

# THE CROSSING OF THE RUBICON: SOUTH AFRICA'S POST-APARTHEID POLITICAL PROCESS 1990-1992

*James Hamill\**

## Introduction

From 26-29 April 1994, South Africans of all races finally voted together in a free and truly general election some 342 years after Jan van Riebeck's first white settlements were established at the Cape of Good Hope and 46 years after the introduction by the National Party (NP) of the system of apartheid which had reduced the black population to a condition of economic, social and political subordination. The election also came four years on from the watershed speech of 2 February 1990 - an event of seismic proportions in South African political history - when the former State President, F.W. de Klerk, propelled the country along an entirely new course with his announcement of the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC); the removal of myriad restrictions on 33 internal opposition groupings; the impending release of all political prisoners; and the early repeal of the so-called 'pillars of apartheid', that is the 1950 Population Registration Act which classified people at birth according to race, and was therefore the cornerstone of the entire system, the 1966 Group Areas Act which designated separate residential areas for each racial group, and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 which had prohibited black land ownership beyond a collection of rural ghettos (that legislative process was duly completed before the end of the 1994 parliamentary session). Finally, and most crucially, there was a commitment to convene a multi-party negotiating forum which would shape the character of the post-apartheid political system.<sup>1</sup> This was a genuine crossing of the 'Rubicon' which, in both tone and content, provided a vivid contrast with P.W. Botha's ill-fated speech of that name in August 1985, the belligerence of which had deepened South Africa's international isolation and caused wholesale panic on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. De Klerk, however, had opened the way to a new constitutional dispensation - the speech conformed in almost every detail to that which was being asked of the government by the international community - although politically the country was now in uncharted waters and it was difficult to predict its final destination with any degree of certainty. Not surprisingly, therefore, the new South Africa had a difficult birth not least because the country's two largest political

\* The author would like to acknowledge the support of the Nuffield Foundation whose financial backing made possible two research trips to South Africa in August-September 1992 and in April-May 1994.

<sup>1</sup> President de Klerk's February 1990 speech is carried in full in Robert Schrire *Adapt or Die: The End of White Politics in South Africa* (London: Hurst & Co., 1991), pp. 160-73.

<sup>2</sup> *International Relations*, 1994.

# South Africa Crossing The Rubicon

**Terry Bell, Dumisa Buhle Ntsebeza**



## **South Africa Crossing The Rubicon:**

*South Africa* Guy Arnold, 1992      *The A to Z of Civil Wars in Africa* Guy Arnold, 2009-09-02 Ever since the end of World War II and even more so since 1960 when 17 African colonies became independent of colonial rule the African continent has been ravaged by a series of wars These wars have ranged from liberation struggles against former colonial powers to power struggles between different factions in the aftermath of independence They have ranged from border wars between newly independent states to civil wars between ethnic groups As with many conflicts outside forces were drawn into these wars and major powers outside the continent intervened on one side or the other for a variety of reasons political ideology Cold War considerations ethnic alignments and stemming the flow of violence Whether referring to Algeria s struggle for independence from French colonial rule Nigeria s internal struggles to achieve a balanced state after the British departure the Rwandan genocide of 1994 or the current ethnic cleansing in Darfur *The A to Z of Civil Wars in Africa* covers all of the wars that have occurred in Africa since independence This is done through a chronology broken down by country an introductory essay a bibliography and cross referenced dictionary entries covering the wars conflicts major political and military figures child soldiers mercenaries and blood diamonds      **The Pitfalls of Liberal Democracy and Late Nationalism in South Africa** M. Muiu, 2008-12-08 This book compares African and Afrikaner nationalisms to demonstrate that the transition from apartheid to liberal democracy in South Africa was a neo colonial settlement that left the economy and the military and security sectors under the control of the white minority while increasing wide socioeconomic disparities between rich and poor      *1993-1994* Brian Hunter, 2021-06-21 No detailed description available for 1993 1994      **1994-1995** Brian Hunter, 2021-06-21 No detailed description available for 1994 1995      *Is Apartheid Really Dead? Pan Africanist Working Class Cultural Critical Perspectives* Julian Kunnie, 2018-02-23 *Is Apartheid Really Dead Pan Africanist Working Class Cultural Critical Perspectives* is an engaging and incisive book that radically challenges the widespread view that post apartheid society is a liberated society specifically for the Black working class and rural peasant populations Julian Kunnie s central contention in this book is that the post apartheid government was the product of a serious compromise between the former ruling white led Nationalist Party and the African National Congress resulting in a continuation of the erstwhile system of monopoly capitalism and racial privilege albeit revised by the presence of a burgeoning Black political and economic elite The result of this historic compromise is the persistent subjugation and impoverishment of the Black working class by the designs of global capital as under apartheid this time managed by a Black elite in collaboration with the powerful white capitalist establishment in South Africa *Is Apartheid Really Dead* engages in a comprehensive analysis of the South African conflict and the negotiated settlement of apartheid rule and explores solutions to the problematic of continued Black oppression and exploitation Rooted in a Black Consciousness philosophical framework unlike most other works on post apartheid South Africa this book provides a carefully delineated history of the South African struggle from the pre colonial

