

The state of research on, and study of, the history of the South African liberation struggle

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Abstract

This paper consists of two broad themes. The first explores the state of research on the history of the South African liberation struggle. The focus is on relevant publications by South African and non-South African academics. The hypothesis explored here is: *While there has been a significant explosion in research on the history of the liberation struggle by South African scholars since 1990, a large proportion of research outputs on the history of the liberation struggle is being produced by non-South Africans. Although there are various reasons for the relatively poor research capacity and achievements in this area, including underfunding of research, South African academics are in some ways responsible for this situation.*

The second theme focuses on the state of the study of the history of the liberation struggle. The first hypothesis explored here is: *While the history of the liberation struggle has received increasing attention in the history curriculum at school level and there has been a corresponding increase in the number of high school students taking history as a subject of study, this has not led to a significant increase in numbers of history students at the tertiary level.* The second hypothesis explored is: *While the history of the liberation struggle constitutes an important element of the country's history, very little attention is given to this topic in the curricula of relevant university departments. The result is that such departments have made themselves irrelevant by failing to include history that is relevant to the majority of students. The overwhelming majority of South Africans are consequently not exposed to a formal education on the history of the liberation struggle beyond what they get at school. This has direct consequences for the development of research and scholarship on this topic.*

Introduction

During the apartheid era in South Africa, black history in general was overlooked despite the existence, for instance, of a vast historiography on the history of the liberation struggle. The latter history, which spans more than 300 years of contact between the indigenous population on the one hand and the white settlers and their descendants on the other, only emerged as part of the national narrative in the early 1990s.¹ The inclusion of this history in the national narrative was accelerated immediately after the first democratic elections in 1994, with one indication of this being the transformation of the school history curriculum embarked on by the first democratic Minister of Education. While the history curriculum during apartheid advocated Afrikaner nationalism and a Eurocentric perspective on the world, the history curriculum developed immediately after the first democratic elections advocated an understanding and appreciation of Constitutional values.² Subsequent reform of the history curriculum included a strong focus on the history of the South African liberation struggle, which was absent from the apartheid-era curriculum.

This has been accompanied, since 1994, by a systematic process of collecting and archiving of the material of the African National Congress (ANC) at the University of the Western Cape's Mayibuye Centre and at Fort Hare University; and the material of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) at Fort Hare University. Other significant collections have also been built up by, among others, the University of Cape Town's Manuscripts and Archives Division; the University of the Witwatersrand's Department of Historical Papers; the University of South Africa's Documentation Centre for African Studies; the Gandhi-Luthuli Documentation Centre and the Alan Paton Centre and Archives Project of the University of KwaZulu-Natal; and the National Archives of South Africa. Added to this are the efforts of the South African History Archive (SAHA), the Nelson Mandela Foundation's Centre of Memory, Digital Innovation South Africa (DISA), and South African History Online (SAHO), among others, to document and provide access to archival holdings that relate to the liberation struggle.

The documents of anti-apartheid movements in various parts of the world have also been collected and archived. Included here are the British Anti-Apartheid Movement Papers at Rhodes House, Oxford; Aktiekomitee Zuidelijk Afrika (Action Committee on Southern Africa) Archives at the Library of the Catholic University of Leuven; the archives of the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG), Amsterdam; and the Archives of Solidaritaetsdienst-international e.V. (SODI), Berlin. Several of these collections have been handed over to the Nelson Mandela Foundation and are accessible to South African researchers. Access has also been extended to various relevant national archives abroad that contain relevant material on the South African liberation struggle such as the Russian State Archive of Modern History; Archive of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee; the Archive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba; the Dokumente der Aussenpolitik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik; the National Archives of Zambia; the archives of the Zambian United National Independence Party (UNIP); the Botswana National Archives; and the Zimbabwe National Archives, among others.

¹ G. Cuthbertson, 'From white supremacy to black liberation': intellectual lineages from South Africa in the 'making of America', Paper presented at the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Amerika Instituut, Amsterdam, September, 1998.

² C. Bertram, 'Procedural and substantive knowledge: Some implications of an outcomes-based history curriculum in South Africa', *South African review of Education*: Vol. 15, Issue, 1, 2009, 52.

