

In the early 1960s, France played an important role as a supplier of arms to apartheid South Africa, while Italy was not only an important arms exporter to South Africa, but was also involved in the large scale importation of South African gold. West Germany was at the forefront of the anti-communist struggle, which was a significant impediment as far as anti-apartheid campaigns in that country were concerned. Belgium, increasingly split up into French and Flemish sections, had two distinct sets of relationships with apartheid South Africa and separate anti-apartheid movements. In the Flemish half of the country, feelings of kinship with the Afrikaners had an influence on anti-apartheid activities. The linkages Austria and Switzerland had with the apartheid state were less obvious – and therefore often overlooked – and were a persistent obstacle for anti-apartheid movements. Portugal, Spain and Greece had limited relations with South Africa, and here the anti-apartheid movements were less developed.

During the apartheid period a growing number of West European countries became members of the EC, and more and more powers were transferred from national governments to the EC. The West European anti-apartheid movements agreed that they should coordinate their activities at the EC level. The chapter concludes with a study of two movements formed as a consequence of this decision: the Liaison Group of Anti-Apartheid Movements in the EC, and the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPA).

In **chapter 9**, William Minter and Sylvia Hill trace the long history of ties between opponents of racism in the United States and South Africa, and the stages by which anti-apartheid organisations and political sentiment became strong enough in the 1980s to shift public opinion and government policy even in the conservative Reagan era. They survey the contradictory contexts of American government and business complicity with the white minority regime and the evolution of the civil rights, Black Power, and anti-war movements, essential historical contexts within which African solidarity and anti-apartheid groups evolved. The story includes not only a range of national Africa-focused organisations, but also a host of local groups as well as sector-specific or shorter-lived groups that collectively reached almost every sector of American society with the anti-apartheid message.



While this diverse movement, in a racially and socially divided and geographically vast country, at no stage ever featured an organisationally-unified national coalition, it successfully mobilised around the twin themes of support for African liberation and opposition to the complicity of American business and government with apartheid. The movement involved not only African Americans but also white Americans, Africans from other countries, and those of other minority racial groups. Throughout this history, South African visitors and exiles played catalytic roles in the organisation of the movement in the United States, from early ANC leaders such as A.B. Xuma and Z.K. Matthews, to later activist exiles such as Miriam Makeba, Dennis Brutus, and Dumisani Khumalo.

In **chapter 10**, Joan Fairweather demonstrates how, as a predominantly ‘white’ middle power, Canada’s contribution to South Africa’s liberation struggle was somewhat ambiguous. While the Canadian government was openly critical of apartheid policies, it was often reluctant to transform its abhorrence into meaningful action. Throughout the period under review, Canadian foreign policy relating to southern Africa was heavily influenced by its relationships with Britain and the United States, its closest allies and trading partners. However, thanks to public pressure and the tireless efforts exerted by Canadian churches, trade unions, and development organisations, Canada gradually developed other allegiances – the most important being with newly-independent African states and fellow-members of the Commonwealth. Canada’s friendship was recognised by many African leaders and laid the groundwork for a more significant role in South Africa’s liberation struggle. While no single, cohesive anti-apartheid organisation emerged in Canada, the public sector drew inspiration

From left to right: ‘Comrade Michael’, chief Soviet advisor (until 1988) with female MK group in Angola (Archive of M.I. Kovalernko). E.S. Reddy and Ms A. Godiwala, Indian students in a demonstration in front of the South African Consulate-General in New York, organised by the Council on African Affairs in November 1946 (Courtesy of E.S. Reddy). ‘He ain’t dead ...’ (Tom Scott). Joe Modise, Alfred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi on Red Square (mid 1980s). On the left is the delegation’s guide, Igor Maidanov, who was a student at the time. He is currently director of the International Department, Russian Ministry of Natural Resources (Private archive: Vladimir Shubin)



and direction from a wide range of partner organisations in South Africa and became the backbone of Canada's solidarity movement.

In **chapter 11**, Peter Limb presents the history of the anti-apartheid movement in Australia and New Zealand. The nature of this movement is explained, its history in both countries and their interactions detailed, and the movement's significance and lessons are discussed. The anti-apartheid movement(s) in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia represents the history of multi-faceted solidarity action with strong international but also regional and historical dimensions that gave it specific features, most notably the important role of sports sanctions and the relationship of indigenous peoples' struggles to the AAM. The internal history of the AAM in these countries, pertaining to its origins, divisions, effectiveness and triumphs is unearthed. It traces the early history of ties between these countries and South Africa; the first protests against South African racially-selected sporting teams; and the emergence of the AAM from the 1960s. The struggle over sanctions is another major theme; this and the little-known history of the activities of the liberation movements in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia, form a key focal point of the chapter.

