One Hundred Years of the ANC

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Chapter One

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE ANC: DEBATING STRUGGLE HISTORY AFTER APARTHEID

Jon Soske, Arianna Lissoni and Natasha Erlank

On 8 January 2012, the African National Congress (ANC) inaugurated a year-long series of programming, celebrating the foundation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912. The centenary of the ANC – the oldest African political organisation on the continent and indeed one of the oldest parties in the world – represents an historic milestone and cause for celebration in South Africa and beyond. Not only has the ANC survived for one hundred years, it has played a major role in creating a shared sense of unity and purpose that allowed it to develop into a force commanding the support of the majority of people in the country (as well as of one of the largest and most successful international solidarity movements of the twentieth century), which, in turn, brought it to power in 1994. Iconic leaders like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Albertina and Walter Sisulu have been celebrated around the globe precisely because they came to embody interconnected struggles for racial equality, social justice and human emancipation. Whatever its shortcomings, the negotiated settlement that led to the 1994 democratic elections, and the subsequent Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, created a new model of transitional justice widely praised around the world. Born as the organisation of a tiny, dispersed, and relatively conservative black middle class, the ANC has shown itself to be protean and responsive to changing political and social climates in the intervening one hundred years. Today, the party governs the country with significant popular support and will likely retain power for the foreseeable future.

Yet, is the nationalist movement formed in 1912 the same party that now rules? Yes and no. Part of the ANC’s success derives from its capacity to reinvent itself during the course of struggle by drawing on older images, symbols and rhetoric even while it evolves in new directions. The continuity with the founding conference at Bloemfontein is real precisely because the ANC has always sought to make
it so: a profound sense of tradition remains central to the organisation’s political culture. In other ways, however, the ANC’s long history has also been marked by significant discontinuities and ruptures. Internal struggles polarised the party in the 1920s, throughout the 1950s, and leading up to and following the 1969 Morogoro Conference – to name only a few salient moments. In each case the ANC leadership survived by building a new consensus while marginalising challengers and asserting the party’s historical continuity.

Unquestionably, the assumption of state power has transformed the ANC once again. The 2012 celebrations have taken place in the face of widespread anxiety over the increasingly turbulent battles within the leadership of the ruling party, often expressed publicly in bitter clashes between the ANC and its Youth League and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) – a partner, with the South African Communist Party (SACP), in the Tripartite Alliance. Many observers, and a great many ordinary South Africans, have voiced anger and fear about a growing culture of corruption in the ANC, while pointing out the persistence of mass poverty, unemployment, the lack of services and continued structural racism after almost 20 years of the ANC in government.

The vision of history that the ANC presented during the celebrations also drew fire. Rival political organisations, like the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness movement, asserted that the ANC has sidelined the role of other tendencies in the struggle against white minority rule. Some commentators suggested that the monthly focus on individual ANC presidents minimises the importance of the alliance partners and mass social struggles driven by the rank and file. In short order, the debate over the centenary polarised along predictable lines. Defenders of the ANC emphasised its achievements since 1994 and invoked an unbroken thread of continuity with the struggles and leading figures of the past. The ANC’s critics argued that it has falsely monopolised the history of the liberation struggle, whose core emancipatory principles – most importantly, a radical vision of non-racialism, social liberation and equality – it has somehow betrayed.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE ANC: SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

The chapters collected in this volume revisit the history of the ANC in ways that complicate a single, heroic narrative of liberation and suggest that the relationship between the histories of earlier struggles and the present needs to be rethought.
in more complex, and less utilitarian terms. The chapters were first presented at a conference entitled ‘One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories and Democracy Today,’ which was held at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), Johannesburg, and the University of Johannesburg (UJ) in September 2011. The conference was organised by South African History Online (SAHO), the Wits History Workshop and the Department of Historical Studies at UJ and was part of a series of events around the ANC centenary celebrations initiated by SAHO under the banner of ‘uKhongolose’ (Congress). Almost fifty papers, spread over eighteen panels, were presented at the conference and the essays selected for publication are representative of the range of topics and debates that emerged from the proceedings. The opening plenary featured Professor Philip Bonner, speaking about the first 70 years of the ANC, and Joel Netshitenzhe, a member of the ANC National Executive Committee, reflecting on the challenges facing the ANC in power. Conference sessions covered topics including historiography, biography, exile, heritage, labour, the armed struggle, education, religion, language and song. The audience was a mix of academic researchers and university students, as well as a small number of ANC provincial and national leaders, civil society members and a significant delegation of union education officers and members. The benefit of this diverse audience was a stimulating, and at times contentious, debate about the history of the ANC as well as the current political conjuncture.

Given the range of participants and the overall political context, the conference took on something of a dual character. It became a site of both commemoration and critical interrogation of historical discourse, a venue where some participants laid claim to aspects of the ANC’s history, while others urged greater analytical distance from the events of the pre-1994 past. This tension cut across the predictable divisions between academic and activist, or defender and critic of the ruling party. A set of related questions surfaced during many of the conference discussions, ultimately reflecting differing attitudes to the significance of the past for the post-apartheid present. To what extent do previous historical moments in the history of the ANC (and the liberation struggle more broadly) provide a usable history, a living resource through which the political configurations of the present can and should be understood and contested? Or is it of greater urgency to critique the production of historical narratives within the novel context of the ANC as a ruling party and therefore underline fundamental discontinuities between the periods before and after 1994? Should the present crisis within the Tripartite Alliance be understood in terms of the state’s continuities or discontinuities with the earlier traditions of the
ANC? Or does posing the problem in this fashion create a falsely unified image of ‘the struggle’ that minimises the factional divisions, organisational breaks, tactical mistakes, failures and conflicting political aspirations which also characterise the history of the liberation organisations? And, perhaps most importantly, who has the right to invoke this past – or critique how it is utilised? These questions largely emerged during the panels’ discussion rounds or in hallways rather than in the papers themselves; they were perhaps most evident in the gaps and misunderstandings that developed among conversations taking place in the very same room. Collectively, they pointed to the various ways that liberation history, both as an academic field and a public discourse of heritage, provides a legitimising vocabulary for post-apartheid politics – and thus, itself, becomes a strategic terrain of contest and contention.

