition, the civil organisations in South Africa, such as Human Rights Commission and other related institutions and campaigns organizations were designed and focused on vigorous provision and projection of human rights as well as other related social and economic issues.

The legacy of Nelson Mandela's leadership and governance in South Africa was centred on the crucial roles of the state towards national cohesion, reconciliation and national building in the post-apartheid era. Mandela and the ANC had also focused on the initial challenges faced in addressing economic inequality, promoting development and other institutional frameworks in attaining mutual coexistence, forgiveness and harmonious living condition. Another crucial legacy left by Mandela was at the international relation, fronts in various international organisations, states and institutions.

Challenges and controversies continued to erupt on and trial on many fronts from the state-actors and political party platforms of ruling party, the ANC. The ANC has, for example, faced serious allegations of corruption and cronyism along with the misuse of state resources for personal gains and indeed wasteful use. Another outstanding challenge of the state in democratic practice was the increasing state of economic inequality and social frustration despite the progress made since the dismantlement of the apartheid. South Africa remains one of the most unequal states in the world with significant disparities in wealth, education and healthcare. The stained labour disputes with the ANC was largely due to the state/party's nonchalant attitude towards workers' rights and plights. This challenge forced the labour organisations in South Africa to withdraw their support from the government.

Other challenges to democratic practice in South Africa centred on a significant political development of *state capture* under the presidency of Jacob Zuma. This was the era in South Africa where corruption had become highly endemic which systematically networked the fabric of South African politics, economic and societal settings. This phenomenon had drastically undermined South Africa's reputation through the weakened institutions which destroyed people's hopes, trusts and expectations along with the erosion of international trust since the end of apartheid.

With persistent allegations of corruption, cronyism and other forms of abuse of power, the democratic practice has come under threats with continued inequality and significant disparities amongst the hitherto segregated population. All these events centre within and in terms of wealth, education, healthcare and other forms of social, political and economic well-being of the teaming South Africa black population. Indeed, the institutional social and economic challenges with regard to executive and legislature relations, the judicial accountability/responsibility and the absolute dominance of the ANC in South Africa affairs had become uncomfortable for the expected democratic practice to thrive with satisfaction. These have expressed the negative and unacceptable levels with persistent unemployment and rise in poverty. Attached to these issues, are the poor or lack of access to services, such as water, electricity and sanitation while the legacies of apathy continue to linger with racial and socio-economic inequality clearly unaddressed due to the ongoing disparities.

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