Chapter 12, written by Vladimir Shubin, focuses on the support that the Soviet Union/Russia gave to the liberation struggle during three decades that followed the banning of the liberation movements in 1960. In part, the background to this support is the relationship between the government and ruling party in the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), on the one hand, and the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP), on the other. An interesting part of this chapter is the discussion of the various meetings between representatives of the government and ruling party of the Soviet Union and the South African representatives and leaders of the liberation movement. This provides important new insight into the underlying nature of the relationship between these groups. The extent of the considerable material and other support the Soviet Union gave to the ANC for its armed struggle is outlined in detail. In the same chapter, Bulgaria's role in South Africa's liberation struggle is outlined.



Hans-Georg Schleicher argues in **chapter 13** that the German Democratic Republic (GDR) proclaimed anti-imperialist solidarity a basic foreign policy principle and based its relationship with the South African liberation movement – the ANC – on common ideological and political values. Mutual interests between the GDR and the liberation movements were to some extent conditioned by the Cold War. In the GDR, the Solidarity Committee was the major instrument for mobilising, organising and implementing solidarity, coordinating the efforts of political parties, trade unions and other mass organisations. It was embedded in the political structures of the GDR under the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED), while church-related anti-apartheid groups acted outside the official solidarity movement. There was a broad sense of solidarity among the wider population to draw upon but the centralised manner in which solidarity was organised in the GDR imposed constraints on initiatives from below, and was undoubtedly a weakness of GDR solidarity. The chapter mainly focuses on solidarity campaigns and practical support for the struggle during the period from the early 1960s through to 1989/1990.

From the very start, after the triumph of the January 1959 revolution, Cuba supported the anti-apartheid struggle. That support increased steadily, and is the subject of **chapter 14**, written by Hedelberto Lopez Blanch. Cuban troops, sometimes numbering as many as 50 000, fought together with local Angolan forces against South Africa's invading army, an army that until the late 1980s was described as 'invincible'. Intense military battles took place from 1975 to 1988, culminating in disaster for the South African forces at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale. This chapter covers many events that

From left to right: Oliver Tambo with Jorge Risquet, visiting the Hendrick Witbooi High School on the Isla de la Juventud in March 1986 (Centro De Informacion De Las Fueras Armadas Revolucionaries). A group of Cuban women combatants at the Cahama airport in the south of Angola in 1988 (Centro De Informacion De Las Fueras Armadas Revolucionaries). Two of the four South African soldiers captured by Cuban and Angolan forces in December 1975 near Cela in southern Angola. On the left is Graham Dennis (18 years) and on the right is Hannes Gerhardus Terblanche (21) (Centro De Informacion De Las Fueras Armadas Revolucionaries). A Cuban soldier standing on a downed South African aircraft (Centro De Informacion De Las Fueras Armadas Revolucionaries)





Anti-apartheid demonstrators fill the streets of New York City, 13 August 1985 (David Vita)

have never been reported on before in such detail, largely because of access to recently declassified documents. The training of ANC guerrillas in Cuba and Africa; the battles with South African forces in Angola; tripartite talks between Cuba, the ANC and the Soviet Union; the Seventh Congress of the SACP in Cuba; and the discussions that opened the way to Namibia's independence and, subsequently, the first free elections in South Africa; as well as comments about Cuba's support of the liberation struggle by leaders of the ANC, are the main themes in this chapter.

In chapter 15, Zhong Weiyun and Xu Sujiang begin with a brief introduction of the Peoples Republic of China's policy towards Africa and its evolution and changes in the decades after the 1949 revolution. This is coupled with a study of the development and changes in the Communist Party of China's relationship with the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and SACP. A considerable part of the chapter focuses on the political, moral and material support that China rendered to these organisations. The concluding section deals with China's trade and economic sanctions against South Africa.

Vijay Gupta documents in detail the solidarity and support the Indian government, solidarity movements and the people gave to the struggle in South Africa in **chapter 16**. A year before achieving formal independence on 15 August 1947, India took a major step in the international arena when it drew attention to South Africa's racial policies at the UN. India's complaint internationalised the racial issue in South Africa. In addition, during the last 50 years of the liberation struggle in South Africa, a strong solidarity movement was built among non-governmental organisations within the country. No separate anti-apartheid movement was formed in India because the government, various political parties and the wider public supported the struggle of the South African people in a variety of ways. India's role in solidarity is shown to have a longer history than that of any other nation; few countries equalled India in consistent diplomatic, political, economic and other support to the cause of liberation in South Africa for well over half a century. India took up the issue of apartheid not only in the UN and in the Commonwealth, but in many other forums such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and other international sports bodies.

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