Symptomatically, the conference discussions focused less on the themes that we articulated in the call for papers – local and regional histories, cycles of intellectual contestation within the ANC, and de-provincialising the anti-apartheid struggle – than on issues somehow tied to the current factional struggles within the Tripartite Alliance and between the ANC and the ANC Youth League. The most persistent topic of debate was the historical dynamic of fragmentation and cohesion that has characterised ANC politics since the movement’s founding. As the keynote address by Philip Bonner (included in this volume) emphasised, historians are only beginning to understand the ANC’s historic ability not only to bring together a wide range of regional, ethnic, religious, economic, political and racial groupings, but also its capacity to reinvent itself in the aftermath of conflict among different constituencies.

In his conference address, Jeremy Cronin (speaking as deputy secretary-general of the SACP) provocatively suggested that the ANC’s understanding of nationalism could be seen as a form of ‘post-modernism avant la lettre.’ Rather than mobilising around an identity based on a substantive notion of culture, the early ANC developed a political project aimed at transcending ethnic divisions by uniting Africans around a set of shared political aspirations – and therefore laid the basis for a dynamic and inclusive concept of nation that would be revised and expanded multiple times in the following decades. Nevertheless, this programme of nation-building has always required exclusions and strategic compromises and, as a result, has produced sharp and ongoing contestations over the limits of an aspirational South African political community. At various times and places, the boundaries and very character of the ANC have been contested and redefined with regard to women, youth, racial minorities and Communist Party members, traditional leaders and workers, among a host
of others. If the party has generally managed to expand its image of nationhood and invent organisational structures to include new groups, the terms of such incorporations have frequently set the stage for later political conflicts.

At the conference itself, the issues of non-racialism and gender assumed particular importance. It was not difficult to discern the long shadow of Julius Malema, the now deposed Youth League leader, whose battle against the senior ANC leadership pushed an aggressively racist and misogynist rhetoric into the centre of public discourse. The opening panel discussed two books: an autobiography by veteran Communist Party intellectual Norman Levy and a biography of Labour Party leader Alex Hepple by his son, Bob, himself a member of the Congress of Democrats in the 1950s. Introducing both the books and their authors, veteran ANC leader and Robben Island prisoner Ahmed Kathrada began his presentation with an almost ritual invocation of his fallen comrades, and few present missed the significance of fact that this list of names included those of Ruth First and Ahmed Timol as well as Chris Hani. While Kathrada did not mention the struggles within the ANC leadership, his indignation over the erosion of and open attacks on non-racialism was palatable.

The contested, perhaps even fragile, character of non-racialism was a significant theme throughout the conference, and the warmth displayed among the speakers, especially Kathrada and Levy, recalled the considerable role the Communist Party played (along with other forces like the independent trade union movement) in making this ideal central to the ideology and organisational practices of the ANC. Significantly, these exchanges performed a certain kind of comradeship, even while they tended to ground this bond in a distant past and an endangered tradition. Such reminiscences and reconnections also permeated the panels, lunches and coffee breaks. They reaffirmed and perhaps, in some cases, revised a tradition of struggle grounded in personal relationships, affective bonds and shared memories. These public and private expressions of memory also served to remind participants of the incredible range of experiences and emotions connected to the liberation movement – not to mention the enormous diversity of ways in which people understood, participated in and built their lives through the ANC. Everyday and intimate aspects of the struggle were often absent from the conference papers and their presence in people’s informal remarks cast a light on this persistent weakness of much academic writing.

The questions of gender and sexuality were more fraught, perhaps because they remained at the periphery of multiple discussions. The conference organisers
attempted to put together a plenary session and panels on both topics, even while we were conscious of integrating feminist perspectives into sessions dedicated to other themes. Tellingly, a number of scholars and activists turned down our invitation to address the question of gender and nationalism, and when conference speakers like Thozama April, Julia Wells, Natasha Erlank or Raymond Suttner intervened to introduce these questions into the discussions, the focus generally ‘drifted’ elsewhere.

In retrospect, the two main approaches to women and gender at the conference ultimately worked at cross purposes, reflecting divergent strategies of writing histories of the liberation struggle and attitudes to post-apartheid nationalism. Some participants emphasised the pressing need for more studies of women involved in the struggle, a greater valuation of women’s contributions and a serious consideration of the work of women as intellectuals. More investigation along these lines is absolutely crucial. A great deal of recent scholarship continues to sideline issues like gender, masculinity and sexual politics. Yet the genre of women’s history often finds itself locked in celebratory mode and, as a result, closely parallels the ways in which the ANC incorporates women into the larger narrative of nation-building. Indeed, the ANC has been remarkably successful in placing gender equality and women’s rights at the centre of its post-1994 vision of transformation, even if the way in which it valorises women circumscribes their social roles (as wives and mothers of the nation, for example), thus reinforcing modes of patriarchal authority. A smaller number of voices at the conference, most notably that of Shireen Hassim, argued that an analysis of the ANC’s gender politics should lead to a broader interrogation of the politics of nationalism itself. Significantly, Hassim’s intervention was one of the few moments when the ideology of nationalism was explicitly challenged. Several conference participants, including Suttner, Cronin, Devan Pillay and Judy Mulqueeny, urged a renewed debate over the history and contemporary relevance of the concept ‘National Democratic Revolution.’ In contrast, only a few interventions – notably by Franco Barchiesi and John Saul – sought to historicise the ANC’s understanding of nation or develop a sustained critique of nationalist politics today.

If a shared concern emerged across the variety of political stances and methodological approaches, it was an intense preoccupation with the relationship between the period of struggle and the period of governance, between the ‘past’ and ‘present.’ Often implicit, this binary not only sundered the history of the ANC into two homogenised periods (erasing both the decades before apartheid and the complexity of the nearly 20 years since 1994), it also posed their connection in terms
of loss and recovery. In other words, it promoted a form of struggle nostalgia. This nostalgic mode took many forms: anxiety over the passing of the Mandela and Tambo generation of leaders, invocations of foundational documents like the Freedom Charter, the search for a moment when more radical possibilities of transformation still existed, the celebration of marginalised figures, the attempt to recover now-forgotten intellectual currents and the mourning for lost comrades. Nostalgia was generally not for camaraderie under fire – the wounds and losses of the apartheid years were too close to permit such bravado – as much as for a greater unity of purpose. In Svetlana Boym’s terms, these efforts to reclaim a lost moment alternated between the restorative and the reflective. Some presenters urged the ANC to return to its earlier ‘traditions’ (thus defining the true character of the organisation through a single, often idealised period in its history), while others meditated on the nature and significance of the perceived departure.

