Appendix B
People, Places and Events

African National Congress (ANC)
Established as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912. Renamed African National Congress (ANC) in 1923. Following the Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960, the ANC was banned by the South African government and went underground until the ban was lifted in 1990. Its military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), was established in 1961, with Mandela as commander-in-chief. The ANC became South Africa’s governing party after the nation’s first democratic elections on 27 April 1994.

African National Congress Women’s League (ANCWL)
Established in 1948. Actively involved in the 1952 Defiance Campaign and the anti-pass campaigns.

African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)
Founded in 1944 by Nelson Mandela, Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu, A. P. Mda and Oliver Tambo as a reaction to the ANC’s more conservative outlook. Its activities included civil disobedience and strikes in protest against the apartheid system. Many members left and formed the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in 1959. Banned between 1960 and 1990.

Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF – Afrikaner People’s Front)
Founded on 19 May 1993 as an organisation to unite white Afrikaans speakers, it included organisations such as the extreme right Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB) and former generals of the apartheid-era army and police. It demanded independence for Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans and campaigned for an Afrikaner volkstaat or homeland.

Autshumao (spelt by Mandela as Autshumayo)
(d. 1663). Khoikhoi leader. Learnt English and Dutch and worked as an interpreter during the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope from 1652. He and two of his followers were banished by Jan van Riebeeck to Robben Island in 1658 after waging war with the Dutch settlers. He was one of the first people to be imprisoned on Robben Island and the only person to ever successfully escape.

Barnard, Dr Lukas (Niël)

Bizos, George

Buthelezi, Mangosuthu

Biko, Stephen Bantu

Botha, Pieter Willem (P.W.)

CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa)
The platform on which nineteen political groups met from December 1991 to negotiate a new dispensation in South Africa. At CODESA 1, a Declaration of Intent was signed and five working groups were appointed to develop a new constitution for a democratic South Africa, make arrangements for an interim government and decide upon the future of homelands, among other issues. However, during CODESA 2, which commenced in May 1992, talks broke down over discussions around majority rule and power sharing. More than a month later, in June, Mandela suspended talks following allegations of police involvement in the massacre at Boipatong. Eventually, behind-the-scenes meetings between cabinet minister Roelf Meyer and ANC member Cyril Ramaphosa were followed by the resumption of the negotiations through the Multi-party Negotiating Forum, which met for the first time on 1 April 1993.
Coetsee, Hendrik (Kobie)  

Communist Party South Africa (CPSA)  
(See South African Communist Party.)

Congress Alliance  
Established in the 1950s and made up of the ANC, South African Indian Congress (SAIC), Congress of Democrats (COD) and the South African Coloured People’s Organisation (later the CPC). When the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was established in 1955, it became the fifth member of the Alliance. It was instrumental in organising the Congress of the People and mobilising clauses for inclusion in the Freedom Charter.

Congress of the People  
The Congress of the People was the culmination of a year-long campaign where members of the Congress Alliance visited homes across the length and breadth of South Africa recording people’s demands for a free South Africa, which were included in the Freedom Charter. Held 25–26 June 1955 in Kliptown, Johannesburg, it was attended by 3,000 delegates. The Freedom Charter was adopted on the second day of the Congress.

Congress of Traditional Leaders in South Africa (CONTRALESA)  
Formed in 1987 in KwaNdebele, one of South Africa’s homelands or ‘Bantustans’. With the support of the then banned ANC and the United Democratic Front (UDF) it grew into an anti-apartheid pressure group in the homelands of South Africa. CONTRALESA remains a force for greater rights for traditional leaders.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa  
Negotiated in the Constitutional Assembly from May 1994 to October 1996 during the Government of National Unity (GNU). During the CODESA talks – started in 1991 – the National Party and ANC had agreed to create an interim constitution, which would be the basis for a final constitution. The final constitution was to be drawn up by members of the two houses of Parliament sitting as a Constitutional Assembly. On 8 May 1996 the final constitution was adopted by the National Assembly and one day later, second deputy president, F.W. de Klerk, announced the withdrawal of his National Party from the GNU, with effect from 30 June. After amendments required by the Constitutional Court, the final text was adopted by the Constitutional Assembly in October 1996.

Corbett, Michael  

Dadoo, Dr Yusuf  
(1909–85). Medical doctor, anti-apartheid activist and orator. President of SAIC. Deputy to Oliver Tambo on the Revolutionary Council of MK. Chairman of the South African Communist Party (SACP), 1972–83. Leading member of the ANC. First jailed in 1940 for anti-war activities, and then for six months during the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign. Was among the twenty accused in the 1952 Defiance Campaign Trial. He went underground during the 1960 State of Emergency, and into exile to escape arrest. Awarded the ANC’s highest honour, Isitwalandwe Seaparankoe, in 1955 at the Congress of the People.

de Klerk, Frederik Willem (F.W.)  

