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United States Relations with South Africa: A Chronology

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NOTE: This reading comprises “Chronology” from a book titled *United States Relations with South Africa: A Critical Overview from the Colonial Period to the Present* by Y.G-M. Lulat (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing Group, 2008). For more on the book click here: <http://bit.ly/sabook>

Chronology

Because of the wide temporal terrain this work has sought to cover, this chronology is being provided to serve as a useful condensation of the major themes explored in the text. While all chronologies are necessarily selective, an effort has been made to include key determinative events that have shaped the historical trajectories of the United States and South Africa and their consequent influence on relations with, *and perceptions of*, each other—both at the governmental level, and at the level of civil society. There are two parts to this chronology, of which the second is devoted exclusively to core apartheid legislation (including that from the pre-apartheid era). Note: For a justification for some of the items in the earlier part of this chronology see Appendix I; and not all items in this chronology are necessarily mentioned again in the text.

PART ONE

The Beginnings

60,000 BCE: Approximate date of the earliest arrival of *Homo sapiens* into North America (this date is not accepted by all archeologists, however).

50,000 BCE: Approximate date of the earliest existence of *Homo sapiens* in Southern Africa, based on current evidence.

14,000 BCE: Approximate date of the earliest existence of the Khoena, based on current evidence.

500 BCE: Approximate date of the earliest existence of sheep and cattle herding, based on current evidence.

300 CE: Approximate date of the earliest existence of Iron Age settlements south of the Limpopo River, based on current evidence.

986 CE: Approximate date when the first Europeans, it is thought, Norsemen Bjarni Herjulfsson and about a decade and a half or so later (around 1000 CE), Leif Eriksson, and their shipmates, land on the North American continent (specifically Newfoundland—named by Eriksson as *Vinland*).

1400s

1488: Bartolomeu Dias, Portuguese sea captain, doubles the Cape of Good Hope, thereby inaugurating the Atlantic/Indian Ocean sea route from Europe to Asia.

1492: On April 30, Christopher Columbus receives the authority (privileges and prerogatives) from the monarchs of Spain, King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella I, to embark on his quest for a sea route to the East by sailing west with the title “Admiral of the Ocean Sea” and the ships *Niña*, *Pinta*, and *Santa María* under his command. He would leave the port of Palos on August 3.

1492: On October 12, Columbus and his crew, landing first on an island they would name San Salvador (also known as Watling Island), inadvertently stumble upon the islands of the Caribbean.

1497: Vasco da Gama (Portuguese sea captain) touches the Cape of Good Hope on his way to India—the first European to do so.

1500s

1507: The publication of *Cosmographiae Introductio* in which for the first time in print the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller names the continent that we now know today as North and South America as “America” on the basis of voyages undertaken to South America (possibly in 1499 and in 1502) by a Florentine merchant and navigator, by the name of Amerigo Vespucci, who, unlike what Columbus believed, determined that this was a different continent and not part of Asia.

1513: The Spaniard Juan Ponce de León, a plantation owner in Puerto Rico (an island which the Spanish under his leadership had helped to conquer as well as enslave its aboriginal peoples), arrives in April on the shores of the peninsula of Florida (which to this day bears part of the original name he gave it to mark the Easter time Feast of Flowers, *Pascua Florida*) with the intent of predation; however, the U.S. First Americans (the Calusas) who resided there managed to drive him and his men away but not before violent engagements. Ponce undeterred, would return a few years later in 1521 but again the Spanish would be repulsed—in the process Ponce would be wounded by a poisoned arrow, as a result of which he would die the same year.

1528: The Spanish, under the leadership of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, landing at place that today is called Tampa, try once again to conquer Florida. They would fail and as a consequence of which almost all would die. To add misfortune to righteous misfortune Cabeza de Vaca and his sixty or so surviving invaders, are shipwrecked on the island of Galveston on the coast of Texas; by the following year of them only fifteen were still alive. Cabeza de Vaca would eventually make his way to Spanish-controlled Mexico in 1536, after having survived among nomadic U.S. First Americans (under the guise, ironically, of a peaceful healer) with his last three remaining companions—among them, incidentally, an enslaved African by the name of Esteban.

1539–1543: In yet another effort to conquer Florida, Hernando de Soto is dispatched with some 700 men by the Spanish Crown and they land at a place near, again, present-day Tampa. However, permanent settlement appears not to be on the immediate agenda; instead a feverish quest for gold takes him and his troops on a murderous rampage across the U.S. southeast. While many U.S. First Americans perished in their efforts to defeat them (for example on October 1540 at a town near present-day Mobile, Alabama, called Mauvila), de Soto’s force did not escape unscathed. When the invasionary force he had led reached Mexico in 1543, only half the original number were alive, and he himself was not among them—he had died of fever the year before.

1540–1543: An expedition from Spanish-controlled Mexico led by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, comprising a force of some 300 conquistadors, invades the southeastern United States seeking gold; they would not find it but in the process much violence is inflicted on the aboriginal peoples they come across. In one incident, for example, provoked by the rape of a Pueblo woman by one of his men, the denouement is the capture and systematic burning at the stake of some 200 captured Pueblo First Americans by the Bible-wielding Spanish. The survivors of the invasionary force returned to Mexico empty-handed.

1565: The first permanent European settlement is established in northeastern Florida by the Spanish under the leadership of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, at St. Augustine (making it, from the perspective of the present, the oldest continuously settled city in the United States). In the process they embroil themselves in an armed religious conflict with French Huguenots—who are also engaged in efforts to establish a European colonial presence in Florida—that has its origins in Europe (*Huguenot Wars*). They would soon manage to annihilate their colonial rivals.

1570: The Jesuits attempt to set up a mission station up north among the Kiskiacks in the Chesapeake Bay area; however, they are all killed. In retaliation, the Spanish return two years later to attack the Kiskiacks, killing many, but they give up any idea of settling the region. It is left to the English to follow their example a century and a half later; and they are successful in setting up a settlement as a harbinger of a bigger, permanent, and long-lasting colonization effort unrivaled by any European power on the North American continent.

1585: The first failed attempt at establishing a colonial settlement in North America by the English on an island known as Roanoke of the coast of North Carolina. Two years later in 1587 a second attempt would be made but it too did not succeed, with the colonists disappearing into the mists of history never to be found again.

1598–1599: The Spanish, under the leadership of Don Juan Oñate, from Mexico arrive to colonize the territory that would be called New Mexico; in the process they defeat the Acoma First Americans—some 800 of Acoma men, women and children would be slaughtered and about 500 captured. From among the surviving males those above the age of twenty-five had one of their legs hacked off as a permanent reminder of the need to accept Spanish overlordship.

1600s

1607: Founding of the first permanent and successful settlement by English colonists at Jamestown, Virginia, after the failures on Roanoke Island (1585).

1619: About twenty Africans are exchanged for food, water and other supplies at the English colonial settlement of Jamestown, Virginia by a Dutch pirate ship. Their legal status is that of indentured servants (and not slaves). Gradually, however, the enslavement of Africans in the U.S. would become part of the U.S. economic fabric,

especially with the commencement of production of plantation crops such as tobacco and rice, and later cotton.

1621: On June 3, the States-General of the United Netherlands issues its charter to the Dutch West India Company that grants it authority to conduct business and other operations in the Americas and elsewhere in the Atlantic region.

1636–1637: The Pequot rebel against encroaching English settlers in Connecticut in defense of their lands giving rise to the *Pequot War* in which the burning down of one of their towns, Mystic, by the English that consumed the lives of hundreds of women, children, and old men—the fighting men were away—remains to this day an event of gross infamy.²

1652: Jan van Riebeeck, under the orders of the VOC, arrives at Table Bay to set up a maritime logistics station for their ships plying between Europe and Asia.

1653: Slavery is introduced to the Cape, at the request of Jan van Riebeeck, with the arrival of the first slave. (In a short time, 1657, enslaved persons would be dragged across the Indian Ocean from such diverse places as Indonesia, India, Malaya, and Sri Lanka in Asia; and Mozambique and Madagascar on the East African Coast.)

1657: The first permanent colonial settlement begins in South Africa with the release from employment of VOC employees for that purpose.

1675–1676: War breaks out again between the English settlers and U.S. First Americans in New England because of increasing settler encroachment. This war is variously known as *Metacom's War*, or *Metacomb's Rebellion* or more conventionally *King Philip's War* (Metacom, the chief of the Wampanoag, was known to the English as King Philip).³

1680: The Pueblo rebel against Spanish colonial rule (the *Pueblo Rebellion*) in New Mexico under the leadership of a medicine man of the Ohke Pueblo named Popé. They manage to drive the Spanish out of New Mexico; Popé became the ruler of the Pueblos and remained so until his death in 1688. This event would emerge as the most successful rebellion by First Americans in North America; however, it would last only about a decade. In 1692, the Spanish under Governor Pedro de Vargas re-established their rule, for the most part with minimal bloodshed.

1699: On April 10, the English slaving ship, the *Swiji*, drops anchor at Table Bay on its way from Madagascar to New York.

1699: On July 6, the infamous pirate Captain William Kidd is arrested in Boston. His pirate career included spending time in Madagascar, known at the time as a haven for pirates domiciled in the U.S. and elsewhere preying on Indian Ocean shipping. (He would be executed in London on May 23, 1701.)

1700s

1754–1763: *The French and Indian War* in the United States between principally England and France (and involving First Americans as well). The War is a result of conflicting claims over the Ohio River valley region. The war soon spreads to Europe and Asia and is known there as the *Seven Years' War*. England emerges victorious from the war, as a consequence of which Canada also becomes its colony.

1760s: Whalers from the U.S. begin to visit the coasts of Southern Africa for their catch (the ships' crews also include among them U.S. blacks).

1775: U.S. First Americans at San Diego in southern California rebel against Spanish rule but fail to oust them.

1775–1783: The U.S. War of Independence (also known as the American Revolutionary War) in which the thirteen participating states emerge victorious to form a new country, the United States of America. (The Declaration of Independence is adopted by the Second Continental Congress, representing the thirteen British North American colonies, on July 4, 1776; while British forces surrender at Yorktown in 1781. The Treaty of Paris, signed on September 2, 1783, by the U.S. and Britain, formally ends the war.)

1776: Adam Smith publishes his magnum opus *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in which he strongly advocates free trade as the basis of any nation's foreign trade policy.

1777: On April 13, the two-masted schooner *Desire* is claimed by the British at the Cape as a war-prize with the commencement of the U.S. War of Independence.

1781: On October 19, the British forces surrender at Yorktown (Virginia) with the ratification of the *Articles of Capitulation*, marking the successful end (with the critical assistance of the French) of the U.S. War of Independence.

1783: The first post-independence merchant ship from the U.S., the sloop *Harriet*, arrives at the Cape of Good Hope.

1784: In February, the U.S. merchant ship *Empress of China* is dispatched for the Far East—inaugurating the U.S.-Asia trade that would involve stops at the Cape of Good Hope.

1784: In November, U.S. shipping magnate Elias Hasket Derby sends his first ship to South Africa, the *Grand Turk*.

1787: Richard Allen founds the African Methodist Episcopal Church, a U.S. African-American-led breakaway church that in a later period would have considerable influence in Africa, including South Africa.

1792–1815: The period of the Napoleonic Wars whereby France under the leadership of Napoléon Bonaparte, through a series of wars, attempted to build an empire, primarily in Europe. The USG officially maintained neutrality in these wars.

1794: At the *Battle of Fallen Timbers*, General Anthony Wayne defeats a confederation of U.S. First Americans led by Weyapiersenwah (also known as Blue Jacket) of the Shawnee. Although he had been an ally of the British during the U.S. War of Independence, they betrayed him when he and his men sought assistance from them. The resulting *Treaty of Greenville* (1795) forced on the U.S. First Americans led to the alienation of a huge swathe of their territory that would become the state of Ohio. One of the leaders who refused to sign the treaty was the legendary Tecumseh, whose subsequent efforts to unite U.S. First Americans (with the assistance of his brother Tenskwatawa, a Shawnee prophet) as a single nation, to better mount resistance against settler encroachment, proved futile in the face of concerted settler aggression—of which the destruction of one of their major towns, called Prophet's Town (on November 6, 1811), by a force led by Governor William Henry Harrison, was emblematic.

1795–1814: With the onset of the Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) the British arrive to take over the Cape to protect their sea-route to the East. In 1803 the Cape is handed back to the Netherlands (then known as the Batavian Republic) but takes it back from them in 1806. In 1814 at the London convention, the Dutch recognize British sovereignty over the Cape. (During the period of Dutch suzerainty there was a brief interregnum of French rule [1781–1784].)

1796: On June 16, according to legend, the ship *Hercules* under the command of the U.S. captain Benjamin Stout (an advocate of the U.S. colonization of the eastern part of southern Africa that was once called Caffraria), on its way from Bengal to England, is shipwrecked on the eastern coast of Southern Africa somewhere between the rivers Begha and Keiskamma. The survivors, helped by both the aboriginal Africans and Afrikaners, manage to trek overland all the way to Cape Town, traversing a distance of some 500 miles.

1798: The official dissolution of the VOC.

1799: First U.S. diplomatic representation to South Africa is inaugurated with the appointment of John Elmslie as U.S. consul at the Cape.

1799–1879: *The Hundred-Year War* (between the Xhosa peoples and the European settlers).

1800s

1800: On March 11, the U.S. frigate *Essex* becomes the first U.S. naval ship to visit South Africa.

1803–1806: The Lewis and Clark Expedition (led by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark) is sent out by President Jefferson to explore and report back on the territory the United States had purchased from the French in 1803 in a deal that has come to be known as the *Louisiana Purchase*—despite the fact that this vast territory belonged to and was occupied by U.S. First Americans.⁴ The expedition received considerable assistance from the First Americans they met along their route but they (the First Americans) were of course completely unaware that the people they were assisting constituted a reconnaissance party of sorts for the cycle of deceit, treachery, violence, murder, and mayhem that would be visited on them in decades to come as European settlers engineered the theft of their lands on a scale similar to the one other U.S. First Americans had experienced in their eastern homelands over a century earlier (beginning with the arrival of the Spanish in Florida and the English in Jamestown, Virginia).

1806: The British arrive to take charge of Cape Colony for the second time, marking the beginning of the British colonization of the territory that would eventually become South Africa.

1807: The international slave trade, but not slavery, abolished by Britain (followed a year later by the United States).

1809: The British establish pass laws to control the movement of the Khoena and other blacks. However, this was not a new invention on their part; the Dutch before them had already established that nefarious tradition.

1812–1814: The period of armed conflict between the United States and Britain known as the *War of 1812* that arose out of U.S. grievances with the maritime high-handedness of the British during the *Napoleonic Wars* (1792 to 1815).

1820: The first of the officially sponsored British settlers arrive in the Cape Colony.

1821: Under the *Adams-Onís Treaty* Spain cedes Florida to the United States. It was the denouement of the *First Seminole War* (1817–1818) in which U.S. forces, under the command of one Andrew Jackson (who would later become a U.S. president), launched a war of aggression on the Seminole and the Spanish upon the orders of President James Monroe.⁵

1832: The U.S. Supreme Court in its ruling in the case *Worcester v. Georgia* (31 U.S. 515 [1832]) establishes the principle of the sovereignty of First American nations in the United States. However, President Andrew Jackson would pay no heed to the court in ordering the 1838–39 ethnic cleansing of the Cherokee nation from the state of Georgia.

1834: On December 3, the first U.S. missionaries leave for evangelical work in South Africa aboard the ship *Burlington*. All Euro-Americans, they are sent under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They would establish their first mission station, among the Zulus, on June 15, 1836.

1834–38: The emancipation of Cape colonial slaves—however, slavery in various guises persists for several more decades in the settler frontier region.

1835–60: The inland migration of Afrikaners, together with their servants and other dependants, from the Cape (the period here includes, besides the original movement out of the Cape from around 1835 to 1840, the movement into Transorangia and the Transvaal Colony), which came to be called the *Great Trek*.

1837: Founding of the republic of Transvaal by the Voortrekkers (after they conquer the Ndebele peoples).

- 1838:** Founding of the republic of Natal by the Voortrekkers (after they defeat the Zulu at the *Battle of Blood River*).
- 1838–1839:** The Cherokees are literally corralled in stockades and then, under armed escort (commanded by General Winfield Scott), forcibly marched out of their ancestral homeland in Georgia, as part of a process that today we may call “ethnic cleansing,” to out West in the dark days of winter—with inadequate food and other necessities—as part of a great settler land-grab that President Andrew Jackson (whose career, lest we forget, was studded with such highlights as land-speculation, slave-trading, and warfare against U.S. First Americans) deliberately aided and abetted, and in total violation of a Supreme Court ruling (*Worcester v. Georgia* [31 U.S. 515 (1832)]). Dubbing the march as the “Trail of Tears,” the Cherokees died by the thousands, both during and after the march.⁶ They, of course, were not the only ones who would become the target of “Indian Removal” (or “ethnic cleansing” as it would be called today); many other eastern nations among U.S. First Americans also fall victim to the European colonization of their lands around this time; they include the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles.⁷ It goes without saying, that even after this major injustice, removal to the western part of the country did not imply that they were left alone thereafter.
- 1839:** The Voortrekkers carve out the Republic of Natalia but a few years later (in 1843) the British annex the territory and rename it Natal Province.
- 1845:** The phrase “manifest destiny” makes its appearance in an editorial by John O’Sullivan in the *Democratic Review*; thereby giving a name to the ideological justification for the colonization of U.S. First American lands in the west by the administration of James K. Polk, including his deliberate provocation of the Mexican-American War.
- 1846–1848:** The Mexican War (also known as the Mexican-American War) provoked by the illegal U.S. annexation of the Mexican territory of Texas, culminates with the tragic defeat of Mexico, as a result of which Mexico loses most of the territory that is today occupied by the states of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah; the western portion of Colorado is also part of this territory. (*Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* ending the war is signed on February 2, 1848.)
- 1848:** The formal completion of the European colonial takeover of the territory that would, in time, become South Africa—but only from the perspective of boundary demarcation, not the complete subjugation of the African peoples.
- 1849:** U.S. Euro-American philosopher, naturalist, and writer, Henry David Thoreau publishes his “civil disobedience” essay titled “The Rights and Duties of the Individual in Relation to Government,” which would come to influence such diverse world-renowned luminaries as Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, Jr.
- 1849:** The commencement of the California Gold Rush that draws thousands upon thousands of fortune seekers from across the United States and around the world; in the process U.S. First Americans in the West come under further pressure prompted by land alienation and a massive loss of life—in fact the only appropriate word for what befalls them (especially in California) is nothing less than genocide.
- 1857:** Ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case (60 U.S. [19 Howard] 393 [1857]) that, in its legal implications, legalized slavery throughout the U.S., and established the noncitizenship status of all U.S. African Americans, slave or free.
- 1862:** The highly successful Christy Minstrels—founded by Edwin Pearce Christy in 1843 (in Buffalo, New York)—arrive for a short South African tour in Cape Town. Opening on August 20, 1862, this white troupe helped further popularize among South African whites (and to some extent even blacks) the U.S.-derived mass-entertainment of blackface minstrelsy.
- 1861–1865:** U.S. Civil War between the North and the South, in which the South is defeated which facilitates the abolition of slavery throughout the nation. The war also results in a further loss of lands in the West as U.S. First Americans are forced to align on either side of the conflict.⁸
- 1863:** The well-known Confederate raider *Alabama*, which sunk scores of Union ships during the Civil War, visits the Cape.
- 1863–1865:** Partial emancipation of enslaved U.S. African Americans in the United States as a result of the *Emancipation Proclamation* signed by President Abraham Lincoln on January 1, 1863, and full emancipation after the ratification of the *Thirteenth Amendment* to the U.S. Constitution in 1865.
- 1864:** Colonel John Chivington slaughters (on November 29) Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Sand Creek in Colorado (Sand Creek Massacre). Hundreds, including women and children, are massacred for no apparent reason, despite their attempts to negotiate for peace. Four years later, in 1868, the survivors of this massacre are again attacked, and many are killed, by Colonel George Armstrong Custer in a case of (supposedly) mistaken identity.
- 1866:** The founding of the secretive vigilante terrorist organization known as the Ku Klux Klan which quickly adopts the practice of extra-judicial murders called lynching as a mechanism of political and social control in which the ordinary white public, reveling in the public murders, would become coconspirators and perpetrators. This gruesome practice would lead to the murder of thousands, mostly blacks (but many whites would be killed too), during the period in which it was in vogue (up to the 1950s).
- 1867:** Diamond mining commences in South Africa in a part of the country that at the time was called Griqualand West, centered around a place that would come to be known as Kimberley. The ensuing diamond rush would also include hundreds of prospectors from the United States.