For example, a few leading-ANC figures from an older generation, including Ronnie Kasrils, spoke self-critically about the transition of the party from a liberation organisation with an active, mass base to an electoral machine driven by priorities of financing and votes. In such cases, the appeal to the past allowed for the expression of sharp disillusionment with the current leadership through an affirmation of loyalty to a longer historical trajectory. Other conference participants, like Prishani Naidoo, reflected on their earlier activism in order to underline the discontinuities produced by the ANC’s assumption of power during an epoch of neo-liberal globalisation. Naidoo discussed the 1990s as a moment when student activists of her generation (inspired by the ANC’s history of struggle and figures like Mandela) tried to put forward an alternative, more radical political project, but were disciplined by the very same ANC leaders who were now in government. Deployed in this fashion, memory enabled a meditation on contradiction, rupture and loss – thus challenging efforts to ground current political authority in any one narrative of freedom.

**WRITING THE ANC’S HISTORY AFTER APARTHEID:**
**NEW DIRECTIONS AND UNRESOLVED DEBATES**

On a small scale, these debates over the role and purpose of struggle history today reflected some of the major developments in the scholarship following the ANC’s assumption of state power in 1994. Since the end of apartheid, new research has produced what is today a relatively vast literature on the struggle against colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, and the movement that came to project
itself as the main repository of black aspirations and liberation – the ANC – in particular. Although the historiography of the ANC is as old as Congress itself, the explosion of new literature is a direct outcome of the democratic dispensation and the election to power of the ANC, which, especially in its early years of government, made great efforts to repatriate the massive documentary trail it had left scattered throughout the world during the long years of exile. This commitment has also been evident in public history initiatives and the funding of national heritage projects. In addition, numerous ANC and Communist Party leaders have made their personal collections accessible to the public by depositing their papers in South African libraries and archives.\(^7\) The end of apartheid also allowed many of those who had been involved in the struggle to speak about the past more openly than they could before, as a range of inhibitions and security concerns gradually dissipated.\(^8\)

While the volume and diversity of new research challenges easy generalisations, some new questions and trends are becoming clear. As the conference discussions illustrated, the ANC’s assumption of power reconfigured the conditions of knowledge production, creating a new problematic common to historians with differing methodological and political commitments: the context and political significance of struggle history has changed radically. The history of anti-apartheid activism once assumed an oppositional mode, engaged in a project of undermining the apartheid regime even when critical of the liberation organisations themselves. The ruling party and the state now mobilised these very same narratives as a component of the ANC’s nation-building project. Inevitably, this transfigured landscape shifts the very stakes of the historian’s practice, rendering it difficult, if not simply impossible, to separate the interpretation of the past from a conjugated evaluation of the ANC’s record in power. To a certain degree, all struggle history now assumes a teleological dimension: the historian’s understanding of the negotiated settlement and its aftermath determines the lens through which he or she views a sweeping range of earlier events.

Yet rather than producing two clearly identifiable schools of writing, one pro-regime, the other self-avowedly iconoclastic, this situation has resulted in the proliferation of critical, methodological and narrative strategies. Much recent scholarship adopts a sceptical attitude to aspects of the ANC or its historiography while seeking to valorise or recuperate other figures, moments, or political tendencies within the broader Congress tradition. A significant number of historians have also sought to engage with the representation of history in institutional sites other than the
university, especially museums and the media. These efforts developed in tandem with the emergence of online platforms for historical research like SAHO and an important set of debates over the digitisation of the liberation struggle’s archives.9

From the 1970s, Marxist-inspired social historians were responsible for a revolution in South African historiography, which had, until then, been dominated by a debate between settler and liberal traditions, both of which had been largely oblivious to contemporary black politics as a subject of inquiry.10 Although radical scholarship was written in open partisanship with the liberation struggle and regarded black political organisations as key agents of change, it tended to focus on trade union activism and everyday struggles of black South Africans rather than on the formal politics of national organisations and their leaders.11 Practical issues of strategy and tactics (especially popular struggles in the township and the workplace) informed the research agenda of this generation of scholars, who were also circumscribed in what they could publish locally by apartheid censorship laws. Projects like the Wits History Workshop helped pioneer oral history in South Africa and played a central role in producing popular histories of black workers and communities (as well as of whites from the poorer classes) that have had a lasting cultural influence outside of the academy.12 In the past decade, this approach to oral history has been extended and, in important ways, complicated by interview-driven research which restores the trauma of ordinary South Africans under apartheid or documents the daily lives of communities like Sophiatown and District Six, destroyed by forced removals.13

Radical historians privileged class analysis, while viewing with suspicion African nationalism and nationalist organisations, including the ANC. This wariness reflected the workerist position in the workerist versus nationalist or populist debate of the 1980s,14 which, in turn, is a reflection of the extremely complex and, at times, fraught relationship between the ANC and the trade union movement historically. At the same time, workerist approaches largely neglected questions relating to gender, although seminal feminist critiques by scholars like Belinda Bozzoli had already begun to highlight this absence in the early 1980s.15 The radical school also viewed racial and ethnic identities with suspicion and minimised the importance of Christianity, Islam and other systems of belief, both to popular struggles and to the liberation organisations.

Despite the enabling potential of the post-apartheid moment in terms of research into South Africa’s past, the early 1990s were marked by a period of disorientation for radical social historians. The transition to democracy displaced the oppositional
foundation of South African social history at a time of increasing criticism of its praxis and general unease globally about Marxist theory. Prominent black intellectuals were critical of social history’s sometimes paternalistic claims to ‘give voice’ to oppressed groups and a new generation of scholarship implicitly – and later explicitly – challenged the Marxist emphasis on the independent political activity of workers and township residents by attributing a far more central role to the liberation organisations themselves. Important new studies, like Suttner’s *The ANC Underground in South Africa*, questioned inherited chronologies in order to demonstrate the ANC’s influence during periods when the party has been considered quiescent.