Defiance Campaign Against Unjust Laws  
Initiated by the ANC in December 1951, and launched with the SAIC on 26 June 1952, against six apartheid laws. The Campaign involved individuals breaking racist laws such as entering premises reserved for ‘whites only’, breaking curfews and courting arrest. Mandela was appointed national volunteer-in-chief and Maulvi Cachalia as his deputy. Over 8,500 volunteers were imprisoned for their participation in the Defiance Campaign.

Dlamini-Zuma, Nkosazana  
(1949–). Medical doctor, anti-apartheid activist, politician. Completed a medical degree at the University of Bristol, 1978, then worked for the ANC’s Regional Health Committee and later Health and Refugee Trust, a British non-government organisation. Returned to South Africa after the ANC was legalised and took part in the negotiations at CODESA. Appointed health minister, 1994. Minister of foreign affairs (1999–2009) under President Mbeki and under President Motlanthe. Served as minister of home affairs under her ex-husband, President Jacob Zuma, from 10 May 2009 to 2 October 2012. President of the African Union from late 2012 until early 2017.

Duarte, Jessie Yasmin  
(1953–). Anti-apartheid activist and politician. Special assistant to Mandela after his release from prison and before he was elected president of South Africa. Member of the provincial cabinet of Gauteng. Appointed deputy secretary general of the ANC, 2012. South Africa’s ambassador to Mozambique.

Dube, John Langalibalele  
(1871–1946). Educator, publisher, editor and political activist. First president general of the SANNC (renamed as the ANC in 1923) established in 1912. Established the Zulu Christian Industrial School at Ohlang. Established the first Zulu/English newspaper Ilanga laNatal (Sun of Natal) in 1904. Opponent of the 1913 Land Act. Mandela voted at the Ohlang school in 1994 for the first time in his life, and then visited Dube’s grave to report that South Africa was now free.
Erwin, Alexander (Alec)  
(1946–). Politician, trade unionist and academic. Participated, on the side of the ANC, in the negotiations to bring an end to white minority rule and was a member of the Development and Reconstruction Committee. Elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC in 1990. Deputy minister of finance in Mandela’s first cabinet, then minister of trade and industry. Minister of public enterprises under President Mbeki from 29 April 2004 to 25 September 2008.

Fischer, Abram (Bram)  
(1908–75). Lawyer and political and anti-apartheid activist. Leader of the CPSA. Member of the Congress of Democrats (COD). Charged with incitement for his involvement in the African Mine Workers’ Strike for better wages in 1946. Successfully defended Mandela and other leading ANC members in the Treason Trial. Led the defence in the Rivonia Trial, 1963–64. Continually subjected to banning orders and in 1966 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for violating the Suppression of Communism Act and conspiring to commit sabotage. Awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1967.

Fivaz, George  
(1945–). Appointed by President Nelson Mandela as the first national commissioner of the new South African Police Service. His primary responsibility was to unite eleven policing agencies into a single united South African Police Service and secondly to align the new police service to new legislation and the process of transformation in South Africa. When his term of office expired in January 2000, he was succeeded by National Commissioner Jackie Selebi.

Freedom Charter  
A statement of the principles of the Congress Alliance, adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown, Soweto, on 26 June 1955. The Congress Alliance rallied thousands of volunteers across South Africa to record the demands of the people. The Freedom Charter espoused equal rights for all South Africans regardless of race, land reform, improved working and living conditions, the fair distribution of wealth, compulsory education and fairer laws. The Freedom Charter was a powerful tool used in the fight against apartheid.

Gerwel, G. J. (Jakes)  

Ginwala, Frene Noshir  
(1932–). Anti-apartheid activist, journalist, politician, member of the ANC. Left South Africa in 1960 after helping to establish safe escape routes for anti-apartheid activists. She helped Oliver Tambo and Yusuf Dadoo to set up the first office in exile for the ANC. A journalist, she became the managing editor of two Tanzanian English-language newspapers, The Standard and Sunday News. She returned to South Africa in 1991. The first woman to serve as the speaker of Parliament in South Africa, she held this position from 1994 to 2004.

Goldberg, Denis  
(1933–). Anti-apartheid and political activist. Member of the SACP. Co-founder and leader of the Congress of Democrats (COD). Technical officer in MK. Arrested at Rivonia in 1963 and subsequently served a life sentence in Pretoria Local Prison. On his release in 1985 he went into exile in the UK and represented the ANC at the Anti-Apartheid Committee of the United Nations. Founded Community HEART in 1995 to help poor black South Africans. Returned to South Africa in 2002 and was appointed special adviser to Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Ronnie Kasrils.

Government of National Unity (GNU)  
The government of South Africa between 27 April 1994 and 3 February 1997 under the leadership of the ANC and according to the terms of clause 88 (2) of the interim constitution of South Africa, which required that any party holding twenty or more seats in the National Assembly could claim one or more cabinet portfolios and enter the government. The National Party and the IFP obtained cabinet positions for their leaders and MPs. F. W. de Klerk took his National Party out of the GNU on 3 June 1996, citing the exclusion of joint decision-making from the final constitution, and the National Party’s lack of influence on government policy.