- 1867:** A major treaty, the *Medicine Lodge Treaty*, is forced upon the plains U.S. First American nations to facilitate further alienation of their lands. A year later another similar treaty, the *Fort Laramie Treaty*, would be signed with the Lakota people led by Chief Red Cloud, ending what is known as Red Cloud's War. As a result of these two treaties, a reservation system is created for the Plains Nations to restrict open access to their traditional homelands in order to make way for European settlers, thereby setting in motion yet another cycle of warfare between them and the settlers.
- 1867–1877:** Commencing with the passage of the *Reconstruction Act* in March (over the presidential veto of the racist Andrew Johnson), the period of U.S. history known as “Reconstruction” in which there is a genuine commitment on the part of the U.S. Congress, under the leadership of the Radical Republicans, to help the recently freed enslaved U.S. African Americans take their place in society as full citizens. The withdrawal of federal troops in 1877, by which time the Democrats are back in power in the South (by means of widespread terror and fraud, including the barbaric practice of lynching) marks the end of this period. It would also mark the beginning of the “Jim Crow” era (1877–1954).
- 1868:** Adoption of the *Fourteenth Amendment* to the U.S. Constitution that grants citizenship rights to all formerly enslaved U.S. African Americans, establishes the concept of equality of protection of all citizenry under the law, and proscribes the denial of life, liberty, and property without due process of law.
- 1869:** On May 10, the “golden spike” is ceremonially hammered into place at Promontory Summit, Utah, marking the completion of the First Transcontinental Railroad. Built partly on the backs of super exploited Chinese immigrant labor, the railway accelerates the settler colonization of the West—in the process inaugurating the further decimation of the U.S. First Americans, the massive pilfering of their lands, and the wanton destruction of the chief source of their livelihood, a magnificent herbivore: the buffalo.
- 1870:** Adoption of the *Fifteenth Amendment* to the U.S. Constitution that gives U.S. African American males the right to vote.
- 1870:** A massive campaign of avarice-driven wanton destruction of the vast, as-far-as-the-eye-could-see, herds of buffalo begins on a systematic scale by European hunters (who use the completed transcontinental railroad [1869] to access the buffalo rangeland). This destruction, which put this magnificent herbivore on the path to near certain extinction within no more than a decade, put a severe toll on the food supply of the plains U.S. First Americans who depended on the buffalo for their sustenance, further hastening their demise.
- 1876:** As part of the Sioux War of 1876, the U.S. Cavalry under the command of George A. Custer suffer an unexpected defeat at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The War itself grew out of the discovery of gold in 1874 in the Black Hills that belonged to the Sioux and which the U.S. government sought to possess against the wishes of a section of the Sioux—those who had not signed the Treaty of 1868 that established the Great Sioux Reservation in Dakota, and in which they had refused to domicile; preferring to remain free in the Powder River country further to the west. The defeat of Custer (in which his entire command of 250 men was wiped out by the Sioux) unleashed a vengeful military campaign against those First Americans of the northern plains who refused to come to heel on reservations.
- 1877:** The process begun a few years earlier by white racists, the so-called Bourbon Redeemers (Democrats), of recapturing power in all the southern states, by means of nothing less than widespread terror and election fraud, is now complete. The icing on the cake is that in this same year the *Compromise of 1877* that gave the presidency to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, in exchange for a complete withdrawal of federal troops from the South, is concluded—thereby leaving blacks and their allies with no protection from white racist violence and terror.
- 1877–1954:** The period of the *de jure* Jim Crow era in which the civil rights of U.S. African Americans guaranteed by the *Fourteenth* and *Fifteenth Amendments* to the Constitution are rolled back under a variety of apartheid-like laws, and legitimated under the bogus doctrine of “separate but equal” enunciated in the 1896 *Plessy* case.⁹
- 1878:** Walvis Bay in South West Africa (Namibia) is claimed by the British as their territory.
- 1879:** The British colonial forces conquer the Zulu but not before suffering a defeat at the *Battle of Isandhvana*.
- 1879:** On November 1, the government system off-reservation boarding schools for U.S. First American children—involving more often than not their forcible and heart-wrenching seizure from the bosom of their families and their transportation hundreds of miles away from home—designed to help wipe out U.S. Native American culture (constituting no less than an effort at cultural genocide) commences with the opening of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania at the site of an abandoned U.S. military barracks.¹⁰
- 1880–1881:** The period of the little-known First Anglo-Boer War, comprising mainly skirmishes between Afrikaners of the Transvaal and the British.
- 1881:** The Tuskegee Institute, a state vocational educational institution for U.S. African Americans, is founded in Tuskegee, Alabama, and Booker T. Washington is hired as its first principal (he would remain in this position, making the institution his life's vocation, until his death in 1915). The institute, under his leadership, gained wide prominence within and without the U.S. for its advocacy of an educational philosophy that suited the tenor of the times: black subservience to white supremacy. Although founded as a higher education institution, the institute became a full university only in 1985.
- 1883:** In the *Civil Rights Cases* (109 U.S. 1 [1883]) the U.S. Supreme Court takes a major reactionary step backward in striking down the *Civil Rights Act* of 1875 that sought to prohibit racist discrimination in public places (hotels, restaurants, transportation, etc.) on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.

- 1884:** Germany establishes its colonial claim over Namibia (South West Africa), with British acquiescence, when it hoists its flag on August 7 in Lüderitz (named after the German merchant Adolf Lüderitz who arrived in the territory in 1883). The following year the colony would be officially named as German South West Africa (Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika).
- 1886:** Gold mining on an industrial scale, in part based on U.S. expertise and technology, commences in South Africa in an area called the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal.
- 1887:** U.S. mining engineer Gardner Fred Williams is hired as general manager of De Beers (the diamond mining company owned by Cecil Rhodes) and would remain in this position until his retirement in 1905, when his son Alpheus would take over. (The company would officially be incorporated as De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. the following year on March 12.)
- 1887:** The *Daves Severalty Act* is passed by Congress that under the guise of creating a freehold land tenureship for U.S. First Americans (in order to destroy their thousands of years old communal way of life) reduces their lands from 138 million acres to less than 50 million by 1934.
- 1889:** The infamously perfidious Oklahoma Land Rush is instigated by the authority of President Benjamin Harrison with a gunshot at midday that signaled the permission to land-hungry European settlers lined up on the state border (though many had sneaked across even before then) to commence their rush to stake claims on U.S. First American reservation territory. Within about ten hours the settlers would manage to alienate nearly two millions acres of this territory! It would mark the beginning in the West of a systematic U.S. government-approved theft of the already much-reduced U.S. First American lands they had been allowed to retain under various treaties and undertakings.
- 1889:** The launch of the *National Geographic Magazine* (in 1959 renamed simply as *National Geographic*) in the U.S. that would contribute greatly to shaping the negative stereotypes of Africa among U.S. Americans in general, as an exotic, primitive, and uncivilized continent.¹¹
- 1890:** In June, the U.S. African American minstrel troupe the Virginia Jubilee Singers (also known as the McAdoo Singers) arrives in South Africa to launch a highly successful eighteen-month tour.¹²
- 1890:** The Wounded Knee Massacre of a band of Lakota led by Big Foot is prompted by the Ghost Dance (mentioned earlier) that the Europeans mistakenly thought was the harbinger of a rebellion by U.S. First Americans.¹³
- 1893:** On May 23, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrives to practice law in Natal; he would remain in South Africa until July 1914 (except for a brief interlude that took him back to India).¹⁴
- 1893:** U.S. mining engineer John Hays Hammond becomes the chief consulting engineer for the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, a company owned by Cecil Rhodes.
- 1895:** On September 18, U.S. African American Booker T. Washington delivers his *Atlanta Compromise* speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia in which he sets out the principle of black accommodation with what is in effect a “neofascist” U.S. South.
- 1895–1896:** The Jameson Raid, in which a number of U.S. Americans such as John Hays Hammond participate, is launched (unsuccessfully) at the behest of Cecil Rhodes against the Afrikaner-ruled Transvaal.
- 1896:** Reverend James M. Dwane arrives in the United States to formalize the union of his Ethiopianist church with the AME.
- 1896:** Ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* case (163 U.S. 537 [1896]) in favor of racial segregation under the bogus doctrine of “separate but equal,” which becomes the basis for the enactment of a plethora of Jim Crow laws, and thereby nullifying the intent of the *Fourteenth* and *Fifteenth Amendments* to the U.S. Constitution.
- 1896:** The celebrated U.S. humorist and man of letters Samuel Langhorne Clemens (alias Mark Twain) arrives in South Africa for a lecture tour of the country (May 6 to July 15)—it is part of his “around the world” speaking tour that he undertakes to repair his badly tattered finances.
- 1896:** The first “Bioscope” films (short primitively made thirty-second films) are shown in South Africa to the wonderment of audiences—that is only two years after the Thomas Alva Edison team had unveiled the Kinetoscope.
- 1898:** Bishop Henry McNeal Turner of the AME Church visits South Africa.
- 1898:** The completion of the subjugation of the African peoples of South Africa with the defeat of the Venda people by the Afrikaners.
- 1898:** The United States annexes Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.
- 1899:** Beginning in September, Secretary of State John Hay of the McKinley Administration outlines a policy in relation to China calling for nonexclusionary commercial access to that country—meaning no colonization of China—by means of a series of diplomatic notes to various European powers that comes to be known as the “Open Door Policy.” (The public airing of this important foreign policy that would put other world powers of the day on notice that the United States was an emerging power with its own “neoimperial” agenda takes place on January 2, 1900.)
- 1899–1902:** The period of the Second (better-known) Anglo-Boer War, which commenced on October 11. In May 1902 the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging ends the war, with the British emerging as victors from the conflict.
- 1899–1902 [1913]:** The period of Philippine-U.S. War precipitated by the U.S. imperial occupation of the Philippines. (Although the war was declared officially over on July 4, 1902, in reality the conflict transmuted into a

low-intensity conflict, involving guerilla warfare on the part of the Filipinos against U.S. forces that did not end until 1913.

1900s

1900: On February 9, U.S. engineer George Labram, inventor of the “grease table” and architect of a home-made artillery gun named “Long Cecil” (made during the siege of Kimberley to answer the artillery of the Afrikaners) is killed by an enemy mortar shell.

1901: John L. Dube founds the Ohlange Institute, a private college on the outskirts of Durban modeled on Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute.

1901: Charlotte Manye Maxeke returns to South Africa after graduating from AME’s Wilberforce University in the United States. One of the founding members of the SANNC, the precursor of the ANC, she would come to lead an exemplary life as an educator and activist.

1904: In what would turn out to be a dress rehearsal for the Nazi Holocaust to come, the Germans perpetrate genocide of the Herrero people in Namibia; it is estimated that the German colonial army (with the willing assistance of German settlers) managed to slaughter more than three quarters of the total Herrero population.

1908: On August 16, Mahatma Gandhi urges thousands of protesters (mainly Asians) to burn their segregationist passes in the courtyard of the Hamidia Mosque, located in Newtown, a suburb of Johannesburg.

1909: On February 12, the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (NAACP) is founded in New York City by an interracial group of civil rights supporters and activists, including W. E. B. Du Bois, Henry Moscowitz, Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villiard, Ida Wells-Barnett.¹⁵

1909–1910: British Parliament enacts the *South Africa Act*, which leads the following year to the formation of the Union of South Africa that federates the two British colonial provinces of Cape Province and Natal together with the two self-governing Afrikaner colonies of Transvaal and Orange Free State, and simultaneously ends formal British colonial rule over the resulting entity. In this new nation blacks are effectively excluded from all political participation. The first prime minister of the Union of South Africa is General Louis S. Both and he would hold this position until 1919.¹⁶

1910–1970: The period of the First (1910–1940) and Second (1940–1970) “Great Migration” of African Americans from the South to the North, and from the countryside to the city, that leads to the massive urbanization of millions of African Americans and sets the stage for the rise of the U.S. civil rights movement.

1912: The formation of the precursor of the African National Congress, the South African Native National Congress (in 1923 its name would be changed to the African National Congress).

1913: Upon his election to the U.S. presidency, Woodrow Wilson, a racist southerner, formalizes segregation in the Federal government.

1914: U.S. Novelist Edgar R. Burroughs publishes his first “Tarzan” novel, *Tarzan of the Apes*, which had first appeared as a serial in the pages of *Argosy All Story* in 1912. It would have many sequels as the series would enjoy great popularity in the U.S. and elsewhere. The novels and the subsequent cinematic rendition of them (effectively beginning in 1932), would help to contribute to the stereotypes of Africa as an exotic, primitive and uncivilized continent—with all the attendant consequences for the aboriginal African peoples.

1914: On August 1, Black Jamaican Marcus Mosiah Aurelius Garvey establishes his *Pan-Africanist Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association* (UNIA).

1914–1919: The period of the First World War in which South Africa participates on the side of the Allies.

1915: U.S. filmmaker D. W. Griffith releases his highly racist film, the *Birth of a Nation* (originally titled the *Clansman*), based on a play by an ex-Baptist minister Thomas Dixon, in which the racist terrorist organization known as the Ku Klux Klan is portrayed as a heroic organization that had saved the South from the tyranny and corruption of U.S. African-American-dominated state governments during the Reconstruction era (1865–77).¹⁷

1915: On November 14, U.S. African American educator and founder of the famous Tuskegee Institute, Booker Taliaferro Washington, passes away. The influence of his accommodationist ideas in its heyday would reach as far as South Africa.

1917: The overthrow of the autocracy of Tsar Nicholas II in Russia, in March, marks the beginning of the Russian Revolution comprising a series of political upheavals that would eventually lead to the formation of the Soviet Union in 1922—the world’s first Marxist-inspired socialist nation—under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin.

1917: Formation of the Anglo American Corporation by Ernest Oppenheimer with the help, in part, of U.S.-based finance capital.

1918: In February, Marcus Garvey organizes in Harlem, New York the first U.S. branch of a black nationalist organization that he and others had first founded (but without much success) in his home country of Jamaica on August 1, 1914 called the *Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities League* but more well-known by the shorter name of *Universal Negro Improvement Association* (UNIA).

1918: Afrikaner Broederbond is established.

1919: The black trade union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union is founded in Cape Town by Clements Kadalie (originally from Malawi) and Alfred Batty (a Euro-South African union organizer). The ICU (the ‘W’ was usually omitted from the abbreviation) was the first true mass organization of black South Africans and it would become an important vehicle for the spread of Garveyism in South Africa.