Partly in order to redress the relative neglect of African nationalist politics, especially in the period after the banning of the ANC and the PAC in 1960, the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) project was established by (then) President Thabo Mbeki in 2001. The chapters commissioned for the various volumes of this project focus on particular organisations, the evolution of their strategies and tactics, underground and above-ground protests, exile politics and the armed struggle, as well as specific events and other salient aspects which shaped each period. Taken as a whole, the project brought together a formidable sum of new material and carried out an ambitious programme of interviews with struggle veterans from multiple organisations. However, the chapter divisions tend to segment topics into discrete units of analysis, with the effect that problematic analytical, geographical and chronological divisions (for example, between underground and above-ground politics, between the exiled liberation movements and internal resistance, or between the different political organisations) are inadvertently reproduced. Moreover, the volumes have come under fire for presenting a generally uncritical view of the ANC, while diminishing the significance of rival political organisations and overemphasising the significance of the armed struggle. The SADET series was, among other things, an attempt to reaffirm the central agency of nationalist organisations, particularly the ANC, to the liberation struggle. The debates surrounding the project indicate the need for a more complex understanding of the relationship between the ANC and other actors – whether mass movements like the independent trade unions or grassroots community struggles – than the dichotomy between organisational narratives and the ‘history from below’ approach currently permits.
The SADET project reflects a wider tendency in the literature to concentrate overwhelmingly on the period after 1944,\textsuperscript{21} while the initial decades of the history of Congress have received only limited attention.\textsuperscript{22} As Bonner argued in the opening address to the conference, this uneven distribution distorts our understanding of the ANC, which, in the period before 1944, has tended to be dismissed as an ‘elitist’ and ‘moderate’ political formation.\textsuperscript{23} Searching for antecedents to the radicalism of the 1970s and 1980s, Marxist social historians concentrated on the mass political struggles and leftist organisations of the early twentieth century, for example, the 1913 Passive Resistance Campaign and Natal strikes, early trade union activities, the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union and Garveyism, and the history of the Communist Party of South Africa.\textsuperscript{24} Perhaps ironically, this dismissive stance in relation to the early ANC echoed an important strand in the organisation’s own political mythology, which stresses the central role of the Youth League – and particularly leaders like Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu – in the transformation of the party in the late 1940s and 1950s. Recent scholarship on earlier periods and figures, including that by historians like Heather Hughes, Paul Landau and Peter Limb, has touched on aspects of the ANC’s political culture that are sometimes occluded by a narrower span: the deep, if uneven, influence of religion, ethnicity, progressive-era ideals of social reform, liberalism, gendered norms and pre-colonial rural politics.\textsuperscript{25}

Significantly, the scholarship’s overwhelming focus on English-language documents has underplayed many of these same issues. Indeed, the earliest accounts of black political organisations were ‘popular’ texts, often in vernacular languages, produced by the movement’s own intellectuals and whose outlets were the black newspapers.\textsuperscript{26} Liz Gunner’s contribution to this anthology emphasises the enormous importance of the intellectual and cultural worlds that are erased by the narrow reliance on English archives. Her intervention echoes Jabulani Sithole’s important work on political debates in isiZulu and Sakhela Buhlungu’s argument that black workers drew on their lived experience of apartheid, as well as reference points like community institutions and church, in shaping the politics of independent trade unionism.\textsuperscript{27} Contrary to the impression still given by most accounts, the struggle against colonialism and apartheid was not only – or perhaps even primarily – conducted in English.

If new research has only begun to explore issues like language and the ANC’s \textit{longue durée}, the issues of local history and space have received more sustained attention. As social history gradually recalibrated its intellectual project and
theoretical orientation following the unsettlement of the early 1990s, there was a significant revival in local studies, prompted, in part, by the powerful re-insertion into national politics of community struggles over service delivery. Micro-histories have the potential to complicate overly centralised, teleological narratives of liberation. They reveal how, in countless different contexts, popular initiative drove the liberation struggle, often re-imagining and transforming the ANC from below. They also emphasise the significance of actors – from traditional leaders to mid-level cadres, to people who did not necessarily consider themselves activists – often obscured at a greater scale. At the same time, it is clear that new conceptual frameworks are required for the treatment of these sites. Research projects that simply adopt the spatial units created by the state’s social engineering (for instance, the township) often reproduce apartheid’s categories and conceptual boundaries at the level of historical analysis, for example, by compartmentalising ‘African,’ ‘Indian’ and ‘coloured’ histories. As radical geographers have demonstrated in other contexts, space is not simply the dormant ‘container’ within which politics takes place. Spatial regimes organise agency in particular ways – according to categories like race, or around systems like migrant labour, for example. They also produce specific forms of resistance: struggles for the control of particular locations, such as townships and informal settlements, or efforts to negate segregation by building new spaces through activities like non-racial sport or cultural production (the Market Theatre in Johannesburg’s Newtown district, exhibitions organised by collectives like Afrapix, non-racial musical concerts). Moreover, as Mark Hunter and others demonstrate, the organisation of apartheid was gendered in virtually every respect; a greater attention to spatial aspects of daily life and resistance will help make women, masculinities, intimacy and sexuality visible in new ways. Significant interventions by Gillian Hart, Sharad Chari and, in this volume, Noor Nieftagodien have begun to address these types of questions.

The influence of larger-scale geographies on liberation politics, however, remains rather opaque. As Bonner argued in his keynote address, the dominant focus of the scholarship on the period from the 1940s onwards has produced a distorted view of the ANC as predominantly urban, while the enormous pull on Congress by chiefs and their rural constituencies in the reserves has been largely underestimated (an elision that has significant repercussions for our understanding of the ANC’s attitude to chiefs and traditional authorities in the present). In spite of some notable exceptions, especially the Eastern Cape and Sekhukuneland, too little is still known about the relationship between Congress and its rural constituencies or about the
dynamics of nationalist politics in the huge expanses of South Africa’s countryside. Moreover, the ANC’s history in urban areas other than the Witwatersrand, especially Cape Town and Durban, is under-represented in published research. Much of the current historiography generalises on the basis of one urban region, the Rand, with events in other locales – for instance, the 1949 Durban riots or the march by 20 000 black South Africans on Cape Town after the PAC-led anti-pass demonstrations in March 1960 – appearing as exceptions or momentary interruptions to an idealised national narrative. Local and regional histories do not simply represent disparate components of a grand totality. Geographies of resistance, operating at different scales, converge and diverge over time: this dynamic must be theorised more rigorously.