The return of thousands of exiles and, more important, the advent of democracy, have provided researchers with a rich source of informants on many issues of our past that were 'hidden'. Researchers now have access to a wide range of individuals from the liberation movements, and the former National Party (NP) and Bantustan authorities, as well as members of the civil services and security forces of the apartheid era. This has given rise to a number of major projects to interview key (and, in many cases, less well known) actors in the country's political history. Included here are the interviews conducted by Peter Delius of the Wits History Workshop in the early 1990s; the 'Oral History of Exiles Project' carried out by Wolfie Kodesh and others between 1992 and 1995; the 'Oral History Project' of the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Alan Paton Centre; the Oral History Project of the National Museum in Bloemfontein; and the 'Oral History Project' of the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), which gave rise to interviews with over 900 individuals.

Access to these new research resources has resulted in a growing body of literature on the South African liberation struggle in particular, as well as major projects to capture the history of this struggle. Included here are Howard Barrell's *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle* (Johannesburg, Penguin Forum Series, 1990); *Bounds of Possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1991), edited by Barney Pitso and others; Allison Drew's *South Africa's Radical Tradition 2, 1943-64* (Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1997); Vladimir Shubin's *ANC: A View from Moscow* (Bellville, Mayibuye Books, University of the Western Cape, 1999); Ben Turok's *Nothing but the truth: Behind the ANC's struggle politics* (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2003); Kwandi Kondlo's *In the twilight of the revolution: The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), 1959-1994* (Basel, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2009); and Andre Odendaal's *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa* (Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2012). One of the most important recent projects to capture the history of the struggle is SADET's 'Road to Democracy Project', which gave rise to six volumes on *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*.

Given these developments, this paper sets out to examine the state of research on, and the study of the history of the liberation struggle in South Africa. This is done by, firstly, comparing research on this history by South Africans and non-South Africans, and secondly, by examining history education at school- and university-levels in South Africa that focuses on the history of the liberation struggle.

Methodology

For the purpose of this research, the history of the liberation struggle is divided into three phases:

- the wars of resistance and other struggles that arose during the period of initial contact between the indigenous population and the white settlers up to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910;
- the liberation struggle in the period from 1910 to 1960; and
- the liberation struggle from 1960 to 1994.

In the first phase, the starting point is the Khoikhoi wars of resistance in the 17th and 18th centuries in the present Western Cape Province. Included in this phase are the slave revolts in the early 19th

century in the Western Cape, as well as the wars of resistance in the Eastern Cape (e.g. the San and Khoikhoi resistance in the period 1702-1809 and the Wars of Dispossession or the Hundred Years War from 1779-1880), the current KwaZulu-Natal (e.g. the Battles of Ncome and Isandlwana), and the various wars of resistance of the Bapedi, Venda, Ndebele, and Tsonga during the 19th century in African-controlled territories that eventually became part of the former Transvaal and Free State provinces. This phase also includes the rise of African elites (e.g. John Langalibalele Dube and Pixley ka Isaka Seme) and the formation of political organisations (e.g. African Political Organisation), newspapers and other processes to strive for the rights of the dominated groups in South Africa in the period after colonisation up to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

The second phase begins with the formation of the Union, which deprived the African, coloured and Indian people of political rights in a united South Africa and set the stage for the growth of united opposition through political and other organisations. Included here were the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, later the African National Congress) and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), and trade unions such as the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (ICU) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). This period is characterised by numerous campaigns, most notably the campaign against the 1913 Land Act, pass laws, the Hertzog Bills, the Defiance Campaign and the Freedom Charter Campaign, and acts of resistance, most notably the 1946 Mineworkers' strike, and the Zeerust and Sekhukhuneland Revolts.