- 1919:** The League of Nations is born at the conclusion of the November 11, 1918–June 28, 1919 Paris Peace Conference that leads to the Treaty of Versailles that ended the First World War. The League was disbanded on April 18, 1946.
- 1920:** The League of Nations gives the mandate to administer the former German colony of South West Africa (Namibia) as a trust territory to South Africa.
- 1920:** Adoption of the *Nineteenth Amendment* to the U.S. constitution that gives women in the U.S. the right to vote.
- 1920–1921:** The well-known ANC official, journalist, and writer, Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje (Sol Plaatje), visits the United States and Canada to raise funds for the Kimberley chapter of the Brotherhood Movement (a British-based interdenominational religious organization) that he headed. On his visit he would have occasion to meet with both Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois.
- 1921:** The African Education Commission funded by the U.S. philanthropy Phelps-Stokes Fund, and led by Thomas Jesse Jones, arrives in South Africa on a fact-finding tour.
- 1921:** The formation of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) in July, which in 1953 would be renamed the South African Communist Party (SACP).
- 1922:** On January 2, U.S. African American YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) missionary or Traveling Secretary Max Yergan arrives in South Africa to establish branches of the YMCA (and other related entities) targeted at aboriginal Africans.¹⁸
- 1923:** The formation of the South African Indian Congress.
- 1924:** On August 3, founding in Kimberley, South Africa, of the Ethiopianist church by the name of Afro-Athlican Constructive Gaathly Mamatic Church by one Joseph Masogha. The church was an affiliate of the black U.S.-based Garveyite church House of Athlyi founded by Richard Athlyi Rogers.
- 1924:** Founding of an affiliate in Kimberley (South Africa), under the leadership of Daniel William Alexander, of the U.S.-based Garveyite-influenced African Orthodox Church.
- 1928:** The Carnegie Corporation of New York commissions a major study of poverty among whites in South Africa titled “Commission of Investigation into the Poor White Problem” (commonly known as the Carnegie Poor White Study).¹⁹
- 1928:** The Carnegie Corporation of New York commissions a study of library services in Southern Africa, and soon begins funding an expansion of these services.
- 1930s:** The period of the Great Depression, set in motion in part by the Wall Street Crash of October 24, 1929, which would engulf almost the entire planet, including South Africa.
- 1932:** The film studio MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) releases the first of the popular Tarzan film series on March 25 (in New York City), titled *Tarzan the Ape Man*, roughly adapted from a novel of by Edgar R. Burroughs. The film is directed by W. S. Van Dyke and would feature Johnny Weissmuller as Tarzan.²⁰
- 1933:** Franklin D. Roosevelt (Democratic Party) becomes the thirty-second president of the United States (and immediately sets about implementing his “New Deal” program, aimed at alleviating the ravages of the Great Depression suffered by the vast majority of the citizenry, that among other things would bring the U.S. economy under greater government influence.)
- 1937:** On January 28, the *International Committee on African Affairs* (renamed later as *Council on African Affairs* in 1943)—the forerunner of *TransAfrica*—is founded by U.S. African American activists Paul Robeson and Max Yergan, among others, to lobby the U.S. government and the foreign policy establishment in behalf of freedom in Africa, including South Africa.
- 1937–1938:** From September 28 to January 1, 1938, Ralph J. Bunche would visit South Africa as part of a research trip.²¹
- 1939:** The influential U.S. philosopher and educator, John Dewey, visits South Africa under a program of academic visitor exchange between the United States and South Africa, funded by the Carnegie Commission of New York.
- 1939–1945:** The approximate period of the Second World War in which South Africa participates on the side of the Allies, despite support among some Afrikaners for the Axis powers. (The war officially ended on September 2, 1945 with the capitulation of the Axis powers.)
- 1940:** On June 10, Marcus Mosiah Aurelius Garvey, the founder of the largest mass movement of Pan-Africanism of his day, passes away in London. The influence of his ideas would reach almost every corner of the black world, including South Africa.
- 1941:** On June 25, under pressure from the U.S. African American labor leader A. Philip Randolph (with his threat of organizing a “March on Washington”) and others opposed to racial discrimination, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs Executive Order 8802—“Prohibition of Discrimination in the Defense Industry”—constituting the first major (albeit limited) governmental action since Reconstruction in support of freedom from racial discrimination in the United States.
- 1941:** On August 14, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, following a secret conference off the coast of Newfoundland, issue an eight-point joint declaration that came to be known as the Atlantic Charter spelling out their vision of a post-World War II world.
- 1942:** On February 19, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issues Executive Order 9066 authorizing the imprisonment of U.S. Japanese Americans in concentration camps on spurious and racially motivated grounds that they posed a security threat.²²

- 1944:** Formation of the African National Congress Youth League that would help move the African National Congress toward greater activism and clearly defined nationalist goals.
- 1944:** Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal's landmark and influential study, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, on the race question in United States (titled *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*) is published.
- 1945:** Harry S. Truman (Democratic Party) becomes the thirty-third president of the United States.
- 1945:** On August 6, USG drops the first atomic bombs on a people, the Japanese—at Hiroshima, and at Nagasaki three days later (on August 9). It would inaugurate the nuclear age and a worldwide race to acquire this deadly weapon, in which apartheid South Africa would also be a participant.
- 1945:** On October 24, the United Nations is founded—following a conference in San Francisco from April 25 to June 26 to draft its charter—as a structural continuation of the League of Nations but with a different and expanded mission: to maintain international peace while at the same time promoting social and economic development of member nations. Among the representatives accorded prominence at the conference is the South African foreign minister Jan C. Smuts.²³
- 1945:** On November 14, commencement of a series of trials of a high-ranking Nazi military and other officials on charges of “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity” held before the International Military Tribunal that would last until 1949 in the city of Nuremberg, Germany. The trials came to be known as the “Nuremberg Trials” and they would help establish in international law, among other concepts, the concept of “crimes against humanity” (which would include juridical racism).
- 1946:** On March 5, in a speech titled “Sinews of Peace” delivered at Westminster College (a private liberal arts college in Fulton, Missouri), which was honoring him with a degree, Winston Churchill helps to popularize the phrase “Iron Curtain,” with the words “[a] shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies.... From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe.”²⁴
- 1946:** In October, at the opening session the first General Assembly meeting of the United Nations, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of the U.N. delegation from India, with the support of the Soviet Bloc countries, precipitates an unwanted focus on South Africa's racial policies by raising the matter of the mistreatment of South Africans of South Asian descent as contrary to the provisions of the U.N. Charter. The U.S. adopts an ambivalent position on the complaint.
- 1947:** On March 12, as if on cue from the Churchill “Sinews of Peace” speech delivered about a year earlier, President Harry S. Truman in an address before the joint session of Congress heralds the beginning of the cold war with his decision to support Greece and Turkey with military and other aid so that they would not succumb to “outside pressures” (read the Soviet Union). This policy decision that would come to be known as the “Truman Doctrine.”
- 1947:** On August 15, India achieves formal independence from British colonial rule after a spirited nationalist struggle spearheaded by Mahatma (Mohandas Karamchand) Gandhi who had helped pioneer the strategy of nonviolent civil disobedience.
- 1947–1991:** The period of the “cold war,” a low-level conflict between the United States and its allies and the former Soviet Union and its allies for global ideological and economic dominance—but involving very real and highly destructive proxy wars in many countries of the Afro-Asian and South American ecumene (including the Caribbean), which would consume the lives of thousands upon thousands of innocent civilians.²⁵
- 1947:** On October 23, W. E. B. Du Bois presents his report, written under the auspices of the NAACP, to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights (via the mediation of the Soviet Union, as the U.S. delegation refuses to have anything to do with it), detailing the gross violations of the human rights of U.S. African Americans in the United States. The report is titled *An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress*.
- 1947:** On October 29, the President's Committee on Civil Rights that had been entrusted by the Truman Administration to make a comprehensive investigation of the state of discrimination against racial minorities in the United States, releases its report *To Secure These Rights*.
- 1948:** On January 30, Mahatma Gandhi is assassinated by a Hindu religious fanatic, Nathuram Godse.
- 1948:** In May, the predominantly Afrikaner party, the National Party, wins the whites-only national elections. It takes office on May 28, and would remain in power for nearly half a century until the first national democratic elections in 1994.
- 1948:** On May 14, the establishment of the state of Israel (referred to by Palestinians as *Al-Nakbah*, the Catastrophe) with the demise of the former British Mandate of Palestine, a League of Nations entity, thereby inaugurating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that persists to the present day.²⁶
- 1948:** The *Atomic Energy Board* is created by SAAG to lead South Africa into the nuclear arena.
- 1948:** On December 10, the United Nations adopts the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.²⁷ The United States is among the forty-eight who vote in favor of the adoption (none vote against), while South Africa is among the eight who abstain from voting.
- 1950–1953:** From June 1950 to July 1953: Period of the Korean War, in which China intervenes on the side of the North Koreans (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) who are also supported and supplied by the So-

- viet Union), and the United States and its allies fight on the side of South Korea (Republic of Korea). In a show of solidarity with the United States, South Africa also participates in the war by sending troops.
- 1950:** The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded for the first time to a black person (defined here as anyone who is a descendent of peoples native to the PQD world). The recipient is U.S. African American Ralph Bunche, who is being honored for his mediation efforts in the 1948–1949 Israeli-Arab War.
- 1950:** In July the International Court of Justice rules against South Africa and establishes the legitimacy of United Nations supervision of South-West Africa (Namibia) as a trust territory.
- 1950:** On September 23: The 81st U.S. Congress adopts *Public Law no 831*, popularly known as the *McCarran Act* (or the *McCarran-Wood Act*, after its sponsors Republican Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada and Democrat John S. Wood of Georgia, chair of the so-called House Un-American Activities Committee [HUAC]; or the *McCarran Internal Security Act* of 1950) over the veto of President Harry S. Truman. The purpose of the Act was to stem and eliminate the alleged infiltration of the U.S. government by communists or communist sympathizers. The hysteria and the investigations that ensue as a result, followed by yet more hysteria and investigations under McCarthyism (1952–54) help to further bolster the ideology of the cold war in the U.S.
- 1951:** Founding of *Drum*, a white-owned but black readership oriented magazine that becomes an important vehicle for the transmission of U.S. African American and Hollywood-derived cultural life style to its readership, the emergent Afro-South African petite bourgeoisie.
- 1951:** In November USG signs an agreement with SAAG under the *Mutual Defense Assistance Act*.
- 1952:** In June a passive resistance campaign, called the Campaign of Defiance Against Unjust Laws (*Defiance Campaign*), is launched by the ANC and the South African Indian Congress, in which several thousand are arrested. The Campaign would mark the inauguration of the first “decade of antiapartheid rebellion.”
- 1952–1954:** The period of McCarthyism when Joseph R. McCarthy, a little known glory-seeking Republican senator from Wisconsin, took over the chairship of the Government Committee on Operations in the U.S. Senate and began a series of bogus investigative hearings into the alleged infiltration of the U.S. government by communists which soon took an aura of a national witch-hunt in which the lives and livelihood of hundreds of U.S. Americans (most were never communists) were disrupted.²⁸
- 1953:** Dwight D. Eisenhower (Republican Party) becomes the thirty-fourth president of the United States.
- 1953:** Formation of what would become one of the leading antiapartheid organizations in the United States, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA).²⁹
- 1953:** On June 20, commencement of a bus boycott by U.S. African Americans—under the leadership of Reverend T. J. Jemison of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church—in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in support of the enforcement of a previously negotiated local ordinance that allowed for the occupation of seats reserved for whites by blacks if the seats were vacant (a protocol that would be the target of the more well-known Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955). The boycott succeeded and was called off a few days later, on June 24.
- 1954:** In August, in a brazen act, SAAG annexes Namibia, declaring it to be one of its provinces.
- 1954:** Unanimous ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case (347 U.S. 483 [1954]) that ends *de jure* racial segregation in schooling, and overturns the bogus doctrine of “separate but equal” that the Court had advanced in the 1896 *Plessy* case.
- 1955:** From April 18–24, recently independent former European colonies and neocolonies (such as India, Iraq, Burma, Indonesia, Japan, and so on) hold the first historic international conference of Afro-Asian states in Bandung, Indonesia. The Bandung Conference, as it came to be known, was hailed by most representatives of black peoples across the planet as an important milestone in the struggle against all forms of imperialistic domination, including racism (be it of Western or Soviet origins).³⁰
- 1955:** In June, various antiapartheid organizations convene at a “Congress of the People” and emerge with the *Freedom Charter* based on the United Nations *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
- 1955–1956:** On December 5, 1955, U.S. African Americans in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, launch under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., a bus boycott (the Montgomery Bus Boycott) against the city’s racially segregated buses following the arrest of Rosa Parks a few days earlier (on December 1) for refusing to cooperate with a segregation protocol on a bus.³¹
- 1957:** On January 7, commencement of the Alexandra Bus Boycott (also known as the Johannesburg Bus Boycott) in opposition to an increase in bus fares by Afro-South African commuters. The boycott, which to a large extent was spontaneously organized (though there was some ANC involvement), lasted for about three months despite the great hardship borne by the commuters—some walked up to distances of twenty or so miles per day.
- 1957:** On March 5 at midnight, Ghana achieves independence from British colonial rule; within a decade most of the rest of the British and other European colonies on the continent would be free as well. Among the attending guests from overseas at this historic event would include U.S. African Americans Ralph Bunche, Martin Luther King, Jr., Adam Clayton Powell, and A. Philip Randolph. The United States was also officially represented, through the person of Vice President Richard M. Nixon.
- 1957:** In July, Martin Luther King, Jr., together with others (including Eleanor Roosevelt) and under the auspices of ACOA, issue a statement titled *Declaration of Conscience* that among other things proclaims December 10, 1957 (U.N. Human Rights Day) as a Day of Protest against apartheid. The statement would also be signed by numerous world leaders and notables, including Pablo Casals, Albert Luthuli, Erich Fromm, Julius Nyerere, and Arnold Toynbee.

- 1957:** Formation of the predominantly black church-based umbrella organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, under the leadership of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK) to spearhead the emerging U.S. civil rights movement.
- 1958:** On September 3, Hendrik F. Verwoerd becomes the leader of the National Party, as well as prime minister.
- 1959:** Leader of the U.S. civil rights movement, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., undertakes a five-week visit to India. The visit helps to acquaint him further with Gandhi's strategy of nonviolent civil disobedience.
- 1959:** On January 8, with the defeat of Fulgencio Batista's army, the Cuban Revolution is born—with Fidel Castro installing himself the new leader of Cuba, a position he would not vacate until almost half a century later in 2008.
- 1959:** In April, formation of the ANC's rival Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).
- 1960:** Afro-South African Chief Albert Luthuli (also spelled Lutuli), president of the ANC, is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1960:** On March 21, the Sharpeville Massacre by the SAAG police is perpetrated on a peaceful protest organized by the PAC over pass laws; over sixty are killed (many shot in the back while fleeing) and thousands are arrested.
- 1960:** In June, the opening salvo of words is publicly fired at the congress of the Romanian Communist Party by the Chinese and the Russians at each other that would eventually lead to a formal rupturing of diplomatic relations between the two a couple of years or so thereafter, and which came to be known as the "Sino-Soviet Split."
- 1960:** The first recording of modern jazz is released in South Africa (on the Gallo label) by the group The Jazz Epistles—formed a year earlier by Abdullah Ibrahim (then known as Dollar Brand [pianist]), Hugh Masekela (trumpeter), and Kippi Moeketsi (alto saxophonist).
- 1960:** The South African musical *King Kong* (conceived a year earlier and based on the tragic story of South African heavyweight boxer Ezekiel "King Kong" Dhlamini) opens in London with cast members that include Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, and the Manhattan Brothers.
- 1961:** On March 22, the *National Security Action Memorandum 33*, produced under the auspices of the John F. Kennedy Administration, recommends a review of U.S. policy on South Africa.
- 1961:** On May 31, SAAG declares South Africa a republic and abandons its membership of the Commonwealth of Nations.
- 1961:** In June, the ANC forms its military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation); meanwhile the PAC likewise forms its own military wing, calling it *Pogo*.
- 1961:** In August, the United Nations initiates a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa.
- 1961:** John F. Kennedy (Democratic Party) becomes the thirty-fifth president of the United States.
- 1961–1973:** Beginning of a foolhardy large-scale U.S. involvement in the civil war in Vietnam that would come to be known as the Vietnam War, and in which the United States would fail to gain an upper hand.
- 1962:** Martin Luther King, Jr. together with ANC's Albert Luthuli, issue the *Appeal for Action Against Apartheid* under the auspices of ACOA. The statement would be signed by over a hundred world leaders and notables (including James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, Adam Clayton Powell, Ahmed Ben Bella, Simone de Beauvoir, and Tom Mboya).
- 1963:** Pursuant to the U.N. *General Assembly Resolution 1761* of November 6, 1962, the United Nations establishes the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid—a body that, initially, is not welcomed by most Western nations (including the United States)—with E. S. Reddy of India as its principal secretary.
- 1963:** On August 2, the Kennedy Administration announces that it will impose a limited arms embargo on South Africa.
- 1963:** On August 27, the U.S. African American intellectual, activist, and Pan-Africanist, W. E. B. Du Bois, passes away in Ghana where he had gone two years earlier to work on an Africana encyclopedia (a project dear to his heart) at the invitation of that country's president, Kwame Nkrumah. He was the founding member of both the NAACP and its precursor, the *Niagara Movement*.
- 1963:** On August 28, the legendary March on Washington takes place organized by Civil Rights activists and at which Martin Luther King, Jr. delivers his now famous "I Have a Dream" oration.
- 1963:** Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson becomes the thirty-sixth president of the United States upon the assassination of John F. Kennedy on November 22, in Dallas, Texas.
- 1964:** The prominent U.S. African American leader of the U.S. civil rights movement, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1964:** In June, ANC activists, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, and Dennis Goldberg are found guilty of treason in the infamous Rivonia Trial, and sentenced to life imprisonment.
- 1964:** On July 2, President Lyndon B. Johnson signs into law the *Civil Rights Act* that prohibits discrimination based on color, national origin, race, religion, and sex.³²
- 1964:** South Africa is barred (as would happen again in 1968) from participating in the Tokyo Olympic Games by the IOC as a result of pressure from a number of countries.
- 1965:** On February 21, in New York City, U.S. African American nationalist Malcolm X (also known as Malcolm Little, or el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz) is assassinated at the age of thirty-nine.

- 1965:** On August 6, President Lyndon B. Johnson signs into law the *Voting Rights Act* that restores to U.S. African Americans and other minorities their suffrage rights.
- 1965:** On November 11, Ian Smith and his Rhodesian Front Party unilaterally declare independence (UDI) from Britain to forestall the possibility of black majority rule but Britain balks at using military force to bring Smith to heel. Instead, at its behest, the U.N. security council imposes (on December 16) a set of mandatory economic sanctions on the country. (Two years later, on May 29, 1968, the sanctions would be broadened further.)
- 1965:** On December 10, at an antiapartheid event organized by ACOA, to mark Human Rights Day, held at Hunter College in New York City, Martin Luther King, Jr. delivers his strongest antiapartheid speech to date.
- 1965:** Abdullah Ibrahim performs in the Newport Jazz Festival and goes on tour the United States for the first time.
- 1966:** In March, SAAG, in reply to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s application for a visa to visit South Africa (at the invitation of several student groups) writes him: "In response to your application for a visa. . . , submitted to the Consulate-General on the 9th February, 1966, I have to inform you with regret that after due consideration, your application has not been approved."
- 1966:** India awards Martin Luther King, Jr., posthumously, the Nehru Award (Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding)—established in the preceding year, with the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, its first recipient.
- 1966:** On the invitation of NUSAS, from June 4–6, U.S. Senator Robert F. (Bobby) Kennedy visits South Africa; however, SAAG gives him a cold reception.
- 1966:** On June 17, at a rally in Greenwood, Mississippi, the Trinidadian-born and Howard University-trained Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael), consciously or unconsciously drawing upon a tradition that went back to Marcus Garvey and Bishop Henry McNeal Turner of the AME, promulgates the rallying cry of "Black Power" (which a decade or so later would also serve to inspire young South African blacks).
- 1966:** In September, John Vorster becomes prime minister upon the assassination of Hendrik F. Verwoerd (on September 6).
- 1966:** In October, South Africa's mandate to administer South-West Africa is terminated by the United Nations General Assembly (U.N. Resolution 2248), but without the cooperation of the United States and other Western powers the decision remains largely symbolic.
- 1966:** In October, founding of the radical Black Panther Party by U.S. African Americans Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California.
- 1967:** Ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Loving v. Virginia* case (388 U.S. 1 [1967]) in which the court unanimously rules as unconstitutional any law that proscribed interracial marriages in the United States. The plaintiffs were Mildred Jeter (a U.S. African American) and Richard Perry Loving (a Euro-American) and the defendant was the state of Virginia.
- 1967:** On June 5, commencement of the Six-Day War (also known variously as *an-Naksah*, the Third Arab-Israeli War, the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, etc.) with a preemptive strike by Israel on the Egyptian airforce. By the conclusion of the war on June 10, the Israelis are now in control of eastern Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- 1967:** Singer Miriam Makeba releases her single "Pata Pata" on a U.S. label, it reaches number twelve on the U.S. singles chart.
- 1968:** On April 4, in Memphis (Tennessee), Baptist minister, civil rights activist, and Nobel laureate Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated at the age of thirty-nine.³³
- 1968:** On June 6, in Los Angeles, California, U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy (brother of President John F. Kennedy) is assassinated.³⁴
- 1968:** Internationally known Afro-South African Afropop jazz singer and antiapartheid activist Miriam Makeba marries U.S. Black Power Movement activist Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael).³⁵
- 1968:** Resolution 2396 is adopted by the U.N. General Assembly that prohibits cultural and educational exchanges by member states with South Africa.
- 1968:** Though initially invited to participate in the Olympic Games in Mexico City, South Africa is ousted from the games. (The Rome 1960 Olympic Games were the last games in which *apartheid* South Africa was allowed to participate.)
- 1968:** Two U.S. Athletes, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, give a black power salute (in protest at the awful state of civil rights for U.S. racial minorities) while receiving their medals at the 1968 Olympics Games in Mexico City that electrifies both the right and the left across the United States, and the world.
- 1969:** Richard M. Nixon (Republican Party) becomes the thirty-seventh president of the United States.
- 1969:** Formation of the South African Students' Organization (SASO), with Steve Biko as president.
- 1969:** In an act that would have been unthinkable in such Western countries as the United States and the United Kingdom, Sweden becomes the first Western country to begin direct assistance to the liberation movements of Southern Africa, including the ANC.
- 1969:** For the first time a U.S. African American, Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (Democrat), takes over the chairpersonship of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, marking the beginning of a deeper Congressional engagement with African affairs.
- 1969:** With Henry Kissinger as national security advisor under the Nixon Administration a comprehensive review of U.S. policy toward Southern Africa called *National Security Study memorandum 39* is produced.