In general, enthusiasm for the individual and biographical have overshadowed reflections on the organisational, sociological and cultural/intellectual aspects of liberation politics. The life story is, arguably, the dominant mode of historical narrative in contemporary South Africa. As Jane Starfield observes, auto/biographical writing has a venerable pedigree. Many African intellectuals adopted it as their genre of choice, especially from 1920 onwards, to write about the broader histories of their communities. Moreover, as critics like Henry Louis Gates and Achille Mbembe examine in different ways, modes of ‘self-writing’ play a central role in the intellectual traditions of Africa and its diaspora, and such texts have long circulated in South Africa. Life writing strives to create a particular kind of subject – a self that is meaningful within shared historical experiences such as oppression, resistance, political organisations, social groups, gender roles, or the nation itself – through the work of narrative. Operating within this framework, a significant number of recent auto/biographical works are ‘great men’ histories: they seek to create a pantheon of heroes for a new national identity. Indeed, Nelson Mandela’s Long Walk to Freedom has served as a key template for academic and historical writing in the post-apartheid period. Scholars frequently quote Mandela’s narrative, and other texts by struggle veterans, as authoritative accounts, without any reflection on their composition or political function.

But a more critical and self-reflexive biographical practice is starting to develop. Ciraj Rasool’s doctoral study, arguably the most ambitious critique of the field of struggle history to date, analyses the production of biographical narratives by multiple agents and institutions, while critiquing the ways in which the ‘biographical illusion’ privileges the high politics of national formations and the heroic narratives
of (generally male) struggle leaders. In *Shades of Difference*, Padraig O’Malley juxtaposes the autobiographical testimony of Mac Maharaj with his own highly nuanced analysis, allowing the tensions between the voices of the historian and his subject to illuminate the complexity of both the events in question and their later remembrances. Younger historians and filmmakers are beginning to document the lives of significant, but marginalised, figures like Imam Abdullah Haroon, Barney Desai, Richard Turner and Dr Abu Baker Asvat. Although these individuals operated outside of the ANC, they nevertheless collaborated with several political tendencies (including the Unity Movement, the PAC and the Black Consciousness movement) and influenced the broader liberation struggle in ways that challenge its partition into segmented, organisational accounts. In addition, a few more recent memoirs subvert the heroic conventions of struggle autobiography in order to address questions like everyday life under apartheid, secrets, family and intimacy in the struggle, or personal and political betrayal in the underground. Partisan accounts of life in *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) by some of its former cadres have also spoken about the hardships and frustrations experienced in the camps. An emerging literature on struggle-era violence, drawing heavily on the critical analysis of participants’ memory, looks at the lived experience and contested meanings of the many brutalities inherent within apartheid. To a certain degree, this newer generation of writing represents a protest against the triumphalist – and frequently elite and masculine – narrative of the struggle promoted by the state, sections of the media and a wide range of public institutions.

As the conference’s call for papers articulated, South Africa’s resistance history also continues to be strongly marked by a powerful notion of exceptionalism, derived, at least in part, from struggle-era ideologies like the SACP’s ‘colonialism of a special type.’ In spite of burgeoning transnational research in other areas, especially on South Africa’s place within the Indian Ocean world, struggle history continues to be characterised by a parochialism which has hindered comparative empirical and theoretical dialogue with historiographies of nationalist movements in other parts of Africa as well as in South Asia and Latin America. This provincialism has also been reflected in the analytical separation of the literature on the internal resistance movement (both above-ground and underground) from studies on the liberation movement in exile as well as on solidarity movements globally.

Fortunately, a newer scholarship on the global anti-apartheid movement, the International Aid and Defence Fund, and solidarity from foreign organisations and
prominent figures has been more successful in capturing the entangled histories and transnational character of the liberation struggle, both empirically and methodologically. The question of political repression, torture and abuses within MK camps has also generated significant debate, especially following the publication of Paul Trewhela’s Inside Quatro. These charged and controversial issues have served as something of a proxy for a more comprehensive analysis of the ANC’s security culture in exile, its role in reshaping components of the organisation and its influence on the factional struggles within the post-apartheid state (issues broached by Hugh Macmillan and Vladimir Shubin’s chapters in this volume). A popular narrative glosses post-apartheid corruption as a continuation of the privileges that an ‘ANC elite’ accumulated in exile at the expense of the rank and file. Clearly, the complex story of the ANC’s reinvention in exile, and its reintegration into the country at the very moment it entered into the state apparatus, still needs to be unravelled.

Two significant critiques have emerged that implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) challenge a central tenet of ‘liberation history’: the belief that the negotiated settlement represented the direct and logical culmination of the anti-apartheid struggle. Neither position denies the tremendous significance of apartheid’s demise or the historical centrality of the ANC’s leadership role. In different fashions, they both seek to complicate the meaning of the transition in a way that unsettles and problematises the very idea of the ‘post-apartheid.’ Building on the insights of radical social historians a diverse group of scholars, including Hein Marais, Patrick Bond, William Gumede, Neville Alexander and John Saul, have demystified the 1994 ‘miracle’ by interrogating the terms of the settlement and the ANC’s record in power, particularly its embrace of neo-liberal economic policies and the subsequent deepening of social inequality. On the whole, these authors concentrate on the domestic and international conjuncture of the 1980s to early 1990s and the structural continuities within South Africa’s unique system of racial capitalism. Although they differ in important respects, their interventions challenge the idea that liberation has been achieved in any straightforward sense: core aspirations of the anti-apartheid struggle, like social equality, economic democracy, the redistribution of land and the transformation of the country’s racist urban infrastructure have largely been deferred, if not abandoned outright. Yet, as Bill Freund suggests, this approach often assembles a portrait from a series of negatives, that is, from a diagnosis of the ANC’s putative ‘failure’ to pursue a more radical course rather than a robust analysis of its nearly 20 years in power. Future scholars will need to analyse the discontinuities
represented by the 1994 elections, while tracing those aspects of the ANC’s political culture that stretch across the dividing line of state power. Alongside scales ranging from the micro to the transnational, we need to recognise the multiple *temporalities* of the ANC’s history.