Gumede, Josiah Tshangana  
(1870s–c.1947). Political activist and newspaper editor. Co-founded the ANC, 8 January 1912 (as the South African Native National Congress). In 1906 he travelled to England to discuss land claims of the Sotho people. President of the ANC, 1927–30. His son, Archie Gumede, was an ANC activist and served time in prison. Nelson Mandela corresponded with him from prison.

Gwala, Thembha Harry  
(1920–95). School teacher and political activist. Worked in the underground of the ANC until his arrest in 1964. Charged for sabotage and sentenced to eight years in prison which he served on Robben Island. Continued his activism on his release in 1972 and in 1977 he was sentenced to life imprisonment and returned to Robben Island. He was released early, in November 1988, as he was suffering from motor neuron disease, which had robbed him of the use of his arms. Elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC, 1991. After the election in 1994 he served on the KwaZulu-Natal legislature.

Hani, Thembisile (Chris)  
(1942–93). Anti-apartheid and political activist. Member of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) from the age of fifteen. He also joined the SACP. Member and eventually head of MK. He was active in the ANC underground in the Eastern and Western Capes, and eventually went into exile, where he rose through the ranks of MK. Returned to South Africa in 1990. General secretary of the SACP from 1991. Assassinated outside his home in Johannesburg in 1993 by Janusz Walus. Posthumously awarded the ANC’s highest honour, Isitwalandwe Seaparankoe, in 2008.

Hartzenberg, Ferdinand (Ferdi)  
(1936–). Politician and maize farmer. Served as minister of education in the cabinet of P. W. Botha, 1979–82. One of the more conservative members of the National Party, he left
the ruling party in 1982 to establish the Conservative Party (CP). Served under Andries Treurnicht as the deputy leader of the party, then led the party after Treurnicht's death in 1993. The CP boycotted the 1994 elections in South Africa. Was the second and last leader of the CP when it merged with the Freedom Front and the Afrikaner Unity Party in 2004 to form the Freedom Front Plus. Retired from politics after the merger.

Holomisa, Bantubonke (Bantu) Harrington
(1955–). Politician, military commander. Began his military career in the Transkei Defence Force in 1976 and rose to the rank of brigadier by 1985. Forced the prime minister of the so-called independent state of Transkei to resign in October 1987, and two months later overthrew his successor, Stella Sigcau. Commander of the Transkei Defence Force and head of its government from 1987 until 1994 when it was reintegrated into South Africa. Elected onto the National Executive Committee of the ANC in 1994 and served as deputy minister of environment and tourism under President Mandela. Expelled from the ANC on 30 September 1996 after accusing the party of corruption. In 1997 he co-founded the United Democratic Movement (UDM), a party which he has led in Parliament since 1999.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
Originally the Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement, known as Inkatha, it was established by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1975. Established itself as a political party on 14 July 1990 and Buthelezi was elected leader. It promoted a federalist national government which would provide regional autonomy. The IFP joined the Freedom Alliance, a coalition with white right-wing groups to oppose the ANC. It threatened to boycott the 1994 elections but joined at the eleventh hour. It obtained 10.5 per cent of the national vote and three cabinet positions in President Mandela’s government. The IFP threatened to leave the GNU but did not.

Jordan, Zweledinga Pallo
(1942–). Anti-apartheid activist and politician. Worked for the ANC in London from 1975. Head of the ANC research division, 1979–88, based at the Centre for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique, where, in 1982, he was badly injured when a parcel bomb sent by the apartheid regime exploded in the office, leaving him deaf in one ear and killing his colleague, anti-apartheid activist Ruth First. Minister of posts, telecommunications and broadcasting in Mandela’s government, 1994–96. Minister of environmental affairs and tourism, 1996–99. Minister of arts and culture under President Mbeki, 2004–09.

Joseph (née Fennell), Helen

kaBhekuzulu, King Goodwill Zwelithini
(1948–). King of the Zulu nation. Installed after the death of his father, King Cyprian Bhekuzulu kaSolomon, in 1968. A regent was appointed until he became of age. After his twenty-first birthday and his first marriage, Zwelithini was installed as the eighth monarch of the Zulu people on 3 December 1971.

Kahn, Jacob Meyer (Meyer)

Kathrada, Ahmed Mohamed (Kathy)

Keys, Derek
(1931–). Politician and businessman. Finance minister in South Africa under both President de Klerk and President Mandela after a career in business. In December 1991, De Klerk appointed him minister of economic coordination and of trade and industry. The finance ministry was added to his portfolio in 1992. After being appointed to Mandela’s cabinet he resigned on 6 July 1994. He was replaced by Chris Liebenberg on 19 September.

Kotane, Moses

Krieger, Johann
(1932–). Judge. Appointed chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), December 1993. The IEC’s mandate was to deliver South Africa’s first elections based on universal adult suffrage. One of the first to be appointed to the Constitutional Court, 1994.
His term ended in 2002. Since retirement, has carried out work on five continents for the United Nations, the African Union, the Commonwealth of Nations and a host of non-governmental organisations. Currently deputy chairperson of the Board of Section27, a public interest law centre seeking to achieve equality and social justice in South Africa.