- 1970:** On February 26, aboriginal Africans are no longer considered citizens of South Africa by SAAG; they are, instead, by means of the *Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act* made citizens of ethnically defined “homelands.”
- 1970:** The IOC expels South Africa from the Olympic Movement and it would not be readmitted until the Barcelona Games of 1992. In the same year, many other international sporting bodies would do the same.
- 1970:** In October, the formation of the U.S. African American-led Polaroid Revolutionary Workers’ Movement with the objective of persuading the Polaroid Corporation to disinvest from South Africa, which it eventually does.
- 1971:** The International Court of Justice in The Hague, in contrast to an earlier position (in 1966), upholds the authority of the United Nations over Namibia, requiring SAAG to terminate its administration of the country.
- 1971:** Beginning on May 4, Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr., the first U.S. African American to chair the House subcommittee on Africa holds the first of an unprecedented series of Congressional hearings on U.S. businesses in South Africa.
- 1972:** Formation of the Black People’s Convention by Steve Biko and others; its purpose is to coordinate the Black Consciousness Movement as an avenue of ideological resistance to apartheid.
- 1972:** Shirley Chisholm becomes the first U.S. African American to run for the presidency of the United States; though unsuccessful she manages to garner 10% of the vote at the Democratic National Convention. She was also the first U.S. African American woman to be voted to Congress (representing from 1969 to 1982 the 12th district of New York).
- 1972:** From February 21 to February 28, President Richard Nixon visits Communist China, the first U.S. president ever to do so, marking the beginning of the U.S./China détente between these two one-time arch foes (recall the Korean War, for example).
- 1973:** On January 9, black industrial workers begin a series of spontaneous strikes, even in the absence of unionization, in Durban and environs that would come to have important deleterious political repercussions down the road for apartheid—they would be a prelude to the second “decade of antiapartheid rebellion.”
- 1973:** On January 27, the combatants in the Vietnam War, including the United States, would sign a peace agreement in Paris; two months later, on March 29, 1973, the last unit of U.S. troops would leave Vietnam.³⁶
- 1973:** On October 6, commencement of the October War between Israel and Egypt (together with a number of Arab allies) with a surprise joint attack on Israel by Egypt and Syria. The war, also known as the *Yom Kippur War*, would officially end on October 26 with Israel emerging, once again, as the victor (as on other occasions, superior U.S.-supplied weaponry and intelligence would prove decisive).
- 1973:** In November, most oil-supplying nations of the Middle East decide to implement the O.A.U.-mandated sanctions against oil exports to South Africa (but most do so half-heartedly).
- 1974:** The United Nations bars South African participation in the General Assembly.
- 1974:** Gerald R. Ford (Republican Party) becomes the thirty-eighth president of the United States upon the resignation of Richard M. Nixon on August 8 amidst a political scandal that has come to be known as the “Watergate Scandal.”
- 1974:** On April 25, a military coup in Portugal against the civilian dictatorship of Marcelo Caetano by the Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas), led by Francisco da Costa Gomes and other officers, portends independence for its colonies in Africa.
- 1975:** On January 15, the three Angolan nationalist movements, MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA, sign the *Alvor Agreement* in Alvor Portugal (which calls for a transitional tripartite coalition government formed by the three movements to take over power from the departing Portuguese colonial administration on November 11, 1975).
- 1975:** On June 25, Mozambique is granted independence by Portugal and Frelimo becomes the ruling party.³⁷
- 1975:** In July, both the U.S. and SAAG secretly start channeling funds to the rivals of MPLA, namely UNITA and FNLA, as the transitional tripartite coalition government is about to collapse—as armed conflict, in anticipation of independence, breaks out between the three nationalist movements.³⁸
- 1975:** On October 14, SAAG sends troops into Angola in an operation they dub *Operasie Savannah* with the objective of capturing Luanda in support of UNITA and FNLA ambitions as Angola’s first civil war spirals out of control.
- 1975:** On November 4: In response to the SAAG invasion of Angola, Cuba’s Fidel Castro, the leader of a small Caribbean island, makes the fateful decision to launch his version of *Operasie Savannah*; its called “Operation Carlota” (he consults neither the Cuban Political Bureau, nor the Russians).³⁹
- 1975:** On November 11, Portugal grants independence to the “people of Angola,” with no political party completely in charge of the entire country as violent conflict between them escalates.
- 1976:** On January 1, the United Nations Center Against Apartheid is established, with E. S. Reddy as its director.
- 1976:** In January, SAAG permits public television broadcasting for the first time in South Africa.
- 1976:** On March 27: With thousands of Angolan and Cuban soldiers rapidly approaching the Namibian border, SAAG decides to withdraw its expeditionary force from Angola altogether; *Operasie Savannah* is a complete failure.
- 1976:** In April, Prime Minister John Vorster visits Israel to help deepen ties between South Africa and Israel.
- 1976:** On June 6, the primary and high school student-led Soweto Uprising begins in which many kids are shot to death (and many more jailed and tortured) by a rampaging and rioting SAAG police. Inaugurating the second “decade of antiapartheid rebellion,” the uprising would mark the beginning of the end of nearly three hundred years of white minority rule.

- 1976:** From June 23–24, Prime Minister John Vorster meets with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in West Germany for discussions. Another similar meeting would take place between the two during a September 4–7 visit to Zurich, Switzerland by Kissinger.
- 1976:** From September 17–20, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visits South Africa to discuss the Zimbabwean independence question with SAAG.
- 1976:** At a two-day conference sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus, held from September 24–25 at Howard University in Washington, D.C., participants adopt *The African-American Manifesto on Southern Africa*.
- 1976:** On December 16, President-elect Jimmy Carter selects Andrew Young to be the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; following Congressional confirmation Young becomes the first U.S. African American to ever hold such a position.⁴⁰
- 1977:** In January, SAAG publicly admits that it has some 2,000 troops in Angola.
- 1977:** In response to calls for U.S. corporate disinvestment from South Africa by antiapartheid activists, Reverend Leon Sullivan, the U.S. African American member of the board of directors of the General Motors Corporation devises a controversial set of voluntary principles to promote U.S. corporate responsibility in South Africa that come to be known as the “Sullivan Principles.”
- 1977:** In January, Jimmy Carter (Democratic Party) becomes the thirty-ninth president of the United States.
- 1977:** In March, U.S. corporations agree to adopt the Sullivan Principles aimed at ameliorating apartheid-determined work environment in their South African factories.
- 1977:** From May 19 to 20, U.S. vice president, Walter Mondale, holds contentious and inconclusive talks with SAAG prime minister, John Vorster, in Vienna.
- 1977:** From May 21 to 22, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young visits South Africa at the invitation of Anglo American Corporation’s Harry Oppenheimer.
- 1977:** On July 1 (but commencing work in 1978), formation of the U.S. African American lobbying group TransAfrica Forum, under the leadership of lawyer and activist Randall Robinson, that would come to play a critical role in the U.S. antiapartheid movement, especially in the 1980s.
- 1977:** On September 12: Leader of the Black Consciousness Movement Steve Biko dies while in police custody as a result of police brutality.
- 1977:** On November 4, United Nations declares a mandatory arms embargo on arms supply to South Africa. (A month earlier United States had voiced its support for such an embargo.)
- 1977:** SAAG moves toward praetorianization of the apartheid state as it embarks on a defensive program it dubs “total strategy.”
- 1977:** The mildly worded Gleneagles Agreement is agreed to by the Commonwealth of Nations in Gleneagles (Scotland) calling upon members to impose a sports boycott on South Africa (but in ways they saw fit—thereby effectively defanging it).
- 1978:** From April 13–16, U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance visits South Africa to discuss the Zimbabwean independence question with SAAG. He would make another visit from October 14–18, to discuss the Namibia question.
- 1978:** As a result of a SAAG scandal involving the Department of Information, John Vorster resigns and is replaced by Pieter Willem Botha.
- 1978:** The formation of AZAPO to replace the banned Black Consciousness Movement; its membership is open only to blacks.
- 1979:** SAAG agrees to permit the formation of black labor unions.
- 1979:** On July 19, U.S. African American Reverend Jesse Jackson arrives in South Africa for a controversial twelve-day visit that elicits a generally warm reception among many blacks, but not whites—many of whom are angered by some of his antiapartheid comments.⁴¹
- 1979–1993:** Period of the U.N. recommended voluntary oil embargo (beginning with General Assembly Resolution 33/183E) against South Africa that greatly escalated the cost of oil imports as a number of oil-supplying nations implemented it (albeit at varying levels of conformity).
- 1980:** On April 18, Zimbabwe achieves independence from Britain (following mediation efforts of USG and SAAG) after many years of sporadic guerrilla war fought against the white minority UDI government of Ian Smith.
- 1980:** On April 1, formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) as an economic counterweight to apartheid South Africa by what is known as the Frontline States. (The organization was reincarnated as Southern African Development Community [SADC] on August 17, 1992.)
- 1980:** The U.N. General Assembly adopts a resolution calling on artists and entertainers to boycott South Africa. The following year, the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid announces that it will maintain and publish a list of entertainers who visit South Africa (first list is published in 1983).
- 1981:** Ronald Reagan (Republican Party) becomes the fortieth president of the United States.
- 1981:** A tour of the United States by the Springboks, an all-white rugby team from South Africa, becomes the target of intense opposition from the U.S. antiapartheid activists, leading to several cancellations of matches.
- 1981:** The Rockefeller Foundation sponsored Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa, appointed in 1977 under the chairpersonship of U.S. African American Franklin Thomas of the Ford Foundation, releases its report titled *South Africa: Time Running Out*.⁴²

- 1982:** The United Nations launches, on the mandate of the General Assembly in the preceding year, the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.
- 1982:** The Carnegie Corporation of New York sponsors the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, but this time around it would be an all-encompassing inquiry in terms of the population studied (unlike the first, which was restricted only to Euro-South Africans). The report of the study would be published in 1989 as *Uprooting Poverty: the South African Challenge: Report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*.
- 1982:** On June 6, Israel inaugurates the 1982 Israeli-Lebanese War that would eventually consume scores of thousands of civilian lives (perhaps totaling a million) by invading, with the blessing and support of the Reagan Administration, southern Lebanon with the aim of driving the Palestine Liberation Organization out.⁴³ Among the outcomes of the war would be the rise of the Iranian-supported Lebanese paramilitary organization the Hezbollah in the effort to end the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon (accomplished in 2000).
- 1982:** The ANC calls for an international cultural boycott of South Africa.
- 1983:** U.S. African American tennis champion, Arthur Ashe, together with U.S.-domiciled Jamaican actor and performer Harry Belafonte, found and co-chair Artists and Athletes Against Apartheid to encourage U.S. athletes, actors, performers, etc., to boycott apartheid South Africa.
- 1983:** In February, in a foretaste of things to come, the Robert Mugabe regime of the newly independent Zimbabwe, sends in the so-called “Fifth Brigade” into Matabeleland to crush dissidents; tens of hundreds, mainly civilians, are massacred.
- 1983:** On August 20, the first mass coalition of antiapartheid forces since the 1950s, the United Democratic Front (UDF) is launched in South Africa.
- 1983:** In November, an art exhibition, with contributions from eighty-five of the world’s leading artists, titled *Art Against Apartheid* opens in Paris; it is organized by the Association of the Artists of the World in cooperation with the United Nations Committee Against Apartheid.
- 1984:** Afro-South African Anglican bishop, Desmond Tutu, is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1984:** Reverend Jesse Jackson becomes only the second U.S. African American to ever run for the presidency of United States (and he would do so again in 1988). In the course of this effort he draws attention to the issue of apartheid in South Africa as an important U.S. foreign policy concern.
- 1984:** On November 22, the *Free South Africa Movement* is founded by U.S. African American leaders Mary Francis Berry, Walter Fauntroy, Eleanor Holmes Norton, and Randall Robinson in Washington, D. C.
- 1984:** In March, SAAG signs a nonaggression pact (which in practice turns out to be bogus) with Mozambique called the “Nkomati Accord.”
- 1984:** In September, P. W. Botha becomes the state president with the implementation of the new 1983 constitution that institutes a divide-and-rule strategy of a tricameral parliament (with a chamber each for whites, Coloreds and Asians), from which the majority Afro-South Africans are excluded.
- 1985:** From January 5–13, Senator Edward M. Kennedy makes an eight-day trip to South Africa where he castigates President Reagan’s “constructive engagement” policy. His request to meet with the imprisoned Nelson Mandela is turned down by SAAG.
- 1985:** From March 18 through March 22, the ABC News nightly television program, *Nightline*, hosted by Ted Koppel is broadcast live from South Africa. The program would feature unprecedented interviews and discussions involving both SAAG officials and South African antiapartheid activists—some “meeting” publicly for the first time as when on the final day of the broadcasts UDF’s Reverend Allan Boesak, the KwaZulu homeland leader Gatsha Buthelezi, SAAG’s one time information minister Connie Mulder (of “Muldergate” fame), and, unbelievably, ANC’s Oliver Tambo met on the air from three different locations for a heated discussion.⁴⁴
- 1985:** In June, United States imposes a ban on exports of military-related computer and nuclear technology to South Africa.
- 1985:** On July 20, SAAG declares a state of emergency in selected areas, the following year it would be extended to the entire country.
- 1985:** In August, the Commonwealth of Nations establishes a commission that came to be known as the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to visit South Africa the following year in the hope of using diplomacy to bring about negotiations between SAAG and the nationalist movements.⁴⁵
- 1985:** Musician and activist Steven Van Zandt establishes Artists United Against Apartheid, comprising a range of musical talent (including Miles Davis, Kool DJ Herc, Bob Dylan, Herbie Hancock, Jimmy Cliff, Nona Hendryx, Pat Benatar, Ringo Starr, Run DMC, Little Steven, Peter Gabriel, Afrika Bambaataa, U2, Bonnie Raitt, Hall & Oates, Pete Townshend, and Bruce Springsteen) who together perform and release the antiapartheid song and album *Sum City*, and who also pledge to boycott apartheid South Africa.
- 1986:** U.S. musician Paul Simon releases his album *Graceland*, to both acclaim and controversy, that prominently features one of the premier Afro-South African isicathamiya groups, Ladysmith Black Mambazo.
- 1986:** In January, U.S. antiapartheid activists launch a boycott against Royal Dutch/Shell in the United States (specifically its U.S. subsidiary Shell Oil) in a bid to get the corporation to withdraw from South Africa.
- 1986:** In July secret talks commence between SAAG and Nelson Mandela (while the latter is still in prison and before he seeks approval of the exiled ANC.)

- 1986:** In mid-August, Reverend Jesse Jackson leads a large interracial delegation on a study tour (sponsored by Nigeria) of a number of Southern African countries (but excluding South Africa and Namibia because SAAG refused to grant visas).
- 1986:** In October, the United States Congress passes the *Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act* (CAAA), despite a presidential veto by Reagan.
- 1986:** On October 19, the popular leader of Mozambique, Samora Machel, dies in a mysterious plane crash on the South African side of the Mozambican/South African border. Most in Southern Africa blame SAAG for his death, despite its denial. (On February 9, 2006 ANC-GSA announces that it will reopen the investigation into that crash.)
- 1986:** In November, USG prohibits direct flights between the United States and South Africa.
- 1987:** The film by English filmmaker Richard Attenborough *Cry Freedom* that features the life and death of the South African Black Consciousness Movement activist Steve Biko is released in United States.
- 1987:** The U.S. State Department officially recognizes, for the first time, the ANC to be a legitimate organization by declaring that it was a “legitimate voice” in South Africa.
- 1987:** United States imposes a ban on new investments in and bank loans to South Africa.
- 1987:** Following on the heels of the United States, Israel imposes sanctions on South Africa and bans new military contracts with it as a consequence of one of the provisions of the *Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act*.
- 1987:** On January 28, The U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz meets with the ANC President Oliver Tambo (the highest USG official ever to do so) at the State Department in a symbolic gesture to signal the beginning of a thaw in relations between the Reagan Administration and the ANC.
- 1987:** In November, Ambassador Edward M. Perkins arrives in South Africa to head the U.S. embassy there; he is the first U.S. African American ever appointed to that post.
- 1987:** On December 30, South Africa moves from a neofascist state to a praetorian state with the declaration of martial law (a form of creeping coup d’état).
- 1988:** By means of an amendment to the CAAA, the U.S. Congress eliminates the exemption from “dual-taxation” benefit for U.S. corporations with investments in South Africa, thereby greatly reducing the profitability of their operations in that country.⁴⁶
- 1988:** The *International Convention against Apartheid in Sports* enters into force.
- 1988:** Reagan Administration vetoes a draft U.N. Security Council resolution calling for mandatory but selective economic sanctions (modeled on those adopted by the European Economic Community) against South Africa.
- 1988:** In January, intense fighting erupts between Angolan and South African forces for control of the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola in which the South African forces fail to gain an upper hand.
- 1988:** On February 24, SAAG bans seventeen antiapartheid organizations, including AZAPO.
- 1988:** On June 11, an eleven-hour-long concert featuring some of the most popular musicians in the West and broadcast to some sixty countries is held in Wembley Stadium in London as a tribute to Nelson Mandela and in celebration of his seventieth birthday.⁴⁷
- 1988:** On December 12, the Angolan-Namibia Accords (also known variously as the “New York Treaty” and “The Tripartite Agreement”) are signed between Cuba, South Africa, and Angola in New York at the U.N. headquarters, with the U.S. and the Soviet Union serving as facilitators and observers. The agreement provides for South African withdrawal from Namibia and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.
- 1988:** On December 22, Chico Mendes, a well-known Brazilian rubber tapper and environmental activist is murdered by cattle ranchers over the issue of the preservation of the Amazonian rain forest; it sends a shock wave world-wide among those knowledgeable and concerned about one of the most important and fast growing problems to emerge in the PQD ecumene at the close of the twentieth century: the unprecedented rapid destruction of the last remaining patches of rain forests in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
- 1989:** The film by U.S. black filmmaker Euzhan Palcy *A Dry White Season* (based on a novel of the same title by white South African writer André Brink and set against the backdrop of the 1976 Soweto Uprising) is released in United States.
- 1989:** The U.S.-based antiapartheid group Artists for a Free South Africa is founded by Alfre Woodard, Danny Glover, Blair Underwood, CCH Pounder, Mary Steenburgen, Robert and Donna Brown Guillaume, Roderick Spencer, and others.⁴⁸
- 1989:** George Bush, Sr. (Republican Party) becomes the forty-first president of the United States.
- 1989:** On May 19, Bush meets with three prominent antiapartheid clerics from South Africa: Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Reverends Allan Boesak and Beyers Naude.
- 1989:** From May 26–28: U.S. Secretary of State James Baker meets with SAAG foreign minister Pik Botha during a visit to Rome, Italy, by Baker (while accompanying President George Bush, Sr.).
- 1989:** From April 15 to June 4: The period of the peaceful Tiananmen Square protests by students against the totalitarianism and corruption of the communist party-led Chinese government that morphs into a brutal suppression of the protests (the Tiananmen Square Massacre, also known as the June Fourth Incident) by the Chinese leaders involving the massacre of tens of hundreds of protesters and the arrest, imprisonment, and torture of many more in subsequent days and months.
- 1989:** On June 30, President Bush, Sr. welcomes Albertina Sisulu (Mama Sisulu), the copresident of the UDF and spouse of the imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu, to the White House as part of the commencement of a general process of USG rapprochement with the ANC.