The second line of critique draws on the resources of the Subaltern Studies collective, philosophical interrogations of modernity (such as the work of Michel Foucault and the Frankfurt School) and important strands within post-colonial theory. By substantially rethinking how power operates, these historians have explored the construction and material effects of nationalist narratives, the multiple sites in which representations of the past are produced and contested and the ways in which nationalism strives to create a unitary subject of liberation from a multitude of desires, political aspirations, personal motivations and contrasting visions of freedom. In an important and extremely challenging series of interventions, Premesh Lalu has argued for a post-colonial critique of apartheid (in other words, an understanding of apartheid not as a bound historic period but as the subjection of agency through colonial techniques of disciplinary power) that would be attentive to the implication of nationalism and radical historiography within the very modes of discourse that they purport to transcend. Lalu urges historians to move beyond celebrating the agency of an emancipatory subject, which generally remains scripted according to apartheid categories like race, and to begin interrogating the enabling conditions of their own practice, particularly their reliance on the archives of colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism. Drawing on his book *Precarious Liberation*, Franco Barchiesi’s contribution to the present volume traces the genealogy of the ‘decency of work’ idea – a significant element of colonialism’s ideology of the civilising mission – within the early discourse of the ANC in order to explore the Congress’s historical commitment to a particular vision of emancipation.

This style of argument urges the rethinking of South African modernity: how and why did the ANC become committed to a certain understanding of capitalist modernity, how does this vision incorporate elements of colonial epistemologies (instrumental reason, racial and tribal categories, the nation form itself) and how do projects such as academic historical writing continue to operate within the same regimes of power/knowledge? Such questions reframe the experiences of apartheid and the transition in terms of global debates about the nature of democracy, capitalism and emancipation in the present – debates which, as events from the 2008 financial crisis to the Arab uprisings underline, remain unresolved far beyond South Africa’s borders. Perhaps most importantly, the post-colonial critique inserts
a sustained philosophical and political reflection on the meaning of freedom at the centre of struggle history.

THE BOOK

Although organised chronologically, the essays in this volume cluster around four main themes: religion and nationalism, questioning teleology, exile and imprisonment and the ANC in power. The first three chapters address the early history of the ANC and focus, in different ways, on the relationship between Christianity and black protest. Norman Etherington lays out a Natal-based chronology of colonial oppression and resistance. Importantly, he points to the early history of African nationalist activity, with its roots in Natal, in the long decade which ended with the formation of the SANNC in 1913. What made Natal such a potent forging ground for African nationalism? Etherington’s chapter argues that the war on black Christianity waged by the white settler regime convinced Christian intellectuals that the hopes formerly held out for equality before the law were unrealistic. Britain would not defend the rights of black Christians in self-governing colonies and dominions. A core theme of this chapter is the ways in which Christian evangelism in Natal was intricately entwined with political, legal and economic struggles. These same issues appear, although in a different form and region (the Eastern Cape), in Natasha Erlank’s chapter. Erlank unpacks the historiography on the relationship between missions and Christianity, arguing for a common repertoire of religious values as the key organising principle of an early nationalism. She argues for a greater emphasis on the role played by Christianity in shaping identity and political consciousness. In different ways, both chapters point to the distinctive and regional origins of protest politics in South Africa. Thozama April’s chapter on Charlotte Maxeke, herself a devout Christian, alludes to the importance of religious thinking in Maxeke’s political activism. Her chapter also brings to the fore the under-explored issue of women’s intellectual contributions to the nationalist struggle. Indeed, only April’s chapter in this volume places gender at the centre of its analysis.

The next four chapters draw on a range of theoretical approaches – post-colonialism, Subaltern Studies, theories of space and the literature on performance and language – to revisit significant moments in the history of the ANC in ways that interrupt or revise the standard accounts of its evolution. As mentioned above, Franco Barchiesi traces the representation of the ‘dignified’ and then ‘patriotic’
worker from the ideology of settler colonialism to the intellectual production of both the ANC and radical historians and thereby lays the basis for a far-ranging critique of discourses of work in the writing of South African history. By analysing the early ANC’s production of a normative discourse about labour, Barchiesi draws much stronger links between the ANC in the 1920s and the later organisation than most other historians and suggests a new critique of the way the politics of the 1994 transition reflected the ANC’s own acceptance of certain key colonial ideas about labour. In his chapter, Jon Soske sets out to demonstrate that notions of ‘non-racial’ collaboration between black and Indian South Africans in the 1940s, supposedly embodied in the Doctors’ Pact of 1947, are a manufacture of a more recent historiographical tradition. He also, importantly, points to racial and regional fissures which both cut across a unitary history of the ANC and play a major part in shaping the Congress’s evolution, particularly its understanding of nation.

If Soske is concerned with interrogating the complexity of black African/Indian relationships, Noor Nieftagodien takes as his analytic framework the relationship between movement-based protest and popular protest in the 1940s and 1950s. He argues that space is key to the iteration of resistance, with different modes of struggle developing in the space of the locations, freehold townships and squatter camps. He looks to Keith and Pile’s notion of geographies of resistance in order to analyse resistance as a process rather than a product – a perspective that cuts against linear narratives of the ANC’s evolution. In her chapter, Liz Gunner analyses the izibongo (praise poems) performed at Chief Albert Luthuli’s funeral as well as the isiZulu-language coverage of Luthuli’s death in two isiZulu-language newspapers. Gunner explores the centrality of performance to the political culture of the ANC by thinking about how different modes of performance were implicated in attempts to create alternative kinds of political subjectivities. By placing isiZulu at the centre of her analysis, she underlines the enormous importance of the intellectual and cultural experiences that are erased by the narrow reliance on English language archives. She also broadens our understanding of sites and forms of struggle to include not only aspects of everyday life but the very future of the country’s African languages.

The chapters by Hugh Macmillan, Vladimir Shubin and Crain Soudien consist of case studies that look at the development of the ANC after its banning in 1960. Each, in his own way, provides an insight into the organisation’s development in new spaces and political situations. For Macmillan and Shubin, these spaces lay outside the country, in Azerbaijan, Cairo, Dar es Salaam, Lusaka, the Soviet Union,
Vietnam and other points north. For Soudien, the site is Robben Island, where hundreds of anti-apartheid activists were imprisoned. These chapters reveal what happens when we start to interrogate a different range of archives; sources which stand outside those conventionally used in the making of South African liberation history. Shubin uses archives from the former Soviet Union, while Macmillan uses Zambian state archives. The chapters also rely, both directly, as in Shubin’s case, and more subtly, as in Macmillan’s and Soudien’s, on their authors’ personal involvement in the struggle and their experiential knowledge of the events and people who are the subjects of their studies. These chapters remind us that the history of the ANC cannot be written from ANC sources alone.

