## Contents

Foreword	v
Preface	vii
LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS	xv

PART (	ONE
--------	-----

Introduction: Apartheid in South Africa and Beyond	
Precursors	2
The Ideology and Functioning of Apartheid	7
Defiance: Creating a Liberation Movement	11
Violence and Armed Struggle	12
Resistance and Repression: Students, Workers, Women, Clergy, and Conscripts	14
Living with Apartheid: Class, Race, and Gender	17
Ending Apartheid: Reforms and Negotiations	20

## PART TWO \_

\_\_\_\_

The Documents		25
1.	. Precursors	27
	1. Natives Land Act, 1913	27
	2. Sol T. Plaatje, Cruel Operation of the Natives Land Act, 1916	28
	3. South African Native National Congress, Resolution against the Natives Land Act, 1916	30

	4. Jan C. Smuts, The Racial and Moral Axioms, 1917	32
	5. Gerhardus Eloff, Segregation with Guardianship, 1942	34
2.	The Ideology and Functioning of Apartheid	36
	6. Sauer Commission, Apartheid, 1947	36
	7. History Comes to Life in the Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Celebrations, April 4, 1952	41
	8. Hendrik F. Verwoerd, <i>The White Man's Domain in the World</i> , May 31, 1966	43
	9. Apartheid Legislation, 1948–1959	45
	10. Ernest Cole, Apartheid Signage, 1967	50
	11. Gatsha Buthelezi, <i>The Zulu Nation and Separate Development</i> , June 11, 1970	52
	12. Meeting between Homeland Leaders and B. J. Vorster, January 22, 1975	54
3.	Defiance: Creating a Liberation Movement	60
	<ol> <li>African National Congress Youth League, Manifesto, 1948</li> </ol>	60
	14. People's Protest Day, April 6, 1952	64
	15. Demand for the Withdrawal of Passes for Women, 1956	66
	16. Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, ca. 1950s	67
	17. Congress of the People, <i>Freedom Charter</i> , June 25–26, 1955	68
	18. Robert M. Sobukwe, Opening Address of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), 1959	72
	19. Albert John Mvumbi Lutuli, <i>Nobel Lecture</i> , December 11, 1961	75
4.	Violence and Armed Struggle	82
	20. David Ramohoase, The Sharpeville Massacre of March 21, 1960, 1996	82
	21. Nelson Mandela, Statement at the Rivonia Trial, 1964	85
	22. ANC Radio Freedom, You Will Learn How to Use a Gun, 1969?	90

		CONTENTS	xiii
	23.	Dennis Brutus, On the Island, 1973	92
	24.	Oliver Tambo, A Future Free of Exploitation, 1977	93
5.		sistance and Repression: Students, Workers, men, Clergy, and Conscripts	96
	25.	Stephen Bantu Biko, <i>The Definition of Black</i> Consciousness, 1971?	96
	26.	Sam Nzima with His Photo of Hector Pieterson, June 16, 1976	99
	27.	Khotso Seatlholo, Soweto Students' Representative Council Press Release, October 29, 1976	100
	28.	Frene Ginwala, National Liberation and Women's Liberation, 1986	103
	29.	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, <i>Trade Unions and Political Direction</i> , December 1987	104
	30.	KAIROS: The Moment of Truth, 1985	107
	31.	Derek Bauer, P. W. Botha, 1987	110
	32.	Dirk Coetzee, The Murder of Griffiths Mxenge on 19 November 1981, 1996	111
	33.	Testimony of a Desertion, 1997	114
	34.	Testimony of a Counterinsurgency Operation, 1997	117
	35.	Testimony of an ANC Cadre and Captive, 1997	120
6.	Liv	ing with Apartheid: Class, Race, and Gender	125
	36.	Mabel Palmer and Lily Moya, Correspondence, 1949	125
	37.	Non-European Affairs Department, <i>Your Bantu</i> Servant and You, 1962	132
	38.	Bram Fischer, Speech from the Dock, 1966	134
	39.	Mbuyiseni Oswald Mtshali, <i>Amagoduka at Glencoe Station</i> , 1971	135
	40.	Jürgen Schaderberg, <i>The Destruction of Sophiatown</i> , 1955, 1959	137
	41.	Gajida Jacobs, Forced Removals in Cape Town, 1990	139
	42.	Interview with a Member of the Matoks Community, 1979	142

	43. Emma M	Iashinini, Push Your Arse!, 1989	146
	44. <i>Diary of</i> 1982	a Thirteen-Year-Old Schoolgirl from Soweto,	148
	45. Statemen Natal, 19	nt by a Woman Evicted Off a Farm at Weenan 180	, 151
7.	Ending Apa	rtheid: Reforms and Negotiations	153
	46. P. T. Poor Council,	valingam, <i>Inaugural Address to President's</i> 1981	153
	47. Frederic February	k W. de Klerk, <i>Address to Parliament,</i> y 2, 1990	155
		Mandela, Speech upon His Release from Prison y 11, 1990	, 158
	49. Mondli N 1994	Makhanya, A Tough Guy Is Moved to Tears,	161
	50. S. Franci Free at L	s, H. Dugmore, and Rico, <i>Madam &amp; Eve:</i> <i>ast</i> , 1994	163
APP	ENDIXES		
	A Chronology Apartheid (16	y of Key Events in the Rise and Fall of 652–1994)	165
Questions for Consideration			168
	Selected Bibl	iography	170

## Index