**Liebenberg, Chris**

(1934–). Banker, politician. Worked his way up from the position of messenger in a bank to become one of the top bankers in South Africa, serving as the CEO of Nedbank. Minister of finance under President Mandela 1994–96. Mandela asked him to take over from Derek Keys who resigned as finance minister months into his presidency.

**Luthuli, Chief Albert John Mvumbi**

(1898–1967). Teacher, anti-apartheid activist and minister of religion. Chief of Groutville Reserve. President general of the ANC, 1952–67. From 1953 he was confined to his home by government bans. Defendant in the 1956 Treason Trial. Sentenced to six months (suspended) in 1960 after publicly burning his passbook and calling for a national day of mourning following the Sharpeville Massacre. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960 for his non-violent role in the struggle against apartheid. Awarded the ANC's highest honour, Isitwalande Seaparankoe, in 1955 at the Congress of the People.

**Machel, Graça (née Simbine)**


**Madikizela-Mandela, Nomzamo Winifred (Winnie)**


**Maharaj, Satyandranath (Mac)**

(1935–). Academic, politician, political and anti-apartheid activist, political prisoner and MP. Leading member of the ANC, SACP and MK. Convicted of sabotage in 1964 and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment which he served on Robben Island. Helped to secretly transcribe Mandela’s autobiography, Long Walk to Freedom, and smuggled it out of prison when he was released in 1976. Commanded Operation Valandela (Vula), an ANC underground operation to establish an internal underground leadership. Maharaj served on the secretariat of CODESA. Minister of transport, 1994–99. Envoy to President Jacob Zuma.

**Malan, Magnus**


**Mandel, Winnie**

(See Madikizela-Mandela, Nomzamo Winifred.)

**Manuel, Trevor**

(1956–). Anti-apartheid activist and politician. Appointed regional secretary and national executive member of the UDF, 1983. Between 1985 and 1990, he was repeatedly detained without trial or placed under house arrest for his political activities. Elected to Parliament in 1994 and appointed minister of trade and industry by Mandela. South Africa’s longest-serving finance minister, he served under Mandela in 1996 and also served under Thabo Mbeki and then Kgalema Motlanthe until 2009. Between 2009 and 2014 he served as minister in the presidency for the National Planning Commission under Jacob Zuma. Chaired the International Monetary Fund’s Development Committee. Special envoy for development finance for UN Secretaries-General Kofi Annan and Ban Ki-Moon. Co-chaired the Transitional Committee of the Green Climate Fund, 2011, a UN fund to help poorer nations combat and adapt to climate change.

**Marcus, Gill**

(1949–). Political activist, politician, banker. Born to political activist parents who left South Africa for exile in 1969, Marcus began working full-time for the ANC in London in 1970. Elected to Parliament in 1994 and served as the first chairperson on the Joint Standing Committee on Finance. Deputy minister of finance in Mandela’s government from 1996 until 1999 when she left government to take up the position of deputy governor of the South African Reserve Bank. She held the post for five years and then became professor of policy, leadership and gender studies at the Gordon Institute for Business Science before going into business. Governor of the South African Reserve Bank from July 2009 to November 2014.

**Masekela, Barbara Mosima Joyce**

(1941–). Political activist, academic and ambassador. Left South Africa in the 1960s and studied in Botswana, Swaziland and Ghana. Graduated with a BA from Ohio State University and was assistant professor of English literature at Staten Island Community College, New York, and then at Rutgers University, New Jersey, until 1982. Served as the chair of the US regional political committee of the African National Congress. Headed the ANC’s Department of Arts and Culture, 1983. Returned to South Africa in 1990 and was elected to the ANC National Executive Committee in 1991. Became Mandela’s personal assistant in 1990. Has served as South Africa’s Ambassador to the United States, France and UNESCO.
Masemola, Jaftha Kgalabi (Jeff)  
(1929–90). Teacher and member of the ANC Youth League, then the PAC. Known as the “Tiger of Azania”, he was a founder of the armed wing of the PAC. After being arrested in 1962 and charged with sabotage for blowing up power lines and smuggling freedom fighters out of South Africa he was sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1963. On 13 October 1969, while still in prison, he met with Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison. It was rumoured that they discussed unity between the ANC and the PAC. Released from prison on 15 October 1989, and on 17 April 1990 he was killed in a mysterious car accident.

Mbeki, Archibald Mvuyelwa Govan (clan name, Zizi)  

Mbeki, Mvuyelwa Thabo  

Mboweni, Tito Titus  

Meiring, Georg  

Mhlab, Raymond (clan name, Ndobe)  

Mkwayi, Wilton Zimase (clan name, Mbona; nickname, Bri Bri)  

Mlangeni, Andrew Mokete (clan name, Motlokwa; nickname, Mpandla)  
(1929–90). Teacher and member of the ANC Youth League, then the PAC. Charged with Mandela and 155 others in the Treason Trial of 1956. All were acquitted. Became MK’s commander-in-chief after the arrests at Liliesleaf Farm. Convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. Served eighteen years on Robben Island and was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982. Awarded the ANC’s highest honour, Isitwalandwe Seaparankoe, in 1992.