- 1989:** In July, P. W. Botha has a brief face-to-face meeting with Nelson Mandela, while the latter is still in prison. (By this point secret talks between Mandela and SAAG on the political future of South Africa had already been under way.)
- 1989:** On September 14, F. W. de Klerk becomes the state president, after P. W. Botha is persuaded reluctantly to resign.
- 1989:** In October, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, and other Rivonia prisoners are released after more than two decades of imprisonment.
- 1989:** On November 7, U.N. supervised elections begin in Namibia for a new government. Election results announced a week later on November 14 show that SWAPO has emerged as the clear victor but not with an overwhelming majority (57% of the vote).
- 1989:** On November 20, South African troops begin to finally withdraw permanently from Namibia.
- 1989–1990:** On November 9, 1989, the East German Communist government effectively “dismantles” the Berlin Wall that it had put up in 1961 to prevent East Germans from defecting to West Germany, by allowing East Germans who wished, to travel to West Germany; it also opened all border points.⁴⁹
- 1990:** On February 2, President F. W. de Klerk announces in parliament the termination of the proscription of over thirty organizations, including the ANC, the PAC, and the SACP.
- 1990:** On February 7, U.S. African American Reverend Jesse Jackson arrives in South Africa for a twelve-day visit that elicits a generally warm reception among many blacks, and unlike on his previous visit among many whites as well.⁵⁰
- 1990:** On February 11, Nelson Mandela is released from prison after nearly three decades of incarceration.
- 1990:** On its own initiative (but together possibly with pressure from USG), SAAG begins the process of dismantling its weapons of mass destruction program, including the nuclear component. Instructions are issued by President F. W. de Klerk on February 26 to the appropriate agencies within SAAG.⁵¹
- 1990:** On March 21, Namibia officially becomes an independent nation with many of the world’s dignitaries in attendance at the independence ceremony. The choice of the date is in remembrance and honor of those who died in the Sharpeville Massacre. South Africa, however, continues to hold onto Walvis Bay.
- 1990:** On March 22, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, while on a visit to South Africa (from March 22–23), is told by President de Klerk that the road toward an apartheid-free South Africa is now irreversible.
- 1990:** On April 27, ANC and other political exiles begin to return to South Africa, this is then followed two months later in July with the first official meeting between Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk. Following this meeting, in August, ANC declares an end to armed struggle against the apartheid state.
- 1990:** On May 4, preliminary talks between SAAG and the ANC culminates in the issue of a joint statement called the “Groote Shuur Minute” that calls for, among other things, the establishment of a working group to coordinate the release of political prisoners.
- 1990:** On June 20, shortly after his release from prison, Nelson Mandela arrives in the United States for an eleven-day triumphant visit; it includes an address on June 26 to the joint session of Congress (which is broadcast live by major TV corporations), and visits to a number of U.S. cities to thank U.S. African Americans and others who had campaigned against apartheid.⁵²
- 1990:** On August 2, the commencement of the First Gulf War (also known as the Persian Gulf War) in which the United States (armed with a U.N. mandate) leads a group of allies on a mission to roll back Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait a week earlier.
- 1990:** From September 23–25, F. W. de Klerk makes an official three-day visit to the United States.
- 1990:** On October 15, the *Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Repeal Act* (Act No. 100 of 1990) comes into force which (together with other similar legislation enacted in 1991), effectively ends apartheid. A few days later, on October 20, the historically all-white National Party announces that it was now a multiracial party with membership open to members of all racial groups.
- 1990:** On December 13, Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, returns from exile.
- 1991:** On January 16–17, the U.S. led international offensive commences against Iraq to force it to relinquish its annexation on August 8, 1990 of Kuwait (the latter had invaded the country on August 2, amidst worldwide condemnation). That offensive which culminated in Iraq’s withdrawal from Kuwait by late February (the U.S. declared a ceasefire on February 28), has come to be known as the First Persian Gulf War.
- 1991:** On May 31, internationally mediated bilateral peace accords (the *Bicesse Accords*) between MPLA and UNITA signed in Bicesse, Portugal (first initialed on May 1, with interim cease-fire going into effect on May 15)—involving Portugal, the United States, and the former Soviet Union (USSR) as brokers—to effect a cease-fire in the Angolan civil war, in preparation for U.N. supervised national elections in September 1992, comes into force.
- 1991:** On June 28, SAAG, with encouragement from United States, signs the *Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons*.
- 1991:** On July 10, most of the sanctions that were imposed under the *Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act* are rescinded by an executive order signed by President George Bush. On the same day, South Africa accedes to the *Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons* (NPT).
- 1991:** In July, Nelson Mandela is elected president of the ANC, replacing Oliver Tambo whose health by this point was failing (he would pass away on April 24, 1993).

- 1991:** On August 21, the three-day coup d'état by hardliners against the Soviet government of Mikhail Gorbachev—the architect of *perestroika* and *glasnost*—collapses, effectively leading to the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the collapse of the cold war.⁵³
- 1991:** On December 20, the official negotiations for a new and democratic constitutional order begins, called the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), involving about nineteen political parties, as well as representatives from the United Nations and other international organizations as observers.
- 1992:** On February 2, to the considerable satisfaction of the high representatives of international capital, Nelson Mandela delivers a speech at the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, in which he provides the first hint of ANC's rapid abandonment of the economic platform of Charterism.⁵⁴
- 1992:** On March 17, in the whites-only general election (the last to be ever held)—taking the form of a referendum—F. W. de Klerk receives about 70% of the vote in support of his reform plan to end apartheid; thereby effectively sidelining the white Conservative Party and its supporters who were opposed to the plan.
- 1992:** Carol Moseley Braun is elected to the U.S. Senate, becoming in the process the first and only U.S. African American woman senator in the history of the U.S. congress to date (she represented, as a Democrat, the State of Illinois from 1993–99). She would also attempt an unsuccessful run for the U.S. presidency in the elections of 2004.
- 1992:** In April, the state-owned arms manufacturing company, ARMSCOR and its subsidiaries are disbanded and parts of them folded into a new state-owned holding company called the Denel Group.
- 1992:** In June, Codesa talks are suspended as the ANC withdraws amidst accusations leveled at SAAG that it is fomenting violence against the ANC, of which the “Boipatong Massacre” is the latest.
- 1992:** In July: On the mandate of the Security Council, the U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appoints former U.S. secretary of state in the Carter Administration, Cyrus Vance, as his special envoy to South Africa to report on the causes of the ongoing violence in South Africa.
- 1992:** In July, with SAAG's cooperation the U.N. Security Council authorizes the United Nations to send an observer mission (to be led by the Jamaican diplomat Angela King) to South Africa.
- 1992:** In July, the career diplomat Princeton N. Lyman, who with considerable sensitivity would come to orchestrate U.S. “BTSIs” in the ongoing negotiation efforts to end white minority rule that in retrospect proved critical to the eventual success of the negotiations, is appointed by the Bush (Sr.) Administration as the U.S. ambassador to South Africa.
- 1992:** On September 26, at a “summit meeting” between Mandela and de Klerk at the World Trade Center in Johannesburg the pair sign the critical *Record of Understanding*—welcomed by the international community, including the United States—that establishes among other things the legitimacy of the ANC and SAAG as the *principal* actors in the negotiations to end white minority rule, as well as an agreement accepting both a constitutional assembly and a transitional government of national unity.
- 1992:** On September 29–30, the first-ever national democratic elections are held in Angola, with international observers present; however, the results of the elections are not accepted, on spurious grounds, by UNITA, leading to the third Angolan civil war that proved to be even more brutal in its ferocity.
- 1993:** In January, Bill Clinton (Democratic Party) becomes the forty-second president of the United States.
- 1993:** F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1993:** In March, the Codesa negotiations resume.
- 1993:** On March 24, President F. W. de Klerk, in a speech before the joint session of parliament publicly admits that SAAG had had a nuclear weapons program of long-standing beginning in 1974 under which it had constructed six nuclear devices (but had never tested any), and which it had dismantled (in 1991).⁵⁵
- 1993:** On April 10, Chris Hani, who took over as secretary general of the South African Communist Party (SACP) from the long-serving Joe Slovo (on December 8, 1991, at their first legal congress in the country in some forty years) is murdered by a right wing white fanatic. (On October 15, two whites, Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walluz, would be sentenced to death for that murder.)
- 1993:** On April 24, Oliver Tambo, the former long-time president of the ANC passes away. The United States sends an official delegation to attend his funeral (held on May 3).
- 1993:** In May, USG finally agrees to recognize the MPLA government as the legitimate government of Angola.
- 1993:** In July, on a visit to the United States, F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are jointly awarded the prestigious Liberty Medal by the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia.
- 1993:** In July, the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) suspend their participation in Codesa talks as animosity between it and the ANC heightens further.
- 1993:** On August 20, the Oslo Accords (Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements) are finalized and ratified a month later—in Washington, D.C. on September 13—by the two principal parties, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which were supposed to serve as a road map to permanent peace between the belligerents.⁵⁶
- 1993:** On August 25, Euro-American student and volunteer activist Amy Biehl, who was attending the University of the Western Cape on a Fulbright scholarship, is senselessly killed by a mob during a township unrest. Amidst growing political violence, her death would be one of many similar “wrong-time-wrong-place” tragedies.
- 1993:** On September 22, Mandela addresses the United Nations General Assembly, calling for the lifting of all sanctions against South Africa. F. W. de Klerk also pays a visit to the United States at the same time.

I | Chronology

- 1993:** In September, a joint mission of ANC and South African Defense Forces (SADF) arrives in United States to seek advice on military reorganization.
- 1993:** In October, almost all U.N. sanctions imposed on apartheid South Africa are rescinded.
- 1993:** In November, the *Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act* is repealed by Congress via the *Transition to Democracy Act* and President Clinton signs it into law.⁵⁷
- 1993:** On November 18, the interim constitution that has come out of the Codesa talks, which calls for the institution of a transitional Government of National Unity, for a five-year period, is ratified by almost all political parties involved, the lone holdout is the PAC.
- 1993:** On November 30, as part of his South Africa visit, U.S. Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown (a U.S. African American), delivers a speech at the University of the Western Cape.
- 1993:** On December 22, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is ratified and a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is established.
- 1994:** In January, the PAC agrees to suspend its armed struggle and decides to participate in the first-ever Democratic national elections.
- 1994:** In February, South Africa formally hands over Walvis Bay to Namibia.
- 1994:** From April 26–29, the first democratic nationwide general elections ever held in the history of South Africa take place.
- 1994:** On April 27, the interim constitution is implemented, together with a new six-color flag, and a new national anthem: *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.⁵⁸
- 1994:** From May 9–11, Vice President Al Gore leads a U.S. delegation to South Africa to celebrate the installation of the first-ever democratically elected government of South Africa.
- 1994:** On May 10, Nelson Mandela, as the first president of apartheid-free South Africa, delivers his inaugural address at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. It includes the memorable phrase “Rainbow Nation,” echoing U.S. African American Jesse Jackson’s call for a “Rainbow Coalition” (after an organization of the same name he helped found in 1984) in his own 1988 bid for the U.S. presidency.
- 1994:** In May, the United Nations terminates the arms embargo it had imposed on South Africa.
- 1994:** In October, President Mandela undertakes a state visit to United States, where he is honored for a second time with the opportunity to address a joint session of Congress (on the 6th).
- 1995:** The United States and South Africa establish a high-level (at the vice-presidential level) commission known as the Binational Commission to help cement relations, by means of a variety of programs, between the two countries—however, it is later disbanded by the Bush-Cheney Administration.
- 1995:** On January 8, the once longtime leader of the SACP and one of the founding members of MK, and now the minister of housing, Joe Slovo, passes away.⁵⁹
- 1995:** In June, South Africa, through its Constitutional Court, abolishes the death penalty.
- 1995:** On August 15, a visit by the Iranian foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, leads to an agreement establishing a joint Commission of Cooperation between South Africa and Iran. The visit also cements South Africa’s willingness to assist Iran, over the objections of USG, to sidestep U.S. sanctions imposed on Iran.
- 1995:** On August 25, South Africa signs an agreement with the United States on peaceful uses of nuclear energy.
- 1996:** On April 15, the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC) commences its work in East London with its first public hearing (Archbishop Desmond Tutu chairs the Commission). The legislative mandate for the TRC was the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act* (Act No. 34 of 1995), and its purpose was to investigate human rights violations under apartheid that took place during the period 1960 to 1994 with a view toward offering amnesty to perpetrators (under certain conditions), and recommending support and reparations for victims. (It completed its hearings on July 31, 1998, hearing testimony from over 21,000 apartheid victims.)
- 1996:** In June, the National Party (NP) withdraws from the “Government of National Unity” and instead becomes the official parliamentary opposition.
- 1996:** From October 12–14, U.S. Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher visits South Africa; he delivers an address at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- 1996:** In December, President Mandela signs legislation approving the final constitution, to be implemented in stages by 1999. (Parliament had approved the draft of the final constitution in May.)
- 1997:** In January, while seeking amnesty for their dastardly deed from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, five former SAAG police officers admit to their culpability in the death of Steve Biko.
- 1997:** In February, the U.S. made-for-TV docudrama *Mandela and De Klerk* is aired in which U.S. African American actors Sidney Poitier portrays Mandela, and Tina Lifford plays Winnie Mandela.
- 1997:** In May, Zairean blood-soaked dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, a long-time U.S. ally, flees Zaire (now called Democratic Republic of the Congo), as rebel forces led by Laurent Kabila enter Kinshasa, and obtains asylum in Morocco where he dies of cancer several months later on September 17.
- 1997:** From December 12–14, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright visits South Africa and meets with government officials.
- 1998:** From March 25–29, President Bill Clinton undertakes a state visit to South Africa (as part of a broader African tour); he is given the honor of addressing a joint session of parliament during his visit.
- 1998:** From September 4–5, to the chagrin of USG, Cuba’s President Fidel Castro undertakes a state visit to South Africa; he is given the honor of addressing a joint session of parliament during his visit.

- 1998:** On October 29, the South African *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu releases its final report (a 3,500-page document), after two years of hearings, amidst an unsuccessful court challenge by the ANC to block its publication because of a section in it that was also critical of the party—accusing it of murder and torture of victims, and being responsible for the death of innocent civilians.
- 1998:** The Afrikaner-dominated apartheid-era National Party changes its name to the New National Party (however after failing to gain almost any meaningful traction in the electoral politics of a post-apartheid South Africa it votes to disband itself in 2005).
- 1999:** In May, the giant Anglo American Corporation ceases to be a South African company as it moves its domicile to London.
- 1999:** From June 2–3, second democratic general elections take place in a post-apartheid South Africa (PASA), and the ANC once again emerges victorious capturing almost two thirds of the seats in parliament. The country, however, has a new president, Thabo Mbeki (takes oath of office on June 16), as President Mandela retires from the leadership of the ANC and the country.
- 1999:** On June 13, the long-time supporter of the ANC, Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya arrives in South Africa for an official visit, just a few days before Nelson Mandela steps down as president (to be replaced by Thabo Mbeki).
- 1999:** In October, former President Nelson Mandela pays a visit to the Middle East meeting with both the Israeli leader Prime Minister Ehud Barak and the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat. While in Israel he politely but firmly reiterates the ANC position that Israel must vacate territories it has occupied illegally under international law; such as Gaza and the West Bank, and southern Lebanon.
- 1999:** In December, former president, Nelson Mandela makes a three-day visit to Seattle, principally to meet with the chairperson of the Microsoft Corporation, Bill Gates, to discuss philanthropic initiatives in Africa that both are engaged in. On his way home he also has a brief meeting with President Bill Clinton.

2000–2008

- 2000:** U.S. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in South Africa reaches about \$3 billion, while its portfolio investment in that country stands at about \$13 billion.
- 2000:** White Zimbabwean farmers are forced, without compensation, to relinquish their farms to groups of black Zimbabweans who claim that they are “veterans” of the 1970s guerrilla war. (Most of the farms eventually pass into the hands of select members and cronies of the Mugabe regime.)
- 2000:** On May 18, the *Trade and Development Act*, which includes as Title I the *African Growth and Opportunity Act* (AGOA), is signed into law by President Bill Clinton. The purpose of the act is to increase bilateral trade between the United States and the target countries in the program, among which is South Africa.
- 2000:** From December 7–9, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright visits South Africa and meets with government officials.
- 2001:** George W. Bush (Republican Party) becomes the forty-third president of the United States.
- 2001:** The giant South African diamond mining company De Beers Consolidated Mines, formed by Cecil Rhodes in 1888, ceases to be a public company and moves its headquarters to Luxembourg where it is registered as De Beers Société Anonyme.
- 2001:** In January, Colin Powell, who formerly headed the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. armed forces, becomes the first U.S. African American to be appointed Secretary of State.
- 2001:** From May 24–25, Secretary of State Colin Powell visits South Africa; among the commitments of his itinerary is a speech at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- 2001:** From August 31 to September 7, South Africa is host to the U.N.-sponsored “World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance,” held in the city of Durban. The Conference was mandated by the U.N. General Assembly on December 12, 1997 (resolution 52/111). Although the United States is a participant in the conference, it withdraws from the conference on Monday, September 3 (together with Israel) in anger over language in the conference relating to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict that it erroneously interprets as delegitimizing the state of Israel.
- 2001:** On September 11, four large domestic airline passenger planes bound for the West Coast are hijacked from airports on the East Coast by suicidal terrorists and used as missiles against targets in New York (the World Trade Center), and Washington, D. C. (the Pentagon). One of them however, as a result of passenger interventions, does not make it to its intended target; it crashes instead in a field in Pennsylvania. (The events together have come to be known as “9/11” and it would inaugurate the era of the so-called “war on terror”)
- 2002:** On February 22, Angolan government forces kill Savimbi in a gunfight in Moxico province, which opens the way for meaningful peace negotiations between UNITA and the government that culminates in the peace agreement signed on April 4 in Luanda, known as the “Luena Memorandum of Understanding.”
- 2002–2003:** The United States, together with a number of European countries, imposes “targeted” sanctions on Zimbabwe (e.g., an arms embargo, freezing financial assets of top government officials, placing travel restrictions to the United States and Europe)—meant to inflict pain on the government but not the ordinary citizenry—as a way of bringing pressure on the regime of President Robert Mugabe for engaging in massive human rights violations, intensifying economic misrule, and perpetrating a clear electoral fraud that permitted the regime’s re-election to power in March 2002.