The final phase was shaped by the Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960, banning of organisations and the turn to armed struggle. This phase, from 1960-1994, saw an escalation of resistance on the part of the oppressed, which was met with increasing oppression. It covers the suppression of internal political activity and acts of resistance during the 1960s (most notably the Pondoland Revolt, *Umkhonto we Sizwe's* sabotage campaign, and the activities of the Pan Africanist Congress's – PAC – military wing, *Pogo*). Included in this phase are the activities of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the ANC and PAC inside the country during the 1970s, and the 1976 Soweto Uprising and its consequences. These developments set the stage for the 1980s, which saw a proliferation of popular organisations – most notably the United Democratic Front (UDF), National Forum (NF), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) – and struggles that culminated in a virtual insurrection inside the country. The period from 1960 to 1990 also saw a steady rise in the exile community of the liberation movements, as well as an increasing escalation of their activities abroad and inside South Africa. This was accompanied by a growth in the international anti-apartheid movement in the West, and increasing solidarity with the liberation struggle on the part of countries in the former Eastern Bloc. This was followed by the unbanning of organisations in 1990, and the onset of the negotiations process, punctuated by the efforts of the newly-unbanned organisations to re-establish themselves inside the country and the debilitating political violence. This phase concludes with the first democratic elections of April 1994.

A mixed methodology was used in the research for this paper: an on-line survey administered to relevant academics and independent researchers (refer to Appendix A); a search of the tables of contents of relevant journals (refer to Appendix B); a search of several data-bases for relevant books (refer to Appendix C); a review of the school history curriculum (refer to Appendix E); a review of the curricula on the web-sites of relevant university departments (refer to Appendix F); and a search of several data-bases for relevant theses and dissertations (refer to Appendix G). Some of the methodologies used are explained in greater detail in the appropriate sections below.

In August 2015, all academic staff members of the departments of History and Political Science (or related departments) at every university in South African were invited by email to participate in an on-line survey on research and teaching on various aspects of the history of the South African liberation struggle. Political Science departments were included because university staff in History and Political Science departments are the most likely to conduct research on, as well as provide an education on the history of the liberation struggle at the tertiary level. A select number of researchers at research institutions and a smaller number of independent researchers were also invited to participate in the survey. The survey questions included a selection of biographical questions, and questions related to research and teaching experience. A total of 233 academics were invited to participate in the study. Only 47 responded (20.2%), while 2 opted out (0.9%), 172 who received the invitation did not respond (73.4%),³ and the invitations sent to 12 bounced (5.2%). 40 other researchers in research institutions both in South Africa and abroad were also invited to participate in the survey. 15 responded (37.5%), while 22 did not respond (55%) and the invitations sent to 3 bounced (7.5%). Several respondents from both groups did not answer some questions.

At least 1 academic responded from every South African university except the universities of Limpopo and Zululand. 42% of the respondents who indicated their institutional affiliation (total=50) lecture in History departments at South African universities, 30% in Politics departments, and 4% in African Studies departments, while 6% are researchers attached to a research institute or council, 14% are independent researchers, and 4% indicated that they are none of the above. 73.5% of the respondents who indicated their highest academic qualification (total=49) have a doctorate, while the highest qualification of the remaining 24.5% of the respondents is a Masters' degree. The majority of respondents who indicated their rank in their institution (total=50) are lecturers (24%), followed by associate professors (20%), professors (18%), senior lecturers (18%), and junior lecturers (4%). The respondents that indicated their race (total=37) included 16 Africans (43.2%), 16 whites (43.2%), 3 Indians (8.1%), and 2 coloureds (5.4%). 65% of the respondents who indicated their gender (total=46) are male and 35% are female. 76.6% of the respondents who indicated their country of origin (total=47) are South African and 23.4% are non-South African.

Research on the history of the liberation struggle

The focus in this section of the paper is on relevant research outputs of South African and non-South African researchers. The objective is to compare South African and non-South African research outputs on the history of the South African liberation struggle to compare the significance given to this history by researchers from the country and those from abroad. The starting point in determining the state of research on the history of the liberation struggle is to measure the relevant research outputs. Several studies have been conducted of the research outputs of African researchers in various disciplines. These studies generally make comparisons between research outputs of African countries, and between research outputs of African and non-African countries.

³ It is difficult to read much into this high non-response level. Several academics had referred the questionnaire to their colleagues because they felt that the survey did not apply to them since they had no research interest in, or taught any aspect of the history of the liberation struggle. On the other hand, several of those who responded to the survey had not done any research on, or taught any aspect of the history of the liberation struggle in the past three years.