Modise, Johannes (Joe)  
(1929–2001). Bus driver, anti-apartheid activist and politician. Charged with Mandela and 155 others in the Treason Trial of 1956. All were acquitted. Became a freedom fighter in the 1960s and rose to the position of commander-in-chief of MK, the armed wing of the ANC, holding this position for twenty-five years from 1965 to 1990. After Mandela’s release from prison, Modise returned to South Africa and joined the ANC’s negotiating team in discussions with the ruling National Party. The initial discussion resulted in the Groote Schuur Minute, which paved the way for the return of all exiles and a negotiated end to the apartheid system. Awarded the ANC’s highest honour, Isitwalandwe Seaparankoe, in 1992.

Mokaba, Peter  
(1959–2002). Political activist and politician. After working for a short time as a teacher, Peter Mokaba was arrested in 1982 and convicted of possessing weapons and undergoing military training as a member of MK in Mozambique and Angola. He was sentenced to six years’ imprisonment but was released after a year, following a successful appeal. Founding member of the South African Youth Congress, and later the organisation’s first president in 1987, Mokaba was hero-worshipped by a large section of South Africa’s youth. President of the ANCYL, 1991–94. Deputy minister of environmental affairs and tourism in Mandela’s cabinet.
Moosa, Mohammed Valli (Valli)  
(1957–). Anti-apartheid activist, politician and businessman. Member of the UDF. Participated in the multiparty negotiations to end white minority rule. Deputy minister for provincial and constitutional affairs in Mandela’s cabinet. After the National Party left the GNU in 1996, he became minister in this department. From 1999 he became environment and tourism minister. He went into business after leaving government.

Moroka, Dr James Sebe  
(1892–1985). Medical doctor, politician and anti-apartheid activist. President of the ANC, 1949–52. Convicted in the Defiance Campaign Trial in 1952. During the trial he appointed his own lawyer, disassociated himself from the ANC and pleaded for mitigation. As a consequence he was not re-elected president of the ANC, and was replaced by Chief Luthuli.

Mothopeng, Zephania Lekoame (Zeph)  
(1913–90). Teacher and anti-apartheid activist. Joined the ANCYL, 1940. Joined the PAC and was elected its president in 1989 while in prison. Jailed for two years in 1960, and again in 1964, and spent time on Robben Island in the same section as Mandela. Arrested again in 1976 and sentenced to fifteen years in jail. He was released early, in 1988, after he was diagnosed with cancer. Under his leadership, the PAC refused to join the multiparty negotiations for a democratic South Africa.

Motsaaledi, Elias (clan name, Mokoni)  

Mpetha, Oscar Mafakafaka  
(1909–94). Trade unionist, political activist and a member of the ANC. Detained for four years following the Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March 1960. Sentenced to five years’ imprisonment in 1983 after being convicted of terrorism and for inciting a riot. In the same year, he was elected co-president of the newly formed UDF. He spent the last period of his detention under guard at Groote Schuur Hospital. He was a diabetic and had his leg amputated and was confined to a wheelchair. Released on 15 October 1989, along with a group of political prisoners, following Mandela’s official request that they be released.

Mufamadi, Fohlisani Sydney  

Naidoo, Jayaseelan (Jay)  
(1954–). Politician and trade unionist. As a student he became active in the South African Students Organisation that was banned in 1977 just after its leader Steve Biko was murdered in police detention. Became a community-based organiser and joined the trade union movement. Elected the first general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions at its launch in 1975. Served as minister without portfolio in President Nelson Mandela’s cabinet with responsibility for co-ordinating the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Later served as minister of posts, telecommunications and broadcasting. Chair of the board of directors and of the partnership council of the Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition.

National Party  

Netshitenzhe, Joel Khathutshelo  

Ngoyi, Lilian Masediba  

Nkobi, Thomas Titus  

Nyanda, Siphiwe  
(1950–). Politician, political activist and military commander. Joined MK, the armed wing of the ANC, in 1974. Appointed MK chief of staff in 1992. Served on the Transitional Executive Council which oversaw the end of white minority rule. When MK was incorporated into

Nzo, Alfred Baphetuxolo
(1925–2000). Leading member of the ANCYL and ANC. Participant in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, and the Congress of the People. In 1962, Nzo was placed under twenty-four-hour house arrest, and in 1963 he was detained for 238 days. After his release the ANC ordered him to leave the country. He represented the ANC in various countries including Egypt, India, Zambia and Tanzania. He succeeded Duma Nokwe as secretary general in 1969, and held this post until the first legal ANC conference in South Africa in 1991. He was part of the ANC delegation that participated in talks with the De Klerk government after 1990. Appointed minister of foreign affairs in the newly democratic South Africa, 1994. Received a number of awards including the Order of Luthuli in Gold, 2003.