- 2002:** In June, President George W. Bush announces the Africa Education Initiative (AEI), the purpose of which is to improve access to quality basic education (beneficiaries of the program include South Africa).
- 2002:** On July 1, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court comes into force establishing a long-awaited and welcome milestone in international law, a permanent court to prosecute the scums and thugs of the world for their crimes against humanity.⁶⁰
- 2002:** From September 3–4, Secretary of State Colin Powell visits South Africa to represent the United States at the World Summit on Sustainable Development taking place in Johannesburg.
- 2002:** On November 11, an international lawsuit is filed on behalf of apartheid victims in a federal court in New York by the law firm of Cohen, Milstein, Hausfeld & Toll, plus several other U.S. firms, and joined by the South African firm, Abrahams Kiewitz.⁶¹
- 2002:** In November, the United States joins the South African initiative called the *Kimberley Process* due to come into effect on January 1, 2003, the goal of which is to eliminate “blood diamonds” from international trade.
- 2003:** After many years of campaigning by AIDS activists on the matter, on August 8, the South African government announces that it will implement a national treatment plan for AIDS sufferers.
- 2003:** On March 20, the Bush-Cheney Administration (together with U.K.’s Tony Blair and his Labor government, but in opposition to much of the rest of the world, including South Africa), launch the “shock and awe” invasion of Iraq—on the basis of fabricated evidence that Iraq had nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, coupled with a masterful orchestration of jingoism and politics of fear among their publics—thereby setting in motion the ongoing Iraq War (or the Second Gulf War as it is also known).⁶²
- 2003:** From July 8–10, 11, President George W. Bush visits South Africa as part of a broader African tour.
- 2004:** On January 13, Human Rights Watch (an internationally respected U.S.-based human rights advocacy group) releases a report on Angola documenting the high level of corruption afflicting that country’s government, to the massive detriment of the welfare of the Angola people.⁶³
- 2004:** on April 14, the third democratic elections are held in post-apartheid South Africa (PASA), once again ANC emerges as the victor, and Thabo Mbeki’s government returns to power.
- 2004:** In late April, the Abu Ghraib torture scandal becomes public where symptomatic of a deliberate Bush-Cheney Administration policy of condoning torture—in contravention of not only human decency, but both international and U.S. laws—Iraqi prisoners at the notorious Saddam-Hussein-era Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq were systematically murdered, tortured, and sexually exploited by their U.S. captors. To date, no one has been indicted or convicted for the murders that took place there, neither has any high-level U.S. official been brought to account (for the full story see, for example, Gourevitch and Morris [2008]; and visit www.salon.com).
- 2005:** In January, President George W. Bush begins his second term after being re-elected in the 2004 presidential election.
- 2005:** On January 26, Condoleezza Rice replaces Colin Powell as U.S. Secretary of State; she is the first U.S. African American woman to hold such a high-ranking office in the U.S. government. Prior to this appointment she was from January 2001 the National Security Advisor to President George W. Bush.
- 2005:** In May, Nelson Mandela visits the United States and meets with President Bush at the White House (on May 17).
- 2005:** South Africa’s New National Party (successor to the old National Party) disbands itself.
- 2006:** On January 24, at the Sundance Film Festival, Former U.S. Vice President Al Gore (in the Bill Clinton Administration) releases the multiaward winning documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* (alerting the U.S. public to a problem that most of the rest of the world was already familiar with: climate change).
- 2006:** From June 20–22, Reverend Jesse Jackson visits South Africa where he opens the Global Leaders Africa Summit (a privately organized leadership seminar for business and government) in Johannesburg.
- 2006:** From August 20–24, U.S. African American presidential hopeful (declared his candidacy in February 2007 for Democratic nominee for the 2008 U.S. presidential election) Senator Barack Obama visits South Africa, as part of a broader six-country African trip, on a fact-finding mission as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- 2006:** On December 8, President Thabo Mbeki meets with President George W. Bush at the White House for talks on a number of mutual concerns.
- 2006:** On December 20, President Bush signs into law the *Tax Relief and Health Care Act* of 2006 which contains, as Title VI, the *Africa Investment Incentive Act* of 2006 (also known as AGOA IV) that extends AGOA through September 30, 2012, and expands some of its provisions.
- 2006:** On December 31, P. W. Botha the former president of South Africa and an uncompromising supporter of apartheid passes away at age 90 at his home.
- 2007:** On January 2, the newly built *Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy for Girls* opens its doors to academically gifted students from low-income families.⁶⁴
- 2007:** On February 26, as part of the ongoing U.S. effort to strengthen economic relations with PASA, a joint U.S.-South African winemaking project is inaugurated at Vilafonté Vineyard in the Western Cape wine lands, making it the first such venture within the global wine community.
- 2007:** On March 14, in the wake of the latest severe crackdown on regime opponents in Zimbabwe, USG announces that it is looking for ways of strengthening the targeted sanctions that it had imposed on Zimbabwe in 2002 and 2003. Efforts to persuade South Africa to change its “quiet diplomacy” approach and instead put greater diplomatic pressure on the nearly three decades-old Robert Mugabe regime to capitulate are also con-

- tinuing. In response, however, on March 23, South Africa states that it is doing all it can but it would not be stampeded into making rash statements “to satisfy governments outside the African continent.”
- 2007:** On March 27, at a ceremony in Luanda attended by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres and dignitaries from a number of neighboring countries, Angola pronounces the successful conclusion of one of the largest refugee repatriation schemes executed on the Africa continent—involving close to a half-million Angolan refugees from surrounding countries.
- 2007:** From August 23–25, Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival in Johannesburg features the Count Bassie Orchestra, among a number of jazz musicians from the United States.
- 2007:** On December 18, despite clouds of suspicion of wrongdoing (related to charges alleged rape and corruption) hanging over his head, Jacob Zuma is elected to the presidency of the ANC. Earlier in the month he had visited the United States on a private visit to meet with U.S. business leaders.⁶⁵
- 2008:** In January, the English translation of Fidel Castro’s definitive autobiography (Castro 2007) is published in the United States; it is generally ignored by the U.S. media.
- 2008:** The United Nations celebrates the sixtieth anniversary of its adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Sadly, the full intent of the Declaration remains unfulfilled across the planet; in fact, on the contrary, under the leadership of the West (most especially the United States) there is an effort to propagate an illusory and highly dangerous notion: that the flagrant and massive violation of the human rights of others can be the basis for the protection of the human rights of one’s own citizens.
- 2008:** On February 19, Fidel Castro, who had overseen Cuba’s involvement in the liberation struggle in southern Africa and other conflicts elsewhere on the African continent—and who has survived the administrations of ten different U.S. presidents (from Dwight Eisenhower to George W. Bush, Jr.) despite several attempts by the CIA to assassinate him—announces that after almost a half a century at the helm he is stepping down as president and commander-in-chief, effective February 24, on grounds of poor health. He is replaced by his brother Raúl.⁶⁶
- 2008:** On March 8, even in its waning days, the Bush-Cheney Administration, harking to the moral bankruptcy of many of its policies, is adamant in continuing to propel the United States onto the international forefront of legitimating the use of torture; it (in the person of George W. Bush, Jr.) vetoes an intelligence authorization bill passed by the U.S. Congress that among its provisions would have prevented the CIA from resorting to torture among its arsenal of interrogation techniques.⁶⁷
- 2008:** From March 28–29, the annual Cape Town International Jazz Festival is held. Among the U.S. musicians featured at the festival are Gerald Albright, and the Kenny Barron Trio.⁶⁸
- 2008:** On March 30, at a roundtable with traveling press, in Jerusalem, in response to a question on what appears to be less than transparent national elections held in Zimbabwe the day before (now proven to be so), U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice observes that “the Mugabe regime is a disgrace to the people of Zimbabwe and a disgrace to southern Africa and to the continent of Africa as a whole.”⁶⁹
- 2008:** On May 12, the U.S. Supreme Court announced the denial of the writ of certiorari to petitioners (notably scores of U.S. and foreign corporations, represented by Cravath, Swaine & Moore) in the matter of *American Isuzu Motors Inc. et al. v. Ntsebeza, Lungisile, et al.* The petitioners, who were supported by both the ANC government and the Bush-Cheney Administration, had sought the overthrow of the enlightened decision by the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in October 2007 allowing a lawsuit against the corporations brought by victims of apartheid to proceed in U.S. courts. As is customary, the Supreme Court did not indicate its reasons for denying certiorari other than to state that it was due to lack of a quorum.⁷⁰ This was a most positive outcome for the thousands of victims of apartheid seeking redress and at the same time highlighted, once again, how far to the right the ANC government has moved in recent years where the petit bourgeois ANC elite no longer represents the interests of the *majority* of the South African peoples.
- 2008:** This year marks the sixtieth anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel (referred to by Palestinians as *Al-Nakbah* [the Catastrophe]). And one of the tragic ironies of this anniversary is that just as a U.S. African American, Nobel Laureate Ralph Bunche, had played a prominent role in efforts to mediate peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict sixty years ago, so today another prominent U.S. African American, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, is attempting (but with less integrity some have charged) to broker a peace settlement in this as yet unresolved—thanks to the independent but destructive nefarious agendas of a powerful extreme right wing minority in Israel, Palestine, and the United States—world-reverberating life-and-treasure-wasting conflict, in which South Africa as a member of the United Nations also has a stake.
- 2008:** In the Democratic Party’s nomination process for the upcoming U.S. presidential election, a U.S. African American senator, by the name of Barack Obama, makes a successful bid for his party’s nomination in the “primaries.” From the perspective of U.S. history—as also in the case of his opponent during the primaries, a woman senator by the name of Hillary Clinton—this is an unprecedented achievement.⁷¹

PART TWO

Pre-Apartheid Era (Proto-Apartheid Legislation)

1856–1910: Enactment of numerous versions of *Masters and Servants Acts* among all the four pre-union territories of Cape Province, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal. The unwritten intent of these acts was to control

the movement and place of residence of aboriginal Africans to facilitate the maximal exploitation of their labor by whites, at all levels of society (from individual households to mining corporations). These acts would remain in force until the 1970s.

- 1894:** *The Glen Grey Act*. Enacted by the Cape when Cecil Rhodes was prime minister, its essential purpose was twofold, to “regularize” land tenure in the segregated African territories—so as to create land shortages in order to force out self-sufficient African peasants onto the labor market as landless peasants—and to create black administrative structures (under white supervision) in the segregated black urban settlements (called “locations”). It may be noted that this Act was, in a sense, a precursor to the notorious *Native Land Act* of 1913.
- 1907:** *The Asiatic Law Amendment Act* (Act No. 2). Also referred to as the “Black Act” and passed by the Transvaal as an amendment of Law 3 of 1885. This Act was designed to severely curtail whatever few civil rights that the free (nonindentured) South African Asians—people of Indian, and in this case Chinese descent—had. It would provoke the first major political protest, involving nonviolent civil disobedience, organized by Mahatma Gandhi (and would include an alliance, albeit one of convenience, with the South African Chinese).
- 1913:** *The Native Land Act* (Act No. 27 of 1913). Apportioned land between whites and aboriginal Africans whereby neither could own or rent each other’s land. The land set aside for the Africans (initially only about 7%, later increased to about 13% by the *Development Trust and Land Act* [Act No. 18 of 1936]) was often that deemed unsuitable for white needs and it was divided into tribal reservations.
- 1923:** *Native Urban Areas Act* (Act No. 21 of 1923). Divided the country into urban and rural areas with local authorities of urban areas charged with controlling the movement of aboriginal Africans into their areas, including the removal of unemployed persons back onto the reservations.
- 1924:** *Industrial Conciliation Act* (Act No. 11 of 1924). Established the “color bar” in employment, and prohibited the membership of black workers in white unions, or the formation of black trade unions.
- 1926:** *Immorality Act* (Act No. 5 of 1926). Proscribed extra-marital sexual intercourse between aboriginal Africans and whites. Some decades later, the *Immorality Amendment Act* [Act No. 21 of 1950] would add Coloreds and Asians with whom whites were not permitted to have extra-marital sexual intercourse. A few years later still, the *Sexual Offenses (Immorality) Act* (Act No. 23 of 1957), would further strengthen these prohibitions.
- 1930:** *Riotous Assemblies (Amendment) Act* (Act No. 19 of 1930). Proscribed any speech (in any form, printed or otherwise) calculated to oppose white supremacy.
- 1937:** *Native Laws Amendment Act* (Act No. 46 of 1937). Prohibited the acquisition of land in urban areas by blacks from whites (except by government consent).
- 1945:** *Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act* (Act No. 25 of 1945). Reinforced the *Native Urban Areas Act* (Act No. 21 of 1923), and allowed for “influx control” whereby unemployed black males, or black males who had been convicted of certain crimes, could be removed from an urban area to a reservation.
- 1946:** *Asiatic Land Tenure (and Indian Representation) Act* (Act No. 28 of 1946). The representation part was abolished shortly by the *Asiatic Laws Amendment Act* (Act No. 47 of 1948) but the land tenure part remained which provided for residential and other segregation of people of South Asian ancestry in urban areas.

Apartheid Era

- 1949:** *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act* (Act No. 55 of 1949). Banned interracial marriages between blacks and whites. Later, by means of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act (Act No. 21 of 1968), interracial marriages contracted outside South Africa would also be frowned upon by rendering them invalid.
- 1950:** *Population Registration Act* (Act No. 30 of 1950). Strengthened existing racial classification laws by requiring the identification and registration at birth of all individuals as belonging to one of these four racial classifications: Africans, Asians, Coloreds, and Whites.
- 1950:** *Group Areas Act* (Act No. 41 of 1950). Required strict residential segregation of the four racial groups.
- 1950:** *Internal Security (Suppression of Communism) Act* (Act No. 44 of 1950). This act, together with the *Suppression of Communism Amendment Act* (Act No. 50 of 1951), the *Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act* (Act No. 15 of 1954), the *Unlawful Organizations Act* (Act No. 34 of 1960), and other similar legislation that would come later, defined communism broadly to include any form of opposition to apartheid and white supremacy, and proscribed all such activity as well as a number of specific organizations, including the Communist Party, the ANC, and the PAC. The provisions of these various pieces of legislation would be consolidated, rationalized and expanded some three decades later with the *Internal Security Act* (Act No. 32 of 1979), and the similarly titled *Internal Security Act* (Act No. 74 of 1982).
- 1951:** *Black Building Workers Act* (Act No. 27 of 1951). Proscribed blacks from all jobs reserved for whites in the construction trade.
- 1951:** *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act* (Act No. 52 of 1951). Allowed authorities to remove persons from public or private lands to a resettlement area designated for that purpose.
- 1951:** Bantu Authorities Act (Act No. 68 of 1951). This act, together with the *Representation between Republic of South Africa and Self-Governing Territories (Promotion of Bantu Self-Government) Act* (Act No. 46 of 1959), led to the creation of ethnically designated aboriginal African homelands—initially called Bantustans—out of the reservations and eliminated all parliamentary representation of aboriginal Africans.
- 1952:** *Native Education Act* (Act No. 47 of 1953). This act, together with similar legislation such as the *Bantu Education Act* (Act No. 47 of 1953), established a racially segregated education system for aboriginal Africans, as

well as mandated a curriculum deemed “appropriate” to them so that they did not aspire to positions above those determined by apartheid.

- 1952:** *Native Laws Amendment Act* (Act No. 54 of 1952). Required all aboriginal Africans over the age of sixteen to carry passes (a form of internal passport) at all times that established their legitimacy to be in a given area. The “passport” had in it such information, besides the bearer’s photograph, as place of origin, record of tax payments, employment record, and police record. Further, they were not permitted to be in any urban area longer than 72 hours, unless they had permission. Section 10 of this act also established categories of aboriginal Africans with the legal right to live in an urban area: those who had lived continuously in an urban area from birth, or those who had been in continuous employment in an urban area for at least ten years, or those who had lived continuously in an urban area for fifteen years. However, other legislation would be added later that permitted the removal of even legally resident aboriginal Africans from an urban area if authorities deemed the persons as undesirables for whatever reason the authorities saw fit (“idleness,” “agitation,” etc.) It should be noted that failure to produce a validated passport on demand by the police constituted nothing less than a criminal offense. Thousand upon thousands over the decades would fall foul of what came to be known as the “pass laws” (which were further entrenched with other legislation such as the *Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Act* (Act No. 49 of 1984).
- 1953:** *Public Safety Act* (Act No. 3 of 1953). This legislation, together with various other similar legislation, provided for the declaration of a “state of emergency,” whereby SAAG at all levels acquired wide-ranging untrammelled police powers to arrest, detain, outlaw mass gatherings, etc., and at the same time effectively rendered illegal any form of opposition to white supremacy, peaceful or otherwise, including nonviolent civil disobedience.
- 1953:** *Native Labor Regulations (Native Labor and Settlement of Disputes) Act* (Act No. 48 of 1953). Among its provisions was the proscription of all forms of industrial action (strikes, lockouts, etc.) by aboriginal African workers.
- 1953:** *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act* (Act No. 49 of 1953). Segregated public transportation and other public facilities by race. However, interestingly, perhaps learning a lesson from the ongoing anti-Jim Crow litigation efforts of the NAACP in the United States, the act also indicated that the separate facilities did not have to be of equal quality.
- 1954:** *Natives Resettlement Act* (Act No. 19 of 1954). Allowed for the mass removals of aboriginal Africans from an urban area.
- 1956:** *South Africa Amendment Act* (Act No. 9 of 1956). This act, together with other similar acts, whittled away and eliminated both direct and indirect black representation in parliament, making all general elections effectively a white affair.
- 1956:** *Riotous Assemblies Act* (Act No. 17 of 1956). Among its provisions, it introduced the concept of proscription of persons (banishment from leading normal lives in terms of movement, membership of organizations, communicating with the media in any form, and so on).
- 1956:** *Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act* (Act No. 64 of 1956). Removed the option of appeal against forced removals of aboriginal peoples.
- 1959:** *Extension of University Education Act* (Act No. 45 of 1959). Racially segregated higher education, and made it illegal for blacks to attend predominantly white institutions without government permission.
- 1959:** *Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act* (Act No. 46 of 1959). All aboriginal Africans were deemed to belong to one of eight ethnic groups, and a process was begun to develop “homelands” out of the reservations for each group.
- 1961:** *Indemnity Act* (Act No. 61 of 1961). Protected SAAG, its officials, or anyone else connected with it, from legal suit for any action deemed to have been undertaken in the interest of preserving the apartheid state.
- 1962:** *General Law Amendment (Sabotage) Act* (Act No. 76 of 1962). Expanded the authority of SAAG to proscribe organizations, and persons (banning orders served on individuals) in the interest of maintaining the integrity of the apartheid state.
- 1967:** *Terrorism Act* (Act No. 83 of 1967). Permitted indefinite detention without trial of any person deemed to be a threat to the security of the apartheid state. Previous legislation, such as the *General Law Amendment Act* (Act No. 37 of 1967, also known as the 90-day detention law), or the *Criminal Procedure Amendment Act* (Act No. 96 of 1965, also known as the 180-day detention law) had limits on the number of days a person could be held in detention without being charged and tried.
- 1968:** *Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act* (Act No. 50 of 1968). Establishment of the Colored Persons Representative Council (comprising 40 elected and 20 appointed members) with legislative powers in matters of concern to the Coloreds (e.g., local government, education, community welfare) but with veto powers reserved by SAAG. A similar body was established for the Asians (*South African Indian Council Act* [Act No. 31 of 1968]) but it had no legislative powers, only advisory.
- 1969:** *Public Service Amendment Act* (Act No. 86 of 1969). Established a new security agency, to undertake espionage and other clandestine operations against anti-apartheid activity, called the Bureau of State Security (that commonly came to be known as BOSS).
- 1970:** *Bantu Homelands Citizens (National States Citizenship) Act* (Act No. 26 of 1970). Aboriginal Africans were no longer entitled to South African citizenship; instead they were now required to establish their citizenship (in accordance with their ethnic classification) in one of the eight homelands.