For instance, in a study of Africa's scientific output between 1980 and 2004, Robert Tijssen examines annual changes in the volume of Africa's scientific publications using a bibliometric analysis of Thomson Reuters' *Web of Science* database.⁴ In addition to looking at numbers of publications, Tijssen looks at the Citation Impact of Africa's scientific publications, i.e. the quantities of citations these publications received from other CI-covered articles.⁵ The number of publications and citation impacts of various African countries are then compared. However, this study focuses only on science publications using bibliometric analysis and the results therefore have little relevance for this paper. Scholars have also indicated the limitations found in comparative studies of research output that focus only on publications numbers and citation impact. They note the influence of factors such as size of the population and the economy, and national spend on Research and Development as additional factors that need to be taken into account in comparative studies of the nature.⁶

Nevertheless, studies that focus on the number of publications and citation impact to measure change in a country's research output over time are useful. Such a study was conducted by Michael Kahn in 2011, who made a comparison of South Africa's scientific output between 1990 to 1994 and 2004 to 2008.⁷ However, as in the case of Tijssen's study, the study is limited to publications in science.

A useful study for this paper is Anastassios Pouris's chapter on 'A bibliometric assessment of South African research publications included in the internationally indexed database of Thomson ISI'.⁸ Pouris also uses bibliometric analysis to capture the number of journal articles published in 20 science fields, four social sciences fields and 10 fields in the arts and humanities in ISI (Institute of Scientific Information) journals over time. He then looks at the citation impacts (number of citations per article published) of indexed South African articles in the various fields. The focus is on the number of publications during four 5-year periods: 1981 to 1985, 1990 to 1994; 1995 to 1999 and 2000 to 2004, and the citation impact of publications in various fields in the same periods. Pouris found that, while the number of South African ISI publications in science increased 58 percent between 1981-1985 and 2000-2004, the number of such publications in social science and in the arts and humanities increased 341 percent and 98 percent, respectively, in the same period. However, the number of science publications increased from 12,228 in 1981-1985 to 19,360 in 2000-2004, while the number of social science publications increased from 318 to 1,402, and in the arts and humanities from 307 to 607 in the same period. The number of publications in History increased

⁴ Robert Tijssen, 'Africa's contribution to the worldwide research literature: New analytical perspectives, trends, and performance indicators', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 71, No. 2, 2007, 303–327.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 306.

⁶ Mohammed Jeenah and Anastassios Pouris, 'South African research in the context of Africa and globally', *South African Journal of Science*, 104, September/October 2008, 351-354; J. Martin van Zyl, 'The state of research output in South Africa with respect to economy size and population', *South African Statistical Journal*, Vol. 46, Issue 2, 2012, 395-412.

⁷ Michael Kahn, 'A bibliometric analysis of South Africa's scientific outputs – some trends and implications', *South African Journal of Science*, 107(1/2), 2011, 1-6.

⁸ Anastassios Pouris, 'A bibliometric assessment of South African research publications included in the internationally indexed database of Thomson ISI', in Academy of Science of South Africa, *Report on a strategic approach to research publishing in South Africa*, Pretoria, Academy of Science of South Africa, 2006, 9-28.

from 39 in 1981-1985 to 110 in 2000-2004, which was a 182 percent increase in publications in ISI indexed journals.⁹

South Africa's research output in science far outstripped that in social science in 2000-2004, while the latter was more than double the arts and humanities publications for the period. History publications, on the other hand, were slightly above one-sixth of the total number of arts and humanities publications in 2000-2004, with an average of 22 history articles published per annum during the five-year period.

Kahn points out one central weakness of the bibliometric method applied in the above studies, and that is that the *Web of Science* database excludes other research outputs such as 'books and other forms of communication'.¹⁰ Included in the latter are unpublished conference presentations, seminar presentations, etc. Another limitation is that it is restricted to ISI indexed journals, and excludes many journals that are indexed in the International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) Master List of Journals.

The South African Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) publishes an annual Report on universities' research publication output based on annual submissions to the Department for subsidy funding claims for research outputs made by university-based researchers. Submissions are made for articles published in accredited journals, including ISS and IBSS indexed journals and several others not on either list, peer-reviewed books and book chapters, and peer-reviewed published conference proceedings. However, there is no delineation of History as a separate category, which makes the use of these reports less relevant for this study.

This study adopts a different approach from the studies discussed above. It is contended that comparing the number of research outputs between scholars from South Africa and the rest of the world during a particular time frame is useful in indicating the relevance given to a particular research topic by South African scholars and the state of research on that topic. The study takes one discipline, history, and focuses on a single broad topic in this discipline, the history of the South African liberation struggle, to compare different types of relevant outputs by South African and non-South African scholars.