era through the present What is additionally distinctive is the author's reference to and discussion of the Pan Africanist movement in the global struggle for Black liberation highlighting the aftermath of the 1945 Pan African meeting in Manchester The author analyzes the South African struggle within the context of Pan Africanism and the continent wide movement to rid Africa of colonialism's legacy highlighting the neo colonial character of much of Africa's post independence nations arguing that South Africa has followed similar patterns One of the attractive qualities of this book is that it discusses correctives to the perceived situation of neo colonialism in South Africa by delving into issues of gender oppression and the primacy of women's struggle working class exploitation and Black worker mobilization environmental despoliation and indigenous religious cultural responses and educational disenfranchisement and the need for radically new structures and policies in educational transformation Ultimately Is Apartheid Really Dead postulates revolutionary change as a solution undergirded with all of the aforementioned ingredients While anticipating and articulating a revolutionary socialist vision for post apartheid South Africa this book is tempered by a realistic appraisal of the dynamics of the global economy and the legacy of colonial oppression and capitalism in South Africa

**Overcoming the Oppressors** Robert I. Rotberg, 2023 How did Africans win their freedom in southern Africa And what did they do with their freedom in the several decades since each southern African country became free Overcoming the Oppressors discusses Black oppression succeeding white oppression indicates why and how corruption prevails in the region and explains why Botswana is exceptional in being non corrupt and well governed The present problems of each country are analyzed and we learn what their leaders are doing to uplift their peoples

*The A to Z of Civil Wars in Africa* Guy Arnold, 2009-09-02 The A to Z of Civil Wars in Africa covers all of the wars that have occurred in Africa since independence This is done through a chronology broken down by country an introductory essay a bibliography and cross referenced dictionary entries covering the wars conflicts maj

**Regionalization and Security in Southern Africa** N. Poku, 2001-02-02 Once torn by ideological conflicts and the dominance of command economies Southern Africa is now moving towards economic liberalism and openness In general the ascendancy of market economics is acknowledged by its governments albeit with different degrees of enthusiasm Theoretically rich and empirically engaging this timely book offers a critical insight into the ensuing debate on regionalism and the process of regionalization in southern Africa

**Keeping a Sharp Eye** Peter Vale, 2012-09 International relations are what a government does when nobody's looking While this may well once have been true the conduct of international relations in South Africa and elsewhere has come under increasing scrutiny by the public This is partially the result of specialist expertise around the formal study of international relations and the making of foreign policy enhanced by the development of International Relations as a separate academic field Like the growth of institutes of international affairs or the Council on Foreign Relations in the case of America the study of international relations commenced at the end of the First World War 1914-18 with the establishment at the University of Wales Aberystwyth of the first academic chair in International Relations It was called for Woodrow Wilson