1973: *Aliens Control Act* (Act No. 40 of 1973). Loosened restrictions on the movement of people of Asian ancestry between the provinces but retained the prohibition to remain in Orange Free State (other than as a visitor for a short period) without permission.

1983: *Publications Act* (Act No. 15 of 1983). Legalized the censorship of the media by the apartheid state.

1983: *Prisons Amendment Act* (Act No. 35 of 1983). Made it illegal to publish anything about prisons or prisoners without permission.

1983: *Republic of South Africa Constitution Act* (Act No. 110 of 1983). Established a tricameral parliament with separate legislative chambers for whites, Coloreds, and Asians. The legislative agenda for a given session for each chamber was determined on the basis of either the parochial or national relevance of the matters in question (hence those of national relevance, termed “general affairs” in contrast to “own affairs,” were considered by all chambers). Note: Aboriginal Africans were still excluded from any representation in parliament, as they were not considered citizens of South Africa.

1986: *Elite Unit Act* (Act No. 18 of 1986). Established a new intelligence body with a wide mandate to investigate anything it deemed of even remote relevance to the security of the apartheid state. The following year, even greater powers would accrue to various security-related bodies through the *Intelligence Service and State Security Council Act* (Act No. 20 of 1987).

1990: *Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Repeal Act* (Act No. 100 of 1990). Effectively begins the process of ending apartheid.

1991: *Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act* (Act No. 108 of 1991). Repealed provisions of such legislation as the 1913 *Native Land Act*. With this legislation, and other similar legislation, such as the *Population Registration Repeal Act* (Act No. 114 of 1991), the apartheid system is virtually abolished.

NOTES

1. The continuing relentless infiltration by the Spanish in subsequent years as they militarily gained an upper hand would eventually, over the course of roughly two centuries, lead to the collapse of the Calusa nation as their numbers were reduced to a mere fraction—mainly by disease inadvertently brought in by the Spanish. The small bands of survivors would later merge with other U.S. First Americans migrating from the North to, in time, give rise to new nations, such as the Seminoles.

2. Many of the defeated Pequot were enslaved; some were shipped out to the Caribbean while others became tributaries of their enemies among fellow U.S. First Americans (the Mohegans and the Narragansetts), who in the war had allied with the English.

3. By the standards of the day this was a bloody war in which many lives were lost on both sides; and again, as in the Pequot War, the battle lines were not clear cut between settlers and the U.S. First Americans (as some of the latter, including, ironically, the Pequot, had allied with the former). The English and their First American allies soon gained an upper hand, though disease and starvation among the Wampanoag and their allies had an important say in the outcome. The war hardened the attitudes of the English colonists toward all U.S. First Americans (allies or not), with the result that enslavement or banishment to “Indian reservations,” coupled with second-class citizenship, was imposed on all U.S. First Americans who came under their sway.

4. The territory acquired comprised the western half of the Mississippi River Basin (an 828,000 square-mile area then known as Louisiana) longitudinally stretching from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. The roots of the purchase lay in the French and Indian War in which England had emerged victorious. Now, the 1763 *Treaty of Paris* that formally ended the war, not only made Canada its colony, but in addition, gave Florida, a colony of Spain, to England (Spain had joined in the war on the side of the French). However, to forestall further English colonial expansion in North America, a huge swathe of territory roughly between the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers and stretching from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico over which France had historically laid claim, named Louisiana (after King Louis IX), was ceded by France to Spain—against the protests of the First Americans of the region. However, some decades later this territory would be reluctantly retroceded to France by Spain’s King Charles IV (but with compensation) via the 1801 *Treaty of San Ildefonso* which included a provision that barred France from relinquishing the territory to a third power. Two years later, in 1803, France, strapped for cash, amidst renewed hostilities with England (and against the backdrop of its embarrassing failure to crush the slave rebellion in Haiti) ignored the treaty and sold the territory to the United States. With this purchase, which came to be known as the “Louisiana Purchase,” the United States would double its land area; in fact, so vast was the territory involved that it would come to hold wholly or almost wholly the states of Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wyoming, put together. While the purchase was viewed as a triumph of U.S. diplomacy in which over 2,000,000 square kilometers of lands belonging to U.S. First Americans was acquired from the French at a cost of an obscenely paltry sum of \$27 million dollars (includes interest payments), it was not entirely a blessing. Thousands would lose their lives in decades to come as a consequence of two sets of events that had their roots in that purchase: the violent struggle for the dispossession of the acquired lands from the U.S. First Americans, its original rightful inhabitants—ideologically premised on the racist concept of so-called *Manifest Destiny* which itself had roots in another much older whiteness-based racist concept concocted in Europe called the *Doctrine of Discovery* (see Miller’s [2006] excellent work on this subject)—and the U.S. Civil War.

5. The principal objective of the war was to satisfy the ever-escalating lust for U.S. First American lands in Florida among the encroaching U.S. settlers by forcing the Spanish out and moving the surviving Seminoles out west beyond the Mississippi. The latter part of the plan, however, was not so easily achieved. The Seminole, who included among them significant numbers of the Creek from Georgia and runaway enslaved U.S. African Americans, under the leadership of Osceola, mounted a retaliatory war (Second Seminole War) in 1835 and it would last until 1842—the guerrilla tactics they used in the Florida swamps proved to be a formidable match for the U.S. forces. However, by means of such tactics as targeting war leaders (Osceola was among the captured; he was betrayed by the flag of truce such was the morality of the U.S. general, Thomas Jessup), destroying food crops, and promising freedom to the escaped slaves if they changed sides, the Seminole were eventually defeated and the bulk of them transferred west. A few, however, who remained were able to regroup so that when encroachments into part of the territory to which they had retreated (beyond the Caloosahatchee River) proved unbearable, they launched the Third Seminole War (1855–58) under the leadership of Billy Bowlegs, and again they faced defeat; and they too were promptly removed out west upon their surrender.

6. It ought to be noted though that it is a testimony to their resilience that today they are the majority ethnic group among U.S. First Americans.

7. Since no work about the United States spanning a period as long as this one does would be complete without an obligatory quote from its adopted son, Alexis de Tocqueville, that young nineteenth-century French chronicler of the rise of U.S. democracy, we may note here that he was, in actuality, a living witness to the pain of the removal of one of these nations:

At the end of the year 1831, I stood on the left bank of the Mississippi at a spot the Europeans called Memphis. While I was there a numerous band of Choctaws (or Chactas as the French in Louisiana call them) arrived. . . . It was then the depths of winter and the cold was exceptionally severe that year; the snow had frozen hard on the ground; the river was drifting with huge ice-floes. The Indians had brought their families with them, and hauled along the wounded, the sick, new born babies, and old men on the verge of death. They had neither tents nor wagons, simply a few provisions and arms. I saw them embark to cross the wide river and that solemn spectacle will never be erased from my memory. Not a sob or complaint could be heard from this assembled crowd; they stood silent. Their afflictions were of long-standing and they considered them beyond remedy (Tocqueville, 2003 [1835–40]: 380)

Tocqueville, however, is, in fact, and ironically, especially relevant here given the long hold he has had on the imagination of U.S. Americans on the right (and to a lesser extent on the left too). While the right has often turned to him for validation for parts of their political agenda there is a cacophonous silence among them on the matter of discussing the elephant in the room: Tocqueville's bitter and trenchant critique of a democracy that, on one hand, not only ignored but thrived on the enslavement of human beings, and on the other, was inflicting violence, terror, and destitution on an unimaginable scale on the original owners of the land. This point is not lost on everyone, however. Kramnick, for example, in his well-written introduction to the Penguin Classics edition of *Democracy in America* (Tocqueville 2003) correctly points out: "Tocqueville's recurring depiction of American inquisitiveness and 'grasping search for gain' is rendered in its bitterest and most pathological terms in his evocations of the sufferings of Native Americans. . . . He assails the hypocrisy of Americans who proclaim all men brothers while brutalizing native peoples with liquor and wine. Even more to their shame," he further paraphrases Tocqueville, "as Americans 'exterminate the Indian race' they claim not to violate fundamental principles of morality. Yet, their fraudulent and unjust policies defy all notions of reason and natural right (p. xxxv)." To quote Tocqueville's brilliant observation on this misuse of the rule of law:

The Spanish, using unparalleled atrocities which bring an indelible shame upon themselves, have not succeeded in exterminating the Indian race, nor even in preventing them from sharing their rights; the Americans of the United States have attained both these results with amazing ease, quietly, legally, and generously, with no spilling of blood, with no violation to the great moral principles in the eyes of the world. Men could not be destroyed with more respect for the laws of humanity (p. 397, emphasis added).

Obviously, the no violence and no spilling of blood was an exaggeration on his part, but the basic thrust of his point was certainly on the mark. (For more on the "Trail of Tears" and the agony of the Cherokees see also Ehle [1988].)

8. In fact, immediately upon the conclusion of the war, Union troops were sent west to deal with the "Indian problem" in a manner best summarized by the triumphant conqueror of the South, General William T. Sherman, in 1867 with these oftquoted words: "The more we can kill this year, the less will have to be killed the next war, for the more I see of these Indians the more convinced I am that all have to be killed or be maintained as a species of pauper. Their attempts at civilization are simply ridiculous" (from Danziger 2007: 313). Note too that it is Sherman who is supposed to have coined the phrase "[t]he only good Indian is a dead Indian."

9. The *de jure* era would end with the successive 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court decisions in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (347 U.S. 483 [1954], and 349 U.S. 294 [1955]); however, *de facto* Jim Crow would continue and it would only come to an end with the launch of the civil rights movement by Martin Luther King, Jr., and others—beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955–1956 and culminating about a decade later in the 1964 *Civil Rights Act* and the 1965 *Voting Rights Act*.

10. The school was modeled on the Hampton/Tuskegee model (in fact, in the preceding year, Hampton Institute had enrolled its first contingent of U.S. First Americans) and was the brainchild of its founder Richard Henry Pratt, a well-meaning but misguided individual who had been the commander of the U.S. African American unit of the U.S. 10th Cavalry, "Buffalo Soldiers." Pratt's missionary-like zeal in launching the school was based on his abiding belief that schools were the ideal medium for "taming" U.S. First Americans—a view best captured by the oft-quoted line "kill the Indian in him and save the man" he had once articulated (Adams 1995: 52; for more on this one of the many dark

chapters of U.S. history see also Child [1998] and Fear-Segal [2007]). Incidentally, a glimpse of what many of the children and their families had to endure in the process of the children being “impressed” for this boarding school system, as well as the ideological rationale behind it, may be had from a motion picture (*Rabbit-Proof Fence* [2002]) featuring a similar educational system, but in a different settler-colonial land: Australia.

11. In fact, in its very second issue, it publishes a lengthy feature article on Africa and which is peppered with such nuggets of wisdom as these:

In passing from the equator south, the tribes become more degraded.... It is the land of the gorilla, and there seems to be little difference between the man and the ape, and both are hunted and shot by the Boers.... The Negro has never developed any high degree of civilization; and even if, when brought into contact with civilization, he has made considerable progress, when that contact ceased he has deteriorated into barbarism. But, on the other hand, he has never faded away and disappeared, like the Indian of America and the natives of the Southern Archipelago. Nature has spread a bountiful and never-ending harvest before the Negro, and given to him a climate where neither labor of body or mind, neither clothing nor a house, is essential to his comfort. All nature invites to an idle life; and it is only through compulsion, and contact with a life from without, that his condition can be improved. (Du Chaillu 1889: 111, 123)

12. They opened in Cape Town with their first performance on the evening of June 30 at the Vaudeville Theater before a white audience. They would also perform before black audiences, marking the first formally organized “group-contact” between blacks in both countries. The Jubilee Singers toured South Africa until their final performance in Cape Town on January 25, 1892; however, after a three-year hiatus they returned on January 29, 1895 and the troupe (renamed Minstrel, Vaudeville and Concert Company) remained in South Africa until their last performance in the Durban Theater Royal on April 4, 1898, on the eve of the outbreak of the Boer War.

13. This event is generally considered by U.S. Euro-American historians as marking the end of the European settler frontier in the territory that became the United States, because thereafter all surviving U.S. First Americans over the nearly four hundred year period of the European colonization project had either been exterminated or militarily defeated, and except for the isolated pockets of reservation lands all their lands alienated.

14. During his stay in South Africa, while in the course of campaigning for civil rights (chiefly for the Asian community), he develops his own unique strategy of nonviolent approach to civil disobedience known as *satyagraha*. It is also while in South Africa he publishes his seminal work, *Hind Swaraj*.

15. Some of the founders of the NAACP were already involved with the organization’s forerunner, the Niagara Movement (led by Du Bois) that had been launched secretly in the summer of 1905 in Niagara Falls, Ontario, to fight for civil rights on the basis of a strategy that would be the reverse of that advocated by Booker T. Washington.

16. Other leaders of the South African state, either as prime ministers (from 1910 to 1984), or as executive state presidents (from 1984–1994) were: from 1919–1924, General Jan C. Smuts; from 1924–1939, General J. B. M. Hertzog; from 1939–1948, General Jan C. Smuts; from 1948–1954, Dr. D. F. Malan; from 1954–1958, J. G. Strijdom; from 1958–1966, Dr. Hendrik F. Verwoerd; from 1966–1978, B. J. Vorster; from 1978–1984, and from 1984–1989 (as executive state president), P. W. Botha; and from 1989–1994, F. W. de Klerk. In the new (post-apartheid) South Africa the post of executive state president would be abolished and replaced with president with Nelson R. Mandela the first president (from 1994–1999). In 1999 Thabo M. Mbeki succeeded Mandela, his term expires in 2009.

17. The film enjoyed great popularity among white audiences, and in the process helped to boost Klan membership throughout the decade following its release. (As recently as 1998 the film was voted as among the top 100 films in U.S. cinematic history by the American Film Institute, though not necessarily for its theme but its innovative cinematic techniques.)

18. He would remain in South Africa until 1928, and then return again after a short hiatus in 1929; he left South Africa on August 9, 1936 for good, though he would come back for shorter visits.

19. As the title indicates, the study would not cover poverty among the black majority.

20. Note, however, that the first Tarzan film came out during the “silent era” in 1918, and more would be produced subsequently; however, it is the MGM film that really helped to popularize the series among audiences in the U.S. and elsewhere.

21. Bunche, a U.S. African American, would later join the United Nations with his appointment as the undersecretary general on August 19, 1954 and through his work there gain prominence as an able U.N. diplomat. He would eventually merit a Nobel Prize for Peace in 1950 (making him the first U.S. African American to receive the prize) for his work in helping to bring to an end, in the preceding year, the armed conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians—at least temporarily, as it has turned out. He would sum up his approach to that conflict thusly: “I have a bias in favor of both Arabs and Jews in the sense that I believe that both are good, honorable and essentially peace-loving peoples, and are therefore as capable of making peace as of waging war...” (From Henry [1999: 142]).

22. The U.S. Supreme Court in a December 18, 1944 decision in *Tojo Saburo Korematsu v. United States* (323 U.S. 214 [1944]) on the matter sided with Roosevelt. In 1988 President Ronald Reagan signed legislation that apologized for this gross injustice and authorized the payment of reparations to survivors and descendants of non-survivors.

23. See Tothill (2007) on the role of Smuts at the conference.

24. At the same college, fittingly, Mikhail Gorbachev would deliver an address in 1992 indicating the end of the cold war.

25. The term “cold war” was first used in a congressional debate in the U.S. in 1947 by Bernard M. Baruch, an advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

26. It is not without reason that this event is called *Al-Nakbah*; for, as Palumbo (1992), for example, has demonstrated, the creation of the state of Israel represented an atonement by the West for the centuries-upon centuries-long genocidal atrocities (pogroms) heaped upon the Jews by the Christian west (culminating in the Jewish Holocaust engi-

neered by the Nazis) on the backs of the Palestinians—expressed through such measures perpetrated by the Zionists, even as the memory of the Jewish Holocaust was still fresh in their minds, as wholesale terrorism and coercion that eventually drove the Palestinians from their lands into the wilderness of permanent refugee status. (Clearly, the Israelis, in a most ironic twist of history, obscenely trading on the memory of the Holocaust, were among the forerunners of the strategy of “ethnic cleansing” in the post-World War II era.)

27. The first ten of the thirty articles of the Declaration read:

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. *Article 2:* Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty. *Article 3:* Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person. *Article 4:* No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms. *Article 5:* No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. *Article 6:* Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law. *Article 7:* All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination. *Article 8:* Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law. *Article 9:* No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. *Article 10:* Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

28. McCarthyism ended when McCarthy was replaced as chair of the Operations Committee after the Republicans lost the Senate to the Democrats in the mid-term November elections of 1954, and thereafter condemned by the Senate for his activities. It may be noted that McCarthy had already begun his sensationalist accusations long before he began his hearings when at a speech in February 1950 he falsely claimed that over two hundred communists had infiltrated the U.S. State Department, thereby placing himself, much to his delight, in the national limelight. That the country initially went along with his witch hunt—which was a clear violation of the civil rights of those accused—is testimony to the power of the ideology of the cold war that had begun to grip the country.