Tijssen notes that there are four broad categories of research outputs that can be used for cross-country comparisons of research capacities and achievements: (i) international peer-reviewed journals and conference proceedings; (ii) national or regional peer-reviewed journals and conference proceedings; (iii) books and book chapters, and (iv) reports, or other research-based documents.¹¹ This study focuses on two research outputs: journal articles in relevant international, regional and national journals; and books.

A review was made of the tables of contents of 30 national and international journals for the period 2010 to 2015 to identify relevant articles and their authors. The abstract pages of the articles were

⁹ See, for example, Department of Higher Education and Training, *Report on the Evaluation of the 2012 Universities' Research Publications Output*, Department of Higher Education, February 2014; Department of Higher Education and Training, 'Are we making progress with systemic structural transformation of resourcing, access, success, staffing and researching in higher education: What do the data say?', paper presented at the 2nd National High Education Summit, Durban, 15-17 October 2015.

¹⁰ Kahn, 'A bibliometric analysis of South Africa's scientific outputs', 1.

¹¹ Tijssen, 'Africa's contribution to the worldwide research literature', 304.

used to confirm their relevance, and to obtain the biographical data of the authors. The journals were selected on the basis of their broad thematic area (African Studies), their areas of focus (South or Southern Africa), and/or because they had published relevant articles prior to the period under review.¹² In addition, the DHET's incentive scheme to encourage publications by South African academics was taken into account in the selection of the journals and the search included all relevant journals accredited by the DHET.¹³ Included here are several South African journals that are in the Thompson Reuters ISI Web of Science Indices and the ProQuest IBSS index, and several others that are not.

While most of the journals reviewed had published at least one article on the history of the South African liberation struggle during the period under review, four had not published a single relevant article,¹⁴ and two had published a significant number of relevant articles.¹⁵ The objective here was to identify the country of origin of the authors of relevant journal articles. A search was also conducted of data-bases to identify relevant books published during the same period to identify the origin of the authors (Appendix D).

The history of the South African liberation struggle has received considerable attention by both South Africans and non-South Africans. A total of 98 articles on the history of the South African liberation struggle were identified in the review of the tables of contents of relevant journals between 2010 and October 2015 (refer to Appendix B). This is quite a significant output, averaging more than 16 articles a year. Included in the list of publications are articles in two special issues of journals dedicated to the history of the liberation struggle.¹⁶ The bulk of the identified articles were written by 44 South African academics, while 43 non-South Africans published relevant journal articles (refer to Appendix D).¹⁷ However, about 49 percent of the journal articles were authored by non-South African academics (including those co-authored with South Africans). Only two of the

¹² Included in the list are 14 ISI listed journals and 11 IBSS listed journals. The remaining 4 journals are regional or local journals accredited by the DHET but not listed on either Master List. Twelve of the journals are South African, 9 British, 7 American, one Canadian and one Scandinavian.

¹³ Ministry of Education, *Policy and Procedures for measurement of research output of public Higher Education Institutions*, June 2003. Available at <http://www.dhet.gov.za/HED%20Policies/Policy%20for%20Measurement%20of%20Research%20Output%20of%20Public%20Higher%20Education%20Institutions.pdf>.

¹⁴ These are: *Mobilization: An International Journal*, the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *Historia* and the *Nordic Journal of African Studies*.

¹⁵ There are: the *South African Historical Journal* and the *Journal of Southern African Studies*.

¹⁶ There was a special issue on Liberation history in Southern Africa in the *South African Historical Journal* (Vol. 62, Issue 1, 2010) and a special issue on The ANC at 100 in the same journal (Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012).

¹⁷ There are a number of issues that make it difficult to classify authors as South African and non-South African. Several authors, such as Roger Southall and Tom Lodge, were not born in South Africa but spent a significant number of years in South Africa. Other authors, such as Saul Dubow and William Beinart, were born in South Africa but spent a considerable part of their adult life abroad. It is also difficult to base the classification on those who have acquired permanent residency status in the country in which they are based (Email communication from Anthony Butler, 26 November 2015). But, there appears to be an almost equal number of authors in Appendix D that have been born in one country and spent a considerable part of their life elsewhere, and in instances where this occurs it is on the basis of where they have spent the most part of their adult life that they are classified as South African and non-South African.

journal articles were written jointly by South African and non-South African authors.¹⁸ There was thus very little international collaboration evident in article publications.