OR
(See Tambo, Oliver.)

Organisation of African Unity (OAU)
Formed on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with thirty-two signatory governments and eventually including all of Africa’s fifty-three states excluding Morocco, which withdrew in 1984. It aimed to eradicate all forms of colonialism and white minority rule on the African continent. It also aimed to coordinate and intensify the cooperation of African states to achieve a better life for the people of Africa and to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African states. It was disbanded on 9 July 2002 by its last chairperson, South African President Thabo Mbeki, and replaced by the African Union.

Pahad, Aziz Goolam
(1940–). Politician and anti-apartheid activist. Went into exile in 1964 and became a full-time campaigner for the banned ANC from 1966. Instrumental in developing the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom and in Europe. Elected onto the National Executive Committee of the ANC in 1985. Returned to South Africa after the ANC was legalised in 1990 and participated in the negotiations to end white minority rule. Served as deputy minister of foreign affairs under President Mandela and his successor, Thabo Mbeki. Resigned from cabinet in September 2008.

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)
Breakaway organisation of the ANC founded in 1959 by Robert Sobukwe, who championed the philosophy of ‘Africa for Africans’. The PAC’s campaigns included a nationwide protest against pass laws, ten days before the ANC was to start its own campaign. It culminated in the Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March 1960, in which police shot dead sixty-nine unarmed protesters. Banned, along with the ANC, in April 1960. Unbanned on 2 February 1990.

Plaatje, Solomon Tshekisho (Sol)
(1876–1932). Author, journalist, linguist, newspaper editor and political publicist, and human rights activist. Member of the African People’s Organisation. First secretary general of the SANNC (renamed as the ANC in 1923), 1912. First black South African to write a novel in English (Mhudi, published 1913). Established the first Setswana/English weekly, Koranta ea Becoana (Newspaper of the Tswana), 1901, and Tsala ea Becoana (The Friend of the People), 1910. Member of the SANNC deputation that appealed to the British government against the Land Act of 1913, which severely restricted the rights of Africans to own or occupy land.

Pollsmoor Maximum Security Prison
Prison in the suburb of Tokai, Cape Town. Mandela was moved there from Robben Island along with Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and, later, Ahmed Kathrada in 1982.

Qunu
Rural village in South Africa’s Eastern Cape Province where Mandela lived after his family moved from his birthplace of Mvezo.

Ramaphosa, Matamela Cyril
(1952–). Politician, businessman and trade unionist. First secretary of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers, 1982. Instrumental in the establishment of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Chairman of the National Reception Committee which coordinated Mandela’s release from prison. Elected ANC general secretary, 1991. Played a pivotal role in the negotiations to end white minority rule for which he earned the praise of Mandela. Left government for the business world when in 1994 he lost out as deputy president under President Mandela to Thabo Mbeki. Elected deputy president of the ANC in December 2012 and has served as deputy president of South Africa under President Zuma from 2014.

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)
Implemented by Mandela’s ANC government, the RDP was designed to address the huge socio-economic disparities created by apartheid. It focused on alleviating poverty and addressing massive shortfalls in social services. It was subordinated to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macroeconomic strategy from 1996.

Rivonia Trial
Trial between 1963 and 1964 in which ten leading members of the Congress Alliance were charged with sabotage and faced the death penalty. Named after the suburb of Rivonia, Johannesburg, where six members of the MK High Command were arrested at their hideout, Liliesleaf Farm, on 11 July 1963. Incriminating documents, including a proposal for a guerrilla insurgency named Operation Mayibuye, were seized. Mandela, who was already serving a sentence for incitement and leaving South Africa illegally, was implicated, and his notes on guerrilla warfare and his diary from his trip through Africa in 1962 were also seized. Rather than being cross-examined as a witness, Mandela made a statement from the dock on 20 April 1964. This became his famous ‘I am prepared to die’ speech. On 11 June 1964 eight of the accused were convicted by Justice Qartus de Wet at the Palace of Justice in Pretoria, and the next day were sentenced to life imprisonment.
Robben Island
Island situated in Table Bay, 7 kilometres off the coast of Cape Town, measuring approximately 3.3 kilometres long and 1.9 kilometres wide. Has predominantly been used as a place of banishment and imprisonment, particularly for political prisoners, since Dutch settlement in the seventeenth century. Three men who later became South African presidents have been imprisoned there: Nelson Mandela (1964–82), Kgalema Motlanthe (1977–87) and Jacob Zuma (1963–73). Now a World Heritage Site and museum.

Sekhukhune
(1814–82). King of the Marota people (commonly called Bapedi). Illegitimate ruler who came to power using military force. As a result, his half-brother, and the legitimate heir, Mampuru, was forced to flee from the kingdom. He built his power by entering into diplomatic marriages with various royal dynasties, by incorporating other societies into his empire and by military conquest. This increased his support base and gave him legitimacy.