29. The person most close associated with the organization, George Houser, a U.S. Euro-American Methodist minister, and one of the founding members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE—established in 1942) took over its leadership in 1955. He also helped found the precursor of ACOA, Americans for South African Resistance, in 1952.

30. The conference, which was attended by representatives from nearly thirty nations, also sought to establish neutrality in the emerging cold war through a movement of PQD nations known as the *Non-Aligned Movement*—a phrase originally coined by the Prime Minister of India during an address delivered the preceding year in Colombo, Sri Lanka—that would be formally launched at a follow-up conference held in Belgrade in September, 1961.

31. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, as it has come to be known, lasted uninterrupted for 381 days, ending on December 21, 1956 following a U.S. Supreme Court ruling on November 13 upholding the decision of a lower federal court declaring segregation in public transport unconstitutional. (The Supreme Court order was served on December 20.) The bus boycott helped launch the U.S. civil rights movement that would last for about a decade culminating in the passage of the *Voting Rights Act* of 1965 and the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964.

32. This act was supplemented by another, the *Civil Rights Act* of 1968, the most significant provision of which was the prohibition of racial discrimination in the area of housing.

33. One James Earl Ray would be convicted of the assassination and sentenced to ninety-nine years in prison.

34. One Sirhan Bishara Sirhan was convicted of the crime and sentenced to death, but later, in 1972, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment when California abolished capital punishment.

35. They would separate in 1973 and divorce a few years later in 1978.

36. Final evacuation of all U.S. diplomatic and other personnel would take place around April 30, 1975 in an ignominious and disorderly manner with the unexpected sudden fall of Saigon at the hands of North Vietnamese troops. (On July 2, 1976, North and South Vietnam would be officially united after a nearly thirty-year civil war.)

37. After being in Mozambique for nearly five centuries, the Portuguese, before leaving, displayed their generosity to the Mozambican people by throwing a vindictive temper tantrum where they did everything they could to smash the infrastructure of Mozambique—including stealing almost anything they could carry away (Klein 1997).

38. It would inaugurate a brutal civil war lasting for nearly thirty years (marked by three overlapping phases: the first from 1975 to 1976, the second from 1980 to 1991, and the third from 1992 to 2002, and which may be labeled as Angola’s first, second, and third civil wars), and in which a number of other countries would become involved during its different phases—including the United States and South Africa.

39. It will, initially, involve sending a 652-man Cuban battalion from the elite Special Forces of the Ministry of the Interior by air and sea. Only a few hours after his decision, at 6:45 p. m., some 100 Cuban heavy weapons specialists are on their way to Angola, via Brazzaville, in an old Britannia turbo prop.

40. Within two years, however, he would be forced to resign as a result of vociferous protests from U.S. Jewish leaders and the Israeli government, on August 15, 1979, for holding clandestine meetings with the Palestine Liberation Organization against an irrational U.S. government policy prohibiting any governmental contact with that organization.

41. Initially, his request for a visa had been denied by SAAG, but the Carter Administration pressured it to relent and grant him the visa. A sense of the rhetoric that incensed many whites can be had from his comments such as

“Apartheid is violence by definition. It rules on fear and lies, it violates free will, burns the body, limits the mind. It denies academic freedom. Its ultimate sin is that it divides the church.” “Apartheid is worse than Hitler.” (From p. 36 of *Newsweek* of August 13, 1979—article is titled “Jesse Jackson Takes on Pretoria.” See also the news story “Jesse Jackson’s Tour Angers South African Government,” in the Sunday, Final Edition of the *Washington Post* dated July 29, 1979)

42. The full report, which concentrated exclusively on South Africa despite the original mandate of the Commission to cover Southern Africa as a whole, was published by University of California Press; an update of the report was also issued by the Commission in 1985.

43. Among the most tragic highlights of the war was the massacre on September 16 of hundreds upon hundreds of defenseless Palestinians of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, mainly women and children, by the Phalangists (a Lebanese Christian militia)—aided and abetted by the Israelis—and which has come to be known as the Sabra and Shatila Massacre.

44. The broadcasts, it should be noted, were timed to coincide with the Twenty-Fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. (See Massie [1997] and Botes [2004] for more on the broadcasts and their significance.)

45. The EPG was co-chaired by Malcolm Fraser (former Australian Prime Minister) and General Olusegan Obasanjo, (former Nigerian head of state). It failed in its mission in the face of SAAG intransigence and ended up recommending the imposition of sanctions.

46. Among the more prominent casualties of this amendment was the giant Mobil Oil Corporation that announced in 1989 that it was disinvesting from that country.

47. See Garofalo (1992) for an analysis of the political significance of the tribute, officially billed by the organizers as the Nelson Mandela Seventieth Birthday Tribute (together with the post-prison tribute, An International Tribute for a Free South Africa, held also at Wembley, on April 16, 1990).

48. The organization continues to live on as Artists for a New South Africa with philanthropic work, especially in the area of combatting HIV/AIDS, their main focus (visit their website www.ansafica.org for more information).

49. The “fall” of the Berlin Wall is symbolic of the collapse of the ruling communist parties throughout Eastern Europe in 1989, which in turn leads to the unraveling of the former Soviet Union and the total collapse of communist power throughout the Warsaw Pact nations in the ensuing months into 1990. It marks the beginning of the end of the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

50. The changed tenor of his rhetoric on this second visit is indicated by his likening of President F. W. de Klerk (with whom Jackson also has a meeting) to “Lyndon Johnson, Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill.” (See news story titled “Jackson urges South Africa to ‘Move Forward’” on p. 4A in *USA Today*, dated February 9, 1990.)

51. The process would be completed by the following year in June, and the last of the highly enriched uranium would be handed over to the International Atomic Energy Agency during the nights of September 5–6. (SAAG, however, would not publicly announce the existence of the nuclear weapons program until 1993.)

52. Mandela was the first African ever to be given this opportunity to address Congress. The occasion highlighted both: the stature of Mandela, and the continuing racist legacy of this legislative body (see also Rob Nixon’s [1994] highly insightful analysis of the significance of this first Mandela trip).

53. The term *perestroika* refers to the economic restructuring of the Soviet economy (beginning in 1985) aimed at its liberalization, while *glasnost* was in a sense the political equivalent; the term referred to the opening of the Russian government to its citizenry as part of the move away from totalitarianism (beginning in 1990).

54. The key paragraph in the speech read: “We visualize a mixed economy, in which the private sector would play a central and critical role to ensure the creation of wealth and jobs. Side by side with this, there will be a public sector perhaps no different from such countries as Germany, France and Italy where public enterprises constitute 9, 11 and 15 per cent of the economy respectively, and in which the state plays an important role in such areas as education, health and welfare” (from his speech available at the ANC website www.anc.org.za).

55. On August 16, parliament passes the *Control of Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction Act* prohibiting South African citizens from any form of involvement with the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), thereby becoming the first country in history to voluntarily dismantle a WMD program. Under U.S. pressure, SAAG also agrees to not undertake the manufacture of long-range missiles, and at the same time consents to dismantle its space rocket program.

56. The Accords, which were signed by Israel’s Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO’s Yasser Arafat on the White House lawn with President Bill Clinton in attendance and witnessed by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the Russian foreign minister, Andrey Kozyrev, marked the first such agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians. As of this writing, however, peace between the belligerents remains a mirage as the Accords were quickly transformed into one of many roadkills strewn across the path to peace—consider, for example: *Camp David 2000* (featuring Israel’s Ehud Barak and PLO’s Yasser Arafat meeting at the presidential mountain retreat in Maryland known as Camp David under the sponsorship of President Bill Clinton), *Road Map 2003* (featuring the “Quartet”: the European Union, Russia, United Nations, and United States, with preliminary groundwork laid by the U.S. declaration the year before of the principle of a single undivided Palestinian state [two-state solution]), *Saudi Peace Plan 2002* (an initiative of Saudi Arabia featuring the comical and the impotent Arab League) and *Annapolis Summit 2007* (a media extravaganza held in Annapolis featuring talks about talks to which everyone and their brother and sister were invited)—principally because the cost of conflict has to date never outweighed the cost of peace for the Israelis and their U.S. ally against the backdrop of the Israeli settler-colonial project of diligently and steadily changing the facts on the ground in contravention of international law even as the world has looked on.

57. The Act rescinds all remaining U.S. sanctions on South Africa, and at the same time authorizes full U.S. support for the transition to an apartheid-free nation state.

58. Meaning “God Bless Africa,” it was originally composed in Xhosa in 1897 by Enoch Sontonga, a music loving teacher at a Methodist mission school in Johannesburg, with stanzas added later at various times by others. In time it became a popular hymn in African churches and at political meetings. The hymn was adopted by the ANC as its official

anthem in 1925. (For more on the history and broader significance of the hymn see Coplan and Jules-Rosette [2005].) On April 20, 1994 the hymn together with the existing national anthem, the “Call of South Africa,” were declared national anthems of the post-apartheid South Africa. Two years later, a combined but shortened version of both anthems became the new national anthem.

59. Once passionately reviled by SAAG—and whose former spouse, Ruth First, they had murdered by means of a parcel bomb in 1982 in Mozambique—Slovo, who had been one of the most indefatigable champions of a democratic apartheid-free South Africa, is given a warm and memorable national send-off on January 15 by a black majority nation, claiming this Euro-South African as their own, which he was. (See the feature-length obituary on him by his daughter Gillian Slovo, titled “That’s No White Man. That’s Joe Slovo,” in *The Independent*, dated February 4, 1995.)

60. One country, however—the Bush-Cheney led United States—that should have been a leader in this effort, given its historically vociferous claims to be a champion of democracy, not only refuses to sign on to this worthy project but makes every attempt to undermine it! Why? Because it feels it stands above and apart from the world community. In a comment from a veteran foreign policy activist, the African American Randall Robinson, a simple one sentence paragraph elegantly but chillingly summarizes everything about this stance: “Hubris of unfathomable dimension.” (Robinson 2005: 234.)

61. The lawsuit, *Khulumani, et al. v. Barclays, et al.* seeks to bring to justice some 22 international business corporations domiciled, or with subsidiaries, in the United States for aiding and abetting a regime that perpetrated a range of human rights violations of a criminal nature—ranging from forced labor through sexual assault and torture to extrajudicial killings. A similar lawsuit was also filed in August against some of the same companies and on the same grounds by U.S. lawyer Ed Fagan.

62. No weapons of mass destruction were ever found; nor, incidentally, did any evidence emerge to show that Iraq had been involved in sponsoring global terrorism as some within the Bush-Cheney Administration had also alleged. That this was as an absolutely ill-conceived adventure by the Bush-Cheney Administration to try and remake the Middle East—no different from that other foolish enterprise the Vietnam War—that has, and as of this writing on this 40th anniversary of the *Tet Offensive*, continues to consume enormous quantities of U.S. life and treasure (not to mention the death and destruction visited upon scores upon scores of thousands of innocent Iraqi civilians, most especially defenseless women and children) is now the accepted wisdom among most of the knowledgeable, the most damning criticism to date being that of one of the key administration insiders, the Bush-Cheney press secretary Scott McClellan, who in his book minces no words in stating that not only was the Iraq War unnecessary but that in the effort to sell the war to the public it was launched from a platform of calculated lies and deception (McClellan 2008). (See also the phase II report released on June 5, 2008 by the Senate’s Select Committee on Intelligence—titled *Report on Whether Public Statements Regarding Iraq by U.S. Government Officials were Substantiated by Intelligence Information*—that, in essence, corroborates McClellan.) As the war continues, it appears that so far five principal groups have been beneficiaries: the U.S. corporate military-industrial complex, the Iraqi Shia, the Iraqi Kurds, Israel, and Iran.

63. Sadly, Angola is not unique in this regard: other countries in the region (e.g., Mozambique and Zimbabwe) who had once held out the promise of exemplary governance—trading on their supposedly revolutionary credentials—have also succumbed to this disease. The report by Human Rights Watch is titled “Some Transparency, No Accountability: The Use of Oil Revenue in Angola and Its Impact on Human Rights” and it is available for download at its website (www.hrw.org).

64. U.S. African American popular TV show host Oprah Winfrey donated much of the money through her philanthropic foundation (the Oprah Winfrey Foundation) to build the 450-student all-girl boarding high school (grades 7-12) at Henley-on-Klip in Meyerton, south west of Johannesburg. Among the dignitaries at the opening ceremony were Nelson Mandela, who had first suggested the idea for the school, and Sidney Poitier and a number of other U.S. African American celebrities.

65. His visit was sponsored by the Texas-based private intelligence firm that provides business intelligence to U.S. capital with global interests, Strategic Forecasting, Inc. (Stratfor). During his visit he reassured U.S. capital that he fully supported existing economic policies in South Africa that are foreign-capital-friendly—casting serious doubts on his willingness and/or ability, the delusions of the populists notwithstanding, to move South Africa toward corporeal democracy (should he become president of his country). For an analysis of the circumstances behind Zuma’s election see, for example, Ceruti [2008], while the significance of Zuma’s 2006 rape trial in the context of South Africa’s patriarchal gender relations is considered by Robins [2008].)

66. The hypocritical and morally bankrupt right wing in the United States respond to this change in leadership with shrills of “no-change” in U.S. policy toward Cuba (in other words, the nearly half-a-century-long U.S. economic embargo on the little island will remain in place), as long as it refuses to, at the very minimum, pursue the Chinese model: totalitarianism masquerading as “communism” but at the same time opening the gates of capitalist accumulation wide open to global (especially U.S.) capital—an eventuality that may yet come to pass as global economic pressures continue to mount on Cuba, not to mention escalating pressures for change from the emergent petit bourgeois element within Cuba itself. Of course the obligatory reference to the need to respect human rights by Cuba is not absent, even while fully aware that the Chinese government, in contrast, is among the worst perpetrators of human rights in the world—consider the recent (April 2008) brutal crackdown in occupied Tibet. (And recall too the shameful *Tiananmen Square Massacre* on June 4, 1989 when peacefully protesting students were gunned down.) The latest incident (May 12, 2008) highlighting the moral bankruptcy of the Chinese pseudo-communist regime is in the matter of Burma: even while the regime is engaged in a massive and an unusually exemplary effort (due perhaps to the upcoming 2008 summer Olympic Games it has been foolishly allowed to host) to deal with the most awful tragedy that has struck China—an earthquake in south-western Sichuan Province that has wrought unimaginable devastation, consumed tens of thousands of lives, and left millions upon millions homeless—it has most cynically attempted to shield its fellow dictators in Burma, a bunch of military thugs, from international pressure to open up this resource-poor country to international aid and disaster-relief experts to help it deal effectively with an equally awful tragedy (a most horrendous cyclone) that struck it ten

days earlier, on May 2, and as a result of which tens of thousands have died, and millions have been rendered homeless. But as if that is not enough, the lives of the survivors are now in jeopardy as they face the likelihood of widespread disease and famine because of the callous intransigence of the military thugs who are adamant, to the unimaginable anguish of the cyclone victims, about preventing disaster-relief experts from entering Burma (lest their more than two-decades-long gross mismanagement of the country is inadvertently exposed to international scrutiny). For more on the long history of shamefully atrocious human rights record of the Chinese dictators see the various reports available at the website of Human Rights Watch (www.hrw.org) and Amnesty International (www.amnesty.org). See also the various annual *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* (by no means fully objective documents as they tend to go easier on human rights violators perceived to be friends of the United States) put out by the U.S. State Department. The latest report was released on March 11, 2008.

67. On this most distasteful and shameful matter, consider the irony in this observation by Dahlia Lithwick:

Few believe the high-level architects of the [U.S.] torture policy will ever face domestic prosecution.... High-ranking administration officials and [alleged] enemy combatants [terror suspects in detention at Guantánamo Bay] may have broken the law, and their legal situations are weirdly parallel. Both show how the rule of law can fracture under the strain of politics. Those alleged lawbreakers at Guantánamo can never be acquitted for purely political—as opposed to legal—reasons. The alleged lawbreakers in the Bush administration will never be held to account on precisely the same grounds. (From her one page article titled “Getting Away with Torture” in *Newsweek* of May 5, 2008, p. 17)

68. Others include: the Soul Brothers, Lee Ritenour, John Baboian and “Be-bop” Guitars, Javon Jackson Super Band, and Mike Mainieri and Steps Ahead.

69. As of this writing, all indications are that the despotic and corrupt Mugabe regime is bent on continuing its tradition of hijacking the will of the people by employing the full anti-democratic arsenal it has honed over the nearly three decades it has managed to stay in power for this purpose—ranging from ballot stuffing to assassinations, imprisonment, torture, and beatings of members of the opposition, or those *perceived* to be members of the opposition (and any one else deemed to be unsympathetic to the regime). Note: It would not be out of place to caution here that the opposition, represented by the Movement for Democratic Change, should it ever manage to acceded to power is unlikely to bring about the kind of political and economic change necessary to reverse the steep descent into the morass of an economically disintegrating country that the Mugabe regime has engineered, given the palpable absence of an imaginative and progressive program of action on its part. In other words, it would not be too much of an exaggeration to suggest that, fundamentally, the opposition—as presently constituted—is cut from the same cloth as the Mugabe regime.

70. The actual announcement read:

Because the Court lacks a quorum, 28 U.S.C. §1, and since a majority of the qualified Justices are of the opinion that the case cannot be heard and determined at the next Term of the Court, the judgment is affirmed under 28 U.S.C. §2109, which provides that under these circumstances the Court shall enter its order affirming the judgment of the court from which the case was brought for review with the same effect as upon affirmance by an equally divided Court. The Chief Justice [John G. Roberts, Jr.], Justice [Anthony M.] Kennedy, Justice [Stephen G.] Breyer, and Justice [Samuel Anthony] Alito took no part in the consideration or decision of this petition.

So why did the named Justices reclude themselves from consideration of the petition? It appears that in one way or another (e.g. owning shares in some of the corporations involved in the petition) the Justices had a material interest in the case, thereby constituting for them a potential conflict of interests.

71. He achieved his remarkable victory in spite of the most unseemly race-and gender-baiting campaign run by the supposedly liberal Hillary Clinton (spouse of former U.S. president, Bill Clinton). The critical question as of this writing is will he win the presidency in the general election in November (his Republican opponent is Senator John McCain)? The answer is that most probably not; issues of race (whiteness) and jingoism—against the backdrop of the so-called “war on terror”—both afflicting a sizeable portion of the white electorate, especially the ignorantsia, will probably see to that. (On the matter of race, see, for example, the article by Kevin Merida titled “Racist Incidents Give Some Obama Campaigners Pause,” in the *Washington Post* dated May 13, 2008, as well as the article by Howard Kurtz, dated May 15, 2008, in the same newspaper titled “Dark Side of the Campaign.” See also the *Newsweek* cover stories titled “Only in America” [May 5, 2008, pp. 28–39] and “A Memo to Senator Obama” [June 2, 2008, pp. 22–30].)