The search for relevant books published between 2010 and 2015 yielded 193 books (refer to Appendix C) published by 106 South African and 87 non-South African authors (refer to Appendix D). There are several publications authored or edited by a number of authors. South Africans were the sole authors of 98 books, while four of the books written by South Africans were co-authored.¹⁹ Nine books were edited by South African authors, including a volume by the South African Democracy Education Trust which included authors of book chapters from several African countries.²⁰ Three books were jointly edited by South African and American authors.²¹ About 33 of the books written by South Africans were autobiographies written by people who had been active in the liberation struggle. 74 of the books were written by a single author who was non-South African, while six were jointly written by non-South African authors.²² Two books were jointly edited by non-South African authors, and included several chapter contributions from both South Africans and non-South

¹⁸ Martin Plaut and Catherine Corder, 'Gandhi's Decisive South African 1913 Campaign: A Personal Perspective from the Letters of Betty Molteno', *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 66, Issue 1, 2014, 22-54; Helena Pohlandt-McCormick and Gary Minkley, 'The Graves of Dimbaza and the Empire of Liberation', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 41, Issue 3, 2015, Special Issue: South African Empire, 617-634.

¹⁹ Phillipe Denis and Graham Duncan, *The native school that caused all the trouble: A history of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa*, Dorpspruit: Cluster Publications, 2011; C. Hamilton, B. Mbenga and R. Ross, *The Cambridge history of South Africa: 1885-1994* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011; J.B. Peires, L. Wotshela and S. Sipoko, *Umbutho wesizwe: The African National Congress of the Eastern Cape*, King William's Town: ANC, Calata House, 2012; K. Asmal, and A. Hadland, with M. Levy, *Kader Asmal: Politics in My Blood, a Memoir*, Jacana Media, Pretoria, 2011; and Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *Monty Naicker: Between reason and treason*, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter, 2010.

²⁰ Kondlo, K., Saunders, C. and Zondi, S. (eds), *Treading the waters of history: Perspectives on the ANC*, Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2014; South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013; R. Schoeman and D. Swanepoel (eds.), *Unity in Diversity: 100 Years of ANC Leadership (1912-2012)*, Johannesburg, BM Books, 2012; Carolyn Hamilton, Bernard Mbenga and Robert Ross (eds), *The Cambridge history of South Africa: 1885-1994*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011; T. Kepe and L. Ntsebeza (eds.), *Rural resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo revolt after fifty years*, Leiden, Brill, 2011; P. Denis, R. Ntsimane and T. Cannel (eds), *Indians versus Russians: An oral history of political violence in Nxamalala (1987-1993)*, Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg, 2010; R. Seedat and R. Saleh (eds), *Men of dynamite: Pen portraits of MK pioneers*, Johannesburg, Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, 2010; Chris Saunders, (ed), *Documenting liberation struggles in Southern Africa: Select papers from the Nordic Africa Documentation Project workshop, 26-27 November 2009, Pretoria, South Africa*, Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 2010; and South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Unisa Press, Pretoria, 2010.

²¹ N. Erlink, N. Nieftagodien, O. Badsha, A. Lissoni and J. Soske, J. (eds), *One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories Today*, Chicago: Wits University Press, 2013; Chris Saunders and Hilary Sapire (ed), *Southern African liberation struggles: New local, regional and global perspectives*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2012; G.M. Gerhart and C.L. Glaser. (eds), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, Volume 6, Challenge and Victory, 1980-1990*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2010.

²² Myra Immell and Frank Chalk, *South Africa*, Detroit: Greenhaven Press, a part of Gale, Cengage Learning, 2014; I. Filatova and A. Davidson, *The Hidden Thread: Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era*, Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2013; D.E.H. Russell, Charles Tilly and Edward Shorter, *Rebellion, Revolution, and Armed Force: A Comparative Study of Fifteen Countries with Special Emphasis on Cuba and South Africa*, Burlington: Elsevier Science, 2013; Jesses Russell and Ronald, Cohn, *Black consciousness movement