America's twenty eighth president and funded by Welsh businessman and pacifist David Davis In South Africa the study of international relations commenced with the establishment of the South African Institute of International Affairs SAIIA which met for the first time in the Senate Chamber of the University of Cape Town on 12 May 1934 Until then International Relations had been taught in various guises within History Law Economics and Politics courses but it lacked a firm institutional base In South Africa International Relations was first taught as a separate academic discipline at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1963 although a professorship called for Jan Smuts was first filled in 1961 Long before this institutional setting however a more subversive and certainly more spicy variety of international relations understanding and critique was at work this was of course the sharp eye on foreign policy and international relations drawn in jest and sometimes in anger by cartoonists Their interest in international relations predates the emergence of the powerful critical perspectives that have changed and almost redirected the field since the ending of the Cold War This book is about how these other experts have looked at and commented on South Africa's relations with the world over the past century It examines their interpretations of unfolding events and considers how these commentators and their work interacted with the more formal understandings of foreign policy and international relations that came to pass long after cartoons first appeared A century of South Africa's engagement with the world is understandably a long and complex story Cartoons on the country were done years before the 1910 Act of Union as some well known cartoons of the Anglo Boer War suggest However by confining my choices to a hundred years of the South African state I have chosen firm bookends for the collection The choice of cartoons itself requires further clarification There is a rather worrying recent notion in South Africa that nothing that happened in the country before the historic election of 1994 matters In April 2009 at a conference I heard an academic colleague say that what happened in the 1930s was illegitimate and of no real relevance to the present This lack of interest in history is both short sighted and intellectually lazy South Africa's international relations today are determined as much by the cartoons drawn by Boonzaier in 1910 as they are by the cartoons drawn by Zapiro in 2010 I choose these two names not only because they conveniently cover almost the full range of the alphabet but because they run from the founding of the South African state in 1910 to the present Their names signal something else too I have only chosen drawings by cartoonists who worked in South Africa As will be clear many cartoonists were not South African born but brought the cartoonist's trade with them to this country As such they brought interpretations and understandings of the world that helped to shape South Africa's perspectives on international relations Most of the artists in this book

**Programming the User Interface** Harm J. De Blij, Peter O. Muller, 1991

**Security and Development in Southern Africa** Nana Poku, 2001-04-30 With the end of white dominated South Africa many observers have argued for a positive transformation of the whole of Southern Africa based upon market integration and increased cooperation among the states of the region Poku and the contributors to this collection re examine this optimistic scenario and they point to the problems of translating good intentions into actual

policies In reality the economic imbalance between South Africa and its neighbors poses severe problems for the region Far from finding a stronger ally in regional reconstruction and development the countries in the region are finding that for many in South Africa they simply do not matter that much The analysis points to greater polarization which may imply greater marginalization of the poorer countries in the region Moreover a major widening of the gap between the richer South Africa and some or all of the weaker economies may lead to increased tensions and breakdown of regional relations even to a situation detrimental to economic development in the region A provocative analysis by some of the leading politico economic thinkers of the region the volume will be of great use to scholars researchers and policy makers involved with Southern African development

**Access to History: South Africa, 1948-94: from apartheid state to 'rainbow nation' for Edexcel** Peter Clements, 2018-08-31 Exam Board Edexcel Level AS A level Subject History First teaching September 2015 First exams Summer 2016 AS Summer 2017 A level Give your students the best chance of success with this tried and tested series combining in depth analysis engaging narrative and accessibility Access to History is the most popular trusted and wide ranging series for A level History students This title Supports the content and assessment requirements of the 2015 A level History specifications Contains authoritative and engaging content Includes thought provoking key debates that examine the opposing views and approaches of historians Provides exam style questions and guidance for each relevant specification to help students understand how to apply what they have learnt This title is suitable for a variety of courses including Edexcel Option 2F 2 South Africa 1948 94 From apartheid state to rainbow nation

*Social Movements and Global Social Change* Robert K. Schaeffer, 2014-02-06 Social Movements and Global Social Change teaches students not only about how social change occurs but also how social movements can contribute to this change The book links two concepts in sociology that are often related in real life but that can seem disconnected in traditional approaches to teaching these courses The book examines different types of social movements including those often ignored in social change textbooks such as riots migration and disorganized protest It also looks at citizens rights and inequality in connection to social movements and change The book features global perspectives and examples throughout

The End of the Third World Guy Arnold, 2016-07-27 The end of the Cold War has changed all the parameters of our world and not least of these is the relationship between the rich developed North and the poor developing South Without the compulsions of the Cold War and the need for its two sides to seek allies in the South the Third World will now find itself increasingly marginalised by a West which only sees it as a series of depressed trading partners to be managed or ignored depending upon circumstances now completely beyond the South s control while the West itself appears to have lost both its purpose and its way as the former communist bloc disintegrates