In his article on the ANC’s first major security crisis in exile, Macmillan traces the origins of the 1981 Shishita events in Zambia, which resulted in indiscipline and mutinies and culminated in a major ‘spy scare.’ The ANC’s security department responded by removing suspected apartheid agents from the country, some of whom were subjected to torture and, in some cases, execution without legal representation. He concludes with a comparison of the ANC’s report on Shishita (which employed a conspiratorial mode of reasoning and represented demands for a national consultative conference as subversive) with the 1984 Stuart report that presented a devastating critique of MK camps and the ANC’s security department. Addressing similar issues from a very different perspective, Shubin’s biography of Mzwandile ‘Mzwai’ Piliso reconstructs the trajectory of a prominent, yet highly controversial, leader of the ANC in exile, a figure, given his involvement in torture and other human rights abuses, perhaps ‘conveniently’ forgotten. By placing Piliso’s life and actions in a broader context, Shubin shows the incredibly fraught and opaque security dilemmas that ANC leaders had to navigate. He argues that it is the responsibility of historians to tell the stories of those veterans of the struggle who, like Piliso, have today become neglected, perhaps especially if their stories are difficult or fundamentally ambiguous. Soudien’s subject is ‘Robben Island university’: the educational methods and materials developed by prisoners on the island. He demonstrates the importance of a set of debates between the ANC and the Unity Movement on Robben Island, in particular the discussion between Nelson Mandela and Neville Alexander on the meaning of the national question. In addition, he contends that the Island’s teaching and learning strategies can inform a critical politics of education in the present.

The final group of chapters deals with the broad theme of a revolution deferred or betrayed. To put it differently, what happens to liberation movements when they are no longer liberation movements? Or further, what does the current moment
reveal about the inadequacies and contradictions inherent within the ANC before it became a ruling party? These chapters cover the period from the 1980s to the present, contemplating the transition from party-in-exile to party-in-state. The broadest view is taken by John Saul, whose contribution, more than any other, places the end of apartheid in South Africa within the context of the long process of decolonisation in southern Africa, thereby introducing a critical comparative dimension. The central idea of this chapter is ‘recolonisation’: the processes through which movements of national liberation generate regimes that further integrate southern Africa into a global ‘Empire of Capital,’ which has proven as powerful and tenacious as earlier ‘empires of states.’ A further important intervention is Saul’s discussion of the diminution of national liberation as a concept from its earlier, and far more capacious, signification of human freedom to formal equality and democratic rights – a version of liberation fully consistent with the structural violence of neo-liberal capitalism.

The chapters by Susan Booysen and Roger Southall narrow in focus to look at how the ANC has transformed itself into an institutional presence in the 18 years since 1994. In viewing the ANC through the lenses of people, movement, elections and government – what she calls the four faces of power – Booysen drills down into how the party has managed to negotiate staying in power, especially in the past few years. Southall takes a different approach, also focusing on the period after 1994, but with more attention paid to shifts within the party as its hold on the state has intensified. Drawing on a nuanced sociology of the black middle classes, he explores the ways in which the ANC – conscious of the domination of the ‘party-state bourgeoisie’ elsewhere in Africa – has attempted to manage the contradictions of the developmental state. Nevertheless, he concludes that the state-based black middle classes have strengthened their hold over the party and that the country’s current economic path will largely accrue to the benefit of this elite.

Ineke van Kessel’s chapter is different again. During the early 1990s, she interviewed a number of youth activists within the United Democratic Front. In this chapter, she revisits the same individuals and elicits a personal and poignant tale of post-liberation disenchantment. Those who remained party supporters and within the state after 1994 have found their lives improved, but for those who did not, the promise of liberation as entailing some kind of material benefit has not been realised. Van Kessel’s piece is especially effective in pointing out the differences among constituencies of participants within the liberation struggle and unfolding how those
differences remain after liberation. While Southall and Booysen interrogate the ANC within the government, Van Kessel points to very local fractures underneath an apparent party consensus.

CONCLUSION

This collection of chapters is by no means intended as a definitive or complete account of the ANC’s century-long history. Nonetheless, the chapters, individually and collectively, offer new insights into a range of themes, some well known, others less so. Whereas different aspects or phases of the ANC’s history are often dealt with as separate units of analysis, we hope that by bringing a number of different topics and approaches together into a single volume, the book will stimulate dialogue and debate across thematic and disciplinary boundaries. By moving away from the celebratory mode of the hundredth anniversary commemorations, this volume also seeks to engage with the relationship between the organisation’s past and its present in new and more critical ways, while raising a series of questions about the politics of producing historical knowledge. The field of struggle history is now characterised by a rich and welcome diversity of theoretical, methodological, and political outlooks. We hope that this collection will help to inspire new conversations among these perspectives and will open up future directions of research.

Endnotes

1. Generous support from the following sponsors made the conference possible: South African History Online, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in South Africa, the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Johannesburg and the School of Social Science, the Faculty of Humanities and the Research Office at the University of the Witwatersrand.
2. See www.sahistory.org.za
7. Despite the ANC’s initial openness to scholarly (and other) research into its own past, including sensitive and/or controversial aspects of it, there have been worrying signs that critical engagement with the movement’s history will become increasingly difficult in the future – and the passing of the Protection of State Information Bill by the South African Parliament in November 2011 seems to confirm such fears.
8. Jeremy Seekings has acknowledged that these concerns may have been exaggerated at times. They nevertheless profoundly influenced the interviewing process, both in terms of what was discussed and in the sense that interviews were often not recorded. Although the political transition removed many of the security concerns that the struggle had imposed, there remains a degree of wariness amongst former activists about speaking about certain topics, especially when violence and trauma are involved. Moreover, contemporary
political considerations always affect the course of interviews, in past and present contexts (J. Seekings, 'Whose Voices? Politics and Methodology in the Study of Political Organisation and Protest in the Final Phase of the “Struggle” in South Africa,' *South African Historical Journal*, 62, 1 (2010), 1-28.) For an insightful analysis of how revolutionary morality led to a suppression of the personal or the self and shaped gender attitudes within the underground movement, see R. Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2008). Other topics, such as *Umkhonto we Sizwe* and the armed struggle, continue to be surrounded by a veil of secrecy.