Sisulu, Walter Ulyate Max (clan names, Xhamela and Tyhopho)
(1912–2003). Anti-apartheid activist and political prisoner. Husband of Albertina Sisulu. Leading ANC member. Married Walter Sisulu, whom she met through her nurs-

Sisulu (née Thethiwe), Nontsikelelo (Ntsiki) Albertina
(1918–2011). Nurse, midwife, anti-apartheid and women’s rights activist, and MP . Married Walter Sisulu, whom she met through her nursing friend, Evelyn Mase (Mandela’s first wife), 1944. Member of the ANCWL and Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). Played a leading role in the 1956 women’s anti-pass protest. The first woman to be arrested under the new anti-pass laws. This day is now commemorated annually in South Africa as a public holiday: Human Rights Day.

Sharpeville Massacre
Confrontation in the township of Sharpeville, Gauteng Province. On 21 March 1960, sixty-nine unarmed anti-pass protesters were shot dead by police and over 180 were injured. The PAC-organised demonstration attracted between 5,000 and 7,000 protesters. This day is now commemorated annually in South Africa as a public holiday: Human Rights Day.

Sisulu, Walter Ulyate Max (clan names, Xhamela and Tyhopho)
(1912–2003). Anti-apartheid activist and political prisoner. Husband of Albertina Sisulu. Met Mandela in 1941 and introduced him to Lazar Sidelsky who employed him as an articed clerk. Leader of the ANC, and generally considered to be the ‘father of the struggle’. Co-founder of the ANCYL in 1944. Arrested and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for playing a leading role in the 1952 Defiance Campaign. Arrested and later acquitted in the 1956 Treason Trial. Continually served with banning orders and placed under house arrest following the banning of the ANC and PAC. Helped established MK, and served on its High Command. Went underground in 1963 and hid at Liliesleaf Farm, in Rivonia, where he was arrested on 11 July 1963. Found guilty of sabotage at the Rivonia Trial, and sentenced to life imprisonment on 12 June 1964. He served his sentence on Robben Island and at Pollsmoor Prison. Released on 15 October 1989. One of the ANC team negotiating with the apartheid government to end white rule. Awarded the ANC’s highest honour, Isitwalandwe Seaparankoe, in 1992.

Slovo, Joe
(1926–95). Anti-apartheid activist. Married Ruth First, 1949. Leading member of the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), Commander of MK. Joined the CPSA in 1942 and studied law at the University of the Witwatersrand where he met Mandela and was active in student politics. He helped establish the Congress of Democrats (COD), and was accused in the 1956 Treason Trial. Detained for six months during the 1960 State of Emergency. He assisted in setting up MK. Went into exile from 1963 to 1990 and lived in the UK, Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. General secretary of the SACP, 1986. Chief of staff of MK. Participated in the multiparty negotiations to end white rule. Minister of housing in Mandela’s government from 1994. Awarded the ANC’s highest honour, Isitwalandwe Seaparankoe, in 1994.

Sobukwe, Robert Mangaliso
(1924–78). Lawyer, anti-apartheid activist and political prisoner. Member of the ANCYL and the ANC until he formed the PAC based on the vision of ‘Africa for Africans’. Editor of The Africanist newspaper. Arrested and detained following the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. Convicted of incitement and sentenced to three years’ imprisonment. Before he was released, the General Law Amendment Act No. 37 of 1963 was passed, which allowed for people already convicted of political offences to have their imprisonment renewed – this later became known as the ‘Sobukwe Clause’ – which resulted in him spending another six years on Robben Island. He was released in 1969 and joined his family in Kimberley, where he remained under twelve-hour house arrest and was restricted from participating in any political activity as a result of a banning order that had been imposed on the PAC. While in prison he studied law, and he established his own law firm in 1975.

South African Communist Party (SACP)
Established in 1921 as the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), to oppose imperialism and racist domination. Changed its name to the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1953 following its banning in 1950. The SACP was only legalised in 1990. The SACP forms the Tripartite Alliance with the ANC and COSATU.

Southern African Development Community (SADC)
An intergovernmental organisation of fifteen Southern African states, established on 17 August 1992, which aims to further socio-economic cooperation and integration of its members.
It was a successor to the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which was established on 1 April 1980 when nine majority-rulled southern African countries signed the Lusaka Declaration ‘Towards Economic Liberation’.

**State of Emergency, 1960**

Declared on 30 March 1960 as a response to the Sharpeville Massacre. Characterised by mass arrests and the imprisonment of most African leaders. On 8 April 1960 the ANC and PAC were banned under the Unlawful Organisations Act.

**Stengel, Richard**


**Suppression of Communism Act, No. 44, 1950**

Act passed 26 June 1950, in which the state banned the SACP and any activities it deemed communist, defining ‘communism’ in such broad terms that anyone protesting against apartheid would be in breach of the act.

