THE MAKING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE
Geographic Setting

- South Africa is about twice the size of Texas.
- In 2011, population was around 50 million.

The population is divided into four main race groups.

- **Africans**—Bantu-language-speakers; descendants of migrants from Central Africa.
- **Whites**—Descendants of first European settlers of seventeenth century.
- **Coloureds** (term used universally in South Africa)—represent ancestry that includes indigenous hunter-gatherers, as well as slaves from Indonesia; also offspring from unions between white settlers and these groups.
- **Indians**—mostly descendants of indentured laborers recruited from India during the nineteenth century.
South African Currency
Rand (R)
International Designation: ZAR
Exchange Rate (2010): US$1 = 7.38 ZAR
20 Rand Note Design: Elephant
## The Making of the South African State

### Chronology of South Africa's Political Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Establishment of settlement at Cape Town by Dutch East India Company.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Incorporation of Cape Colony in British Empire.</td>
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<td>1836</td>
<td>Great Trek and subsequent establishment of Afrikaner republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (South African Republic).</td>
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<td>1899–1902</td>
<td>Anglo-Boer War and British occupation of Afrikaner republics.</td>
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<td>1912</td>
<td>Formation of the African National Congress.</td>
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<td>1680</td>
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<td>1780</td>
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<td>1810</td>
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<td>1840</td>
<td>First Frontier War in the Eastern Cape between settlers and Xhosa kingdoms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Arrival of British settlers in Eastern Cape.</td>
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<td>1833</td>
<td>Abolition of slavery.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Arrival of first Indian indentured laborers in Natal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
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<td>1920</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Act of Union.</td>
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<td>1913</td>
<td>Land Act.</td>
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1923
Native Urban Areas Act codifies urban racial segregation.

1925
Rand Rebellion by white mineworkers.

1926
Institution of job reservation for white workers in the Mines and Works Amendment Act.

1948
Election into power of National Party and the inception of Apartheid program.

1960
Sharpeville massacre and prohibition of the two main African nationalist organizations, the ANC and the PAC.

1976
Soweto uprising.

1980
Repeal of the pass laws.

1986
First universal suffrage election under a transitional constitution.

1990
Unbanning of the ANC and the PAC and release of political prisoners.

1992
Opening of constitutional negotiations.

1994
Adoption of final constitution.

1996
Thabo Mbeki succeeds Nelson Mandela as president.

1999
Thabo Mbeki resigns from the presidency after criticism for putting pressure on the Directorate for Public Prosecutions.

2000
ANC wins fourth victory in national elections. Jacob Zuma becomes president.

2010
South Africa hosts the World Cup Soccer tournament, a recognition of the country’s transition from apartheid to democracy.
By the eighteenth century, the Dutch who had settled in South Africa started to identify themselves as Afrikaners.

Afrikaner — descendants of Dutch, French, German, and Scots settlers speaking a language (Afrikaans) derived from Dutch.

- **1836–1840** Voortrekkers migrated northward.

- **Voortrekkers** — pastoral descendants of Dutch-speaking settlers; founders of the Afrikaner nation.
Dynamics of the Frontier, 1779–1906

The frontier wars between 1779 and 1878

- Fixed boundaries between white farmers and Xhosa Kingdoms
- The strongest African resistance arose in the Zulu Kingdom.

- 1843—British annexed Natal, part of Zulu Kingdom.
- 1860—British established sugar plantations; recruited Indian labor
Imperialists Against Republicans, 1867–1910

1886: Discovery of gold in Witwatersrand region of the Transvaal
Afrikaner republics declare war.

- Anglo–Boer War (1899–1902) launched against British

- **Boer** — Literally “farmer”; modern usage is a derogatory reference to Afrikaners.

- Britain prevailed.

- In 1910, Act of Union: four territories of Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State became provinces of the Union of South Africa.

- Africans outside Cape were excluded from voting.
The Origins of Modern Institutionalized Racism, 1910–1945

Beginning with 1913 Land Act, laws were passed to enforce racial discrimination.

- Allowed Africans to own land only inside patchwork of native reserves
- In 1880s Afrikaner nationalists constructed an “imagined community” based on language standardization and literary culture.
  - Community attracted white people forced off land during the Anglo-Boer War.
Apartheid and African Resistance, 1945–1960


- Afrikaner nationalism became a mass movement under Broederbond (Brotherhood) that sponsored savings banks, trade unions, and voluntary organizations.

- Early 1940s, National Party developed apartheid program.
  - Apartheid policies would restrict Indians and coloureds and halt African migration into the urban areas.
  - **Pass laws** required all Africans to carry internal passports at all times and interracial sex was banned.
The Sharpeville Massacre and Grand Apartheid, 1960–1976

- In 1950s, politicians reacted to restrictions and segregation laws with civil disobedience campaigns, strikes, and boycotts.

- 1970: Black Homeland Citizenship Act

  - All Africans would become citizens of ten sovereign states in South Africa.
    - 1.4 million farm workers were forcibly resettled within ten **homelands** (reserves for exclusive African occupation).
    - African urban workers would become permanent **migrant laborers** (workers moving from one location to another).

  - Government took control of administration of African **townships** where migrant workers lived.
    - **Townships**—South African usage refers to segregated residential area reserved for Africans, during apartheid.
By 1965, most significant African leaders who had not left the country were beginning life sentences on Robben Island.

- Included Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy president and commander in chief, **Umkhonto-we-Sizwe**

- **Sanctions** were imposed because of racist policies.
  - **Sanctions**—international embargos on economic and cultural contracts; applied selectively to South Africa by various governments and United Nations from 1948 until 1994.
Generational Revolt and Political Reform, 1976–1990

- Mid-1970s, collapse of Portuguese power in Angola and Mozambique inspired South African anti-apartheid activists.

- 1986: Influx control used to regulate black migration to cities.
  - Influx control—system of controls that regulated African movement between cities, towns, and countryside, enforcing residence in the homelands and restricting African choice of employment.

- In 1983, United Democratic Front (UDF) formed by anti-apartheid organizations
  - Township rioting, military repression, guerrilla warfare, and conflict between supporters of liberation movements and adherents of homeland regimes contributed to South Africa’s political history.
The South African Miracle, 1990–1999

- February, 1990, F.W. De Klerk, President repealed prohibitions on ANC and other proscribed organizations.
  - Nelson Mandela released unconditionally from prison.
  - De Klerk hoped National Party could build black support.
  - Also thought Inkatha Freedom Party might help.
- Under transitional constitution, cabinet selected through proportional representation.
  - Proportional representation (PR)—seats are allocated to parties within multimember constituencies, roughly in proportion to votes each party receives.
May 1994:

- Nelson Mandela, under Government of National Unity (GNU) took office, along with representatives of the ANC, the National Party, and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

- Began Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)
  - People-driven development
    - Included fairer allocation of public goods
  - Growth Employment, and Redistribution policy (GEAR) 1996
    - Embraced free-market reforms, including privatization and tariff reduction
      - Privatization—the sale of state-owned enterprises to private companies or investors.
THE MAKING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

South Africa After 9/11

- By 2001, police immobilized the terrorist Islamic group, People Against Drugs and Gangsterism (PAGAD).
  - Attacks against tourist facilities, a gay bar, and a synagogue
  - Resulted in police getting more powers of search and allowing detention without charge for up to fourteen days

- Suspected Al Qaeda operatives deported in May 2004.

- South Africans do not view their political world as significantly altered by Al Qaeda’s attack on 9/11.
  - Withheld endorsement of American-led invasion of Iraq in 2003
  - The ANC maintained friendly relations with Saddam Hussein’s administration.
  - Party benefited from illicit donations that accompanied South African purchases of Iraqi oil.
Jacob Zuma

- Despite lack of formal education, his bucolic language, and tangles with the law, Jacob Zuma was elected President in 2009.

  - Youth leaguer supporters liked Zuma’s heroic track record as an anti-apartheid guerrilla organizer and political prisoner.

- Apartheid—in Afrikaans, “separateness.” First used in 1929 to describe Afrikaner nationalist proposals for strict racial separation and “to ensure the safety of the white race.”
The arrival of the entrepreneurial three Gupta brothers in 1993

Established computer company and made many political friendships

Connections between President Zuma and the Gupta families proliferated.

- February 2011: Gupta’s under investigation for “plundering the economy.”
  - Differences over Gupta’s friendship with President Zuma signal deeper struggle for power with the ANC.
  - Is ANC movement prompted by irredentism?

➢ Irredentism—Advocate for recovery of territory related to one's nation but now subject to a foreign government.
South Africa in a World of States

- As *settler state*, was perceived by PAN-African politicians as left-over element of colonial world

- *Settler state*—colonial or former colonial administrations controlled by the descendants of immigrants who settled in the territory.

- Economy has brought international influence.

- Hosted 1999 G20 grouping, an annual convention of finance ministers and heads of reserve banks from the world’s biggest economies.

- 2010, *BRIC* (Brazil, India, and China) became *BRICS*. 
Governining the Economy

  - Expansion of public enterprise accelerated during the apartheid era.

- Threat of foreign trade embargoes led regime to increase protective trade tariffs to encourage import substitution industrialization during the 1960s.

- Policymakers could decide details of trade reform independently of foreign institutions because government owed relatively low foreign debt.
  - Effect of financial sanctions during the 1980s when it was not eligible for international loans.
The Democratic Idea

- Immigrants reinforced key features of South African political culture.
- Modern democracy influenced by 1970s trade union movement, which emphasized accountable leadership.

Collective Identity

- Overwhelming support of African nationalist parties
  - For the most part, South African voters appear to be influenced by their racial identities.
- Democratic program is difficult due to indecisiveness of racial solidarities.
  - Difficult for African poor to identify with generally affluent white South Africans.
Implications for Comparative Politics

○ Most recent comparative analysis of South African politics emphasizes its significance as a relatively successful example of democratization.

□ Democratization—transition from authoritarian rule to a democratic political order.

○ Post-apartheid politics offers comparativists useful insights into factors that build and consolidate democratic life:
  – pattern of economic growth before universal enfranchisement
  – role played by a vigorous civil society
  – effects of a carefully assembled set of state institutions
    ○ designed to promote social inclusion and reward consensus.
POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT

State and Economy

- Apartheid Economics
  - From 1952: Apartheid laws
    - Prohibited Africans from living in any town unless they had been born there, or had worked for the same employer for ten years.
    - Migrant workers without urban residential rights had to live in tightly controlled hostels in segregated townships.
  - Apartheid economics was buttressed by welfare state.
    - Functioned in a racially discriminatory fashion
Apartheid Economics (Cont’ d)

- In 1960s, state spread its control over African educational institutions.
- By the end of decade, most children of school-going age were attending public schools.
- Huge inequalities in amount of public money spent per capita on white and black children.
- Pension payments between races were equalized only in 1993 as apartheid was ending.
- South Africa’s universal public pension, together with disability grants and other kinds of welfare payments, remain unusual in sub-Saharan African states today.
Liberalization and Deregulation

- Dismantling of apartheid
  - Accompanied by wider kinds of economic deregulation.

**Economic deregulation**—the lifting or relaxation of government controls over the economy, including reduction of import taxes (tariffs) and phasing out of subsidized prices for producers and consumers.

By 1984, most official employment discrimination had been removed except in gold mining.

In 1990s, rising defense spending and expanding public debt brought reasons to deregulate and privatize.

Abolishment of influx control resulted in labor shortage of skilled workers.
Liberalization and Deregulation (Cont’d)

Liberal economic policies in 1994

- Attempted to expand scope of private ownership through redistributive policies
  - Housing grants
- Agreed to reduction of industrial tariffs from 1994 through 2001 and agricultural tariffs by 36%

- Environmental issues brought to focus in post-apartheid constitution
  - “Brown” issues of urban landscape, (such as poor access to clean water and unsafe waste disposal)
  - “Green” conservationism, e.g., vehicle emissions and energy efficiency

In 1998: Marine Living Resources Act opened up fishing grounds to impoverished village communities.
Society and Economy

- South Africa remains one of the most unequal societies in the world despite the government’s efforts to alleviate poverty.

- Social inequality is product of government policies.
  - Whites moved ahead economically at the expense of Africans.
  - Racial inequities in government expenditures obvious in education
    - As late as 1984, number of Africans completing the final grade of high school was 60 percent of total of white pupils in grade 12.
    - Today, public expenditure on education is roughly uniform.
  - 2010: Calculations show 47 percent of population live below poverty line.
  - Unemployment and the HIV/AIDS pandemic have offset the government’s efforts to address poverty.
Black Empowerment

- 1999 laws enacted to promote black business
  - Preferential Procurement Act
    - Established a set of criteria in awarding government contracts that require companies that win them to allocate shares to “previously disadvantaged” people
  - Promotional of Equality Act
    - Set up monitoring system to record how well companies were “deracializing” their managements
  - National Empowerment Fund Act
    - Reserves two percent of the proceeds from the sale of public corporations to finance black shareholding in these concerns
  - Government has been providing black entrepreneurs about 2.5 billion Rand ($375 million) a year of start-up capital.
- In addition, political pressure applied to companies to appoint black people to their boards
South Africa and the International Political Economy

- 1940s-1970s: Protectionist policies constrained economic growth
- Important consequences of international sanctions
  - 1970s oil embargo stimulated petrochemical industry.
  - Ending of sanctions helped to increase South African trade with other African countries.
  - Prompted outflow of South African investment into countries with lower labor costs
- Reaction to State of Emergency imposed in 1985
  - Divestment and credit denial by American companies and banks
    - Culminated in U.S. Congress passage of Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in October 1986.
- Fierce foreign competition in domestic market
  - Growing volume of Chinese imports
Organization of the State

South African state has been a quasi-federal system since 1994.

- National government has power to override laws passed by nine provincial regional legislatures.
- The provincial administrations depend on funds allocated by central government.

- Requirement for *power sharing* not featured in 1996 constitution.

**Power sharing** — Constitutional arrangements to ensure that the major political parties share executive authority. These can include mandatory coalitions and allocation of senior official positions between parties.
The Executive

- Has features of Britain Westminster model
  - President is more powerful than British prime minister.
- Governments are formed by the president, who must be a member of the National Assembly.
  - When elected by Assembly, president vacates his/her parliamentary seat and appoints and subsequently chairs a cabinet of ministers as well.
    - President can only serve two five-year terms.
    - President chooses deputy president.
      - Deputy president has no designated special powers.
    - President can be impeached or removed by a two-third vote of the National Assembly, but only on grounds of disability or serious misconduct.
- 1994 First President: Nelson Mandela
Cabinet ministers remain members of parliament and are accountable to it through question-time sessions. These are regularly scheduled occasions at which ministers have to reply to queries from backbenchers.

Also accountable to various parliamentary standing committees.

Parliamentarians lose office if expelled from membership by their parties.

- Gives executive great power
- Few checks other than constitutional restraints on the leadership of the ruling party
Other State Institutions

The Judiciary and the Police

• All judges appointed through a constitutional process that limits executive discretion

• For most citizens courts are inaccessible and inefficient.
  - Huge caseloads make proceedings slow.
  - Nearly half of prisoners are awaiting trial.
  - Many do not reach trial because syndicates bribe court officials to destroy dockets.

• Highest crime rate in world
  - Due to social inequalities
  - Violent political history
  - General disrespect for law
National Security Organizations

- Not in much better shape than police force
- Reluctant to play major role in continental peacekeeping due to its poor quality of forces
- Budgets were expanded after 9/11 attacks.
Subnational Government

• Nine provincial governments are led by premiers.
  □ Limited to two terms in office
  □ In seven of the provinces, elections are formalities.
    ○ Premiers are, in reality, appointed and dismissed by President.
• Each premier appoints a mini-cabinet, called an executive council.
  ○ Provincial revenues derived mainly from central government
    ○ Provinces receive conditional grants for particular projects from national ministries.
    ○ Provincial administrations must allocate their expenditure between departments in accordance with national budgetary guidelines.
• Because of taxation powers, local governments have greater discretionary power than provincial administrations.

☐ Big cities draw most of their revenues from local taxes.

☐ Smaller local authorities remain heavily dependent on government grants.

• Lack of accountability has consequences of corruption.

☐ Militant public service unions affiliated to COSATU, the ANC’s ally, often protect identifiably corrupt officials.

○ Corruption is especially entrenched in local government.
The Policy-Making Process

• During Mandela administration, policy-making was participatory.
  ○ Assertive parliamentary committees and ministers worked closely.
  ○ Process was more open to interest groups and the infant lobbying industry.

• Growth, Employment, and Redistribution policy (GEAR) policy in 1996 represented an abrupt turnaround.
  □ Policy shifts have occurred suddenly, without elaborate consultative procedures.
  □ Worlds of policy decision making and popular political activism have become increasingly insulated from each other.
REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

The Legislature

Consists of 400-member National Assembly located in Cape Town, as well as the National Council of Provinces

○ In general elections, parties compete for National Assembly seats by offering single lists of candidates.
  ○ If a ruling party’s leadership predominates within the executive branch, then the executive branch’s power over parliament is much greater than in most other systems in which the executive branch is accountable to parliament.
  ○ Parliamentary committees review the work of different government departments.
  ○ Standing Committees on Public Accounts and Public Finance monitor general public spending.
  ○ Once a bill has received its second reading in the National Assembly, it can be enacted.
In 1999, a second chamber of the parliament was set up, the National Council of the Provinces.

- Comprised of ninety members
- Made up of nine equal delegations
- Drawn from provincial legislatures
- Each province can cast only one vote within the Council.
- National Council for the Provinces reviews all legislation.
  - For most laws its functions are only advisory.

On the whole, ANC parliamentarians have tended to defer to the executive.

- Represents well over two-thirds of the votes in the National Assembly
- South Africa uses a national list system of proportional representation.
National and provincial elections

- Held simultaneously every five years
  - Parties nominate lists of candidates—one list for the National Assembly and one for each of the nine provinces.
  - Voters use two ballot papers on which they indicate their preferred party.
    - One for the Assembly
    - One for their provincial legislature
  - Names of candidates do not appear on the ballot papers.
  - Seats are allocated in proportion to each party’s share of the votes.
  - List system means that MPs can defy party policy or leadership directives if they are willing to risk heavy penalties.
The African National Congress


- After the uproar that followed the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960, the government banned both the ANC and PAC.
- Party was unbanned in 1990.
- During exile, ANC strengthened its alliance with the Communist Party.
- During Mandela’s first two terms in office, authoritarian tendencies with the ANC strengthened.
- 1977 amendments to the constitution endorsed centralism, prohibited factionalism.
- Today, ANC’s predominance is partly a result of its legitimacy as a national liberation movement.
The Democratic Alliance and Opposition Politics

• 1999 Democratic Alliance (DA)
  □ Joining of New National Party and Democratic Party
  □ Not politically viable
  □ National Party withdrew from alliance in 2002
    ○ Announced it would cooperate with ANC

• The root of their differences
  □ The Democrats were rooted in a liberal conception of individual citizenship.
  □ The Nationalists were based on community-centered notions of rights and obligations.
Electoral management by the Independent Electoral Commission has become increasingly effective.

- Voters are confident about ballot secrecy.
- Confidence in integrity of the count

The nation-wide double-ballot, list-proportional representation electoral system contains strong incentives for moderation.

- All parties are encouraged to seek votes outside their core support or base areas.
- Encourage adoption of programs with broad social appeal.
Politics Culture, Citizenship, and Identity

- Strong citizenship identity indicative by high voter turnout.
- Opinion polls indicate that many South Africans tend to believe that race relations have improved since 1994.
- Most black people still live in ghetto-like townships or in the historical homeland areas.
- Racial distinctions still remain very conspicuous.
- Some attention has been given towards women’s rights.
  - Mandela legalized abortion on demand.
Interests, Social Movements, and Protests

- Social movements continue to be well organized.
  - People more likely to participate in civic associations than in political parties.
- With the exception of COSATU, associational life remains racially segregated.
  - Business organizations continue to represent white and black firms separately.
  - Larger corporations are still perceived to represent white privilege.
  - Churches may have racially integrated hierarchies.
    - Anglicans, Methodists, and Catholics may have black leaders.
    - Most South African, however, worship in racially exclusive congregations.
- Democracy is still weakened by divisions between ethnic groups.
  - Prevents people from recognizing common interests
Impact of AIDS on South African society is hard to overestimate.

More than 10 percent of the population is currently HIV-positive, 5.7 million people, according to UN figures for 2009.

AIDS is likely to kill between 5 and 7 million South Africans in the next ten years.

- President Mbeki’s skepticism on the AIDS pandemic
  - Prevented hospitals from administering antiviral drugs
  - Suggested that AIDS statistics and projections were derived from faulty sampling
  - Issued Medical Control Council warning that antiviral drug was toxic

- Major difficulties today are administrative
- Health system cannot manage the scale of treatment required.
**Economic Challenges**

- HIV/AIDS will cut already low savings rates and deepen the shortages of skilled workers.

  - Government does not believe it is in the business of creating jobs, so unemployment is high.
    - 2004 foreign loan funded investment in infrastructure did help to expand employment
      - Mainly though short-term jobs in construction (due to Olympics)

- Government social expenditure has helped to soften effects of poverty, but social inequality remains strong.

  - Government has done little to change racial patterns of landholding.
    - Bitter remembrances of being forced off lands
    - Transitional democracy will be fragile if its institutions are too frequently invoked to protect property rights.
South African Politics in Comparative Perspective

South African society was deeply divided in the 1990s.
- Except for churches, most institutions and organizations were segmented, separated, or stratified by race.
- Economic inequalities between rich and poor were among most polarized.
- Injustice was reinforced along racial lines.

Democratization since 1994
- Until 1994 elections, apartheid state retained effective authority.
- Constitution makes meeting basic needs of citizens a government obligation.
  - Designed to reassure economically minority dominant groups that their interests would be safeguarded under democracy.
  - Addressing inequality will cause challenge to its constitution.