10. Eddie Roux’s *Time Longer Than Rope* and Jack and Ray Simons’s *Class and Colour in South Africa* (published in 1948 and 1969 respectively) were pioneering works in this respect. These studies, written by Marxist scholar-activists, introduced fundamental questions about the nature of race and class oppression and exploitation and, in turn, about the relationship between national and class struggle in South Africa.

11. One important exception was the work of political scientist Tom Lodge, whose *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945* (London: Longman, 1983) remained, for a long time, the only scholarly account of the history of black resistance and political formations during the apartheid period. See also T. Lodge and B. Nasson, eds, *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in the 1980s* (London: Hurst, 1992).


13. See, for example, P. Denis and R. Ntsimane, eds, *Oral History in a Wounded Country* (Scottsville: UKZN Press, 2008); the Sophiatown Museum and the University of Johannesburg’s ‘Memory, Experience and Civic Engagement in Sophiatown’ project are examples of programmes that build critically on the History Workshop experience.

14. As South African social historians turned their focus on ‘history from below’ and grassroots politics in the 1970s and 1980s, it was left to scholars based in academic institutions outside the country – particularly in the United States – to take up the study of black political formations. Starting in the early 1970s, the first four parts of the epic documentary collection *From Protest to Challenge*, variously edited by American scholars Thomas Karis, Gwendolen Carter, Gail Gerhart and Sheridan Johns, began to appear. The first three volumes combined selected organisational documents with analytical essays, while a fourth volume, on biographical profiles, was added as a compendium to the collection, which initially covered the years 1882-1964. Staying with the original format of edited documents supported by commentary, a fifth volume was published more than 20 years after the project was first undertaken, to deal with the period from 1964 to 1979. A sixth and final volume (edited by Gail Gerhart with Clive Glaser) appeared in 2010 to complete the documentary series by taking it up to 1990. In a recent critique of documentary history, Ciraj Rassool argued that this body of scholarship was responsible for entrenching a linear, positivist approach characterised by ‘its own chronology, periodisation and constructive codes’ which have had an enduring legacy for the narration of South African resistance history and political biography (C. Rassool, ‘Rethinking South African Documentary History,’ *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (2010), 32).


17. For a self-reflection and analysis of the crisis of this period within the Wits History Workshop in particular see *African Studies*, Special Issue: Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1 (2010).


19. This huge project has already generated four volumes (covering the decades from the 1960s to the 1980s and the international solidarity movement) and the publication of a fifth one (focusing on the years 1990-4) is
forthcoming. Select edited oral interviews collected as part of this project have also been published. SADET, eds, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, vols 1-4; SADET, eds, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: South Africans Tell their Stories*, vol 1, 1950-1970.

20. For a fierce debate over the role of the ANC in the revitalisation of the trade union movement in the 1970s, for example, see M Legassick, 'Debating the Revival of the Workers' Movement in the 1970s: 'The South African Democracy Education Trust and Post-Apartheid Patriotic History,' *Kronos*, 34 (2008), 240-66, and response by J Sithole, 'Contestation over Knowledge Production or Ideological Bullying?: A Response to Legassick on the Workers' Movement,' *Kronos*, 35 (2009), 222-41.

21. This is the period starting with the establishment of the Youth League, moving on to the 1949 Programme of Action, the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the multiracial politics of what came to be known as the Congress Alliance in the 1950s, the signing of the Freedom Charter, the PAC breakaway and Sharpeville, and the turn to violent tactics in the early 1960s.


23. This characterisation has been challenged by Peter Limb, who has traced the deeper roots of the ANC's relations with black workers – whom Limb argues were, from very early on, viewed by the Congress leadership as their obvious constituency by virtue of their shared experience of oppression as Africans – in the period prior to 1940. P Limb, *The ANC's Early Years: Nation, Class and Place in South Africa before 1940*, Hidden Histories Series (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2010).


34. Two newer books pay greater attention to the provincial politics of the ANC and their influence on the party as a whole. See Limb, The ANC's Early Years; D Everatt, The Origins of Non-Racialism: White Opposition to Apartheid in the 1950s (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009).


45. For a fierce critique of the notion of South Africa’s exceptionalism see M Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Kampala: Fountain, 1996).

46. Christabel Gurney has traced the intricate network of individuals, church groups and organisations gravitating around anti-colonial circles and leaning to the left of British politics that converged in the late 1950s in the making of the anti-apartheid movement in Britain. Other authors, for example, Rob Skinner and Denis Herbstein, have looked at the role of prominent church figures like Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston and Canon Collins (and the International Defence and Aid Fund) in establishing the foundations of and providing both moral and material support to the anti-apartheid struggle internationally. Tor Sellström’s two-volume history of Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa exemplarily brings into a single narrative framework the various liberation movements from the former Portuguese colonies and southern Africa, while criss-crossing distant geographical places between Europe and Africa. Social movement theory, on the other hand, provides the analytical lens for Håkan Thörn’s comparative study of the emergence of the anti-apartheid movement on an international scale after 1960. SADET’s two-part volume on international solidarity has examined the histories of anti-apartheid solidarity activities in a remarkably wide range of countries, from Western Europe to the Nordic countries to the United States to former socialist countries, as well as Cuba, China and India. However, the volume does not fully convey the transnational aspects of international solidarity as each of the chapters deals with anti-apartheid activism within the national confines of a particular country (See C Gurney, “A Great Cause”: The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, June 1959-March 1960, Journal of Southern African Studies, 26, 1 (2000), 123-44; R Skinner, The Foundations of Anti-Apartheid: Liberal Humanitarians and Transnational Activists in Britain and the United States, c. 1919-64 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); D Herbstein, White Lies: Canon John Collins and the Secret War against Apartheid (Oxford: James Currey, 2004); T Sellström, Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa, vol 1, Formation of a Popular Opinion, 1950-1970, vol 2, Solidarity and Assistance, 1970-1994 (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1999-2002); H Thörn, Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); SADET, eds, The Road to Democracy in South Africa, vol 6, parts 1-2 (Pretoria: University of South Africa; Los Angeles: Tsehai Publishers, Loyola Marymount University, 2008).)

47. P Trewhela, Inside Quatro: Uncovering the Exile History of the ANC and Swapo (Cape Town: Jacana, 2009).