**Tambo, Oliver Reginald (OR)**


**Terr’Blanche, Eugene**

(1941–2010). White supremacist, policeman, farmer and unsuccessful politician. Founder and leader of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AFRICO) which was established on 1 April 1980 when nine majority-rulled southern African countries signed the Lusaka Declaration ‘Towards Economic Liberation’.

**Transitional Executive Council (TEC)**

In 1993, during the negotiations to end white minority rule, the ANC suggested a Transitional Executive Council which would ‘promote the preparation for and transition to a democratic order in South Africa’. The ANC had argued that the white-dominated government of the time could not act both as referee and player in the elections. The TEC was to level the playing field and create a climate for free political activity in the run-up to the elections in April 1994. The TEC was made up of seven sub-councils: law and order – stability and security; defence; intelligence; foreign affairs; status of women; finance; and regional and local government and traditional authorities.

**Treason Trial**

(1956–61). The Treason Trial was the apartheid government’s attempt to quell the power of the Congress Alliance. In early morning raids on 5 December 1956, 156 individuals were arrested and charged with high treason. By the end of the trial in March 1961 all the accused either had the charges withdrawn or, in the case of the last twenty-eight accused including Mandela, were acquitted.

**Trew, Tony**


**Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)**

Established by Mandela in 1995 as a way for South Africa to heal after decades of brutal abuse in the apartheid era, the TRC investigated human rights abuses at televised hearings which took place between 1960 and 1994. Perpetrators could apply for amnesty from prosecution for such abuses. They were obliged to testify about what they did and would receive amnesty should it be decided that their testimony was true and that their actions were committed for political motives.

**Tshwete, Steve Vukile**


**Tutu, Archbishop Desmond**


**Umkhonto weSizwe (MK)**

Umkhonto weSizwe, meaning ‘spear of the nation’, was founded in 1961 and is commonly known by the abbreviation MK. Nelson Mandela was its first commander-in-chief. It became the military wing of the ANC. On the eve of the 1994 elections MK was disbanded and its soldiers incorporated into the newly formed South African National Defence Force (SANDF) with
soldiers from the apartheid South African Defence Force, Bantustan defence forces, IFP's self-protection units and Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the military wing of the PAC.

van der Merwe, Johan

Verwoerd, Dr Hendrik Frensch

Victor Verster Prison
Low-security prison located between Paarl and Franschhoek in the Western Cape. Mandela was transferred there in 1988 from Pollsmoor Prison, and lived in a private house inside the prison compound. There is a statue of Mandela just outside the prison gates. Now named Drakenstein Correctional Centre.

Viljoen, Constand
(1933–). Politician and military commander. Joined the Union Defence Force in 1956 and by 1977 was chief of the army in South Africa. Along with fellow retired army generals, he formed the Afrikaner Volksfront in 1993. Before South Africa’s first democratic elections he was thought to have amassed a force of between 50,000 and 60,000 to prepare for war to stop the democratic transition. In March 1994 he led a military effort to protect the head of the Bophuthatswana homeland against a popular coup. He then split from the Volksfront and co-founded the Freedom Front of which he became leader. His decision to participate in South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 is credited with the prevention of loss of life. Retired in 2001 and handed over leadership of the Freedom Front to Pieter Mulder.

Xhamela
(See Sisulu, Walter.)

Zuma, Jacob Gedleyihlekisa

Appendix C
Timeline: 1990–99

11 February 1990: Nelson Mandela is released from Victor Verster Prison, near Paarl.
27 February 1990: Arrives in Lusaka, Zambia, on his first trip out of South Africa since 1962.
4 May 1990: He and President F.W. de Klerk sign the Groote Schuur Minute agreeing on a common commitment towards the resolution of the political conflict, peaceful negotiations, the return of exiles, release of political prisoners and to lifting the State of Emergency.
6 August 1990: Signs the Pretoria Minute suspending the armed struggle and concerning the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and obstacles in the Internal Security Act.
12 February 1991: Signs the D.F. Malan Accord with President de Klerk in an attempt to resolve deadlock between the ANC and the government over details of the Pretoria Minute, including what the ANC's suspension of armed conflict entailed and the ongoing release of political prisoners. It is agreed that MK will stop training in South Africa.
14 September 1991: Signs the National Peace Accord, which attempted to curb political violence by specifying codes of conduct for all political parties. It was signed by twenty-seven political, trade union and government leaders.
20 December 1991: Attends the opening of the multiparty negotiations, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, near Johannesburg.
24 September 1993: Addresses the United Nations in New York, asking for an end to sanctions against South Africa.
17 November 1993: Attends the CODESA negotiations where the final pieces of the interim constitution are agreed upon.
10 December 1993: Receives the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, with F.W. de Klerk.
18 December 1993: Meets with the United Nations Special Representative over bringing the Freedom Alliance (white right-wing groups, the IFP and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei Bantustan governments) into South Africa's peace process.
6 May 1994: South Africa's first democratic elections are declared free and fair by the Independent Electoral Commission.
10 May 1994: Is inaugurated in Pretoria as South Africa's first democratically elected president.