*Historical Dictionary of South Africa* Christopher Saunders, Peter Limb, 2020-12-15 As the most influential and powerful country on the entire continent of Africa an understanding of South Africa s past and its present trends is crucial in appreciating where South Africans are going to and from where they have come South Africa

changed dramatically in 1994 when apartheid was dismantled and it became a democratic state Since 2000 when the previous edition appeared further big changes occurred with the rise of new political leaders and of a new black middle class There were also serious problems in governance in public health and the economy but with a remarkable popular resilience too This third edition of Historical Dictionary of South Africa contains a chronology an introduction and an extensive bibliography The dictionary section has more than 600 cross referenced entries on important personalities as well as aspects of the country's politics economy foreign relations religion and culture This book is an excellent resource for students researchers and anyone wanting to know more about South Africa

**Culture and Customs of South Africa** Funso Afolayan, 2004-04-30 South Africa can be considered the newest of African nations with the ending of Apartheid in 1994 It is one of the most ethnically culturally and linguistically varied countries on the continent and the economic powerhouse of southern Africa This inclusive overview is a must have for all readers wanting a meaty introduction to South Africa today in an historical context that pulls the strands of all South Africans from Zulu to Afrikaner to Indian together Some highlights from the myriad of topics covered include oral history multireligious traditions wood sculpture communal ties cone on cylinder housing changing roles of women conjugal arrangements and British and Boer influences This timely work expands our knowledge of South Africa beyond the headlines The European angle with the story behind the Boers the Afrikaners and Apartheid is made clear The African angle is the strongest with balanced insights into various traditions and ways of life A chronology glossary photos and map complement the narrative

**Unfinished Business** Terry Bell, Dumisa Buhle Ntsebeza, 2003 This book pulls back the curtain on the political miracle of the new South Africa

Country of My Skull Antjie Krog, 2007-12-18 Ever since Nelson Mandela dramatically walked out of prison in 1990 after twenty seven years behind bars South Africa has been undergoing a radical transformation In one of the most miraculous events of the century the oppressive system of apartheid was dismantled Repressive laws mandating separation of the races were thrown out The country which had been carved into a crazy quilt that reserved the most prosperous areas for whites and the most desolate and backward for blacks was reunited The dreaded and dangerous security force which for years had systematically tortured spied upon and harassed people of color and their white supporters was dismantled But how could this country one of spectacular beauty and promise come to terms with its ugly past How could its people whom the oppressive white government had pitted against one another live side by side as friends and neighbors To begin the healing process Nelson Mandela created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission headed by the renowned cleric Archbishop Desmond Tutu Established in 1995 the commission faced the awesome task of hearing the testimony of the victims of apartheid as well as the oppressors Amnesty was granted to those who offered a full confession of any crimes associated with apartheid Since the commission began its work it has been the central player in a drama that has riveted the country In this book Antjie Krog a South African journalist and poet who has covered the work of the commission recounts the drama the horrors the wrenching

personal stories of the victims and their families Through the testimonies of victims of abuse and violence from the appearance of Winnie Mandela to former South African president P W Botha s extraordinary courthouse press conference this award winning poet leads us on an amazing journey Country of My Skull captures the complexity of the Truth Commission s work The narrative is often traumatic vivid and provocative Krog s powerful prose lures the reader actively and inventively through a mosaic of insights impressions and secret themes This compelling tale is Antjie Krog s profound literary account of the mending of a country that was in colossal need of change     *Starring Mandela and Cosby* Ron Krabill,2010-09-15 During the worst years of apartheid the most popular show on television in South Africa among both Black and White South Africans was The Cosby Show Why did people living under a system built on the idea that Black people were inferior and threatening flock to a show that portrayed African Americans as comfortably mainstream Starring Mandela and Cosby takes up this paradox revealing the surprising impact of television on racial politics The South African government maintained a ban on television until 1976 and according to Ron Krabill they were right to be wary of its potential power The medium he contends created a shared space for communication in a deeply divided nation that seemed destined for civil war along racial lines At a time when it was illegal to publish images of Nelson Mandela Bill Cosby became the most recognizable Black man in the country and Krabill argues his presence in the living rooms of white South Africans helped lay the groundwork for Mandela s release and ascension to power Weaving together South Africa s political history and a social history of television Krabill challenges conventional understandings of globalization offering up new insights into the relationship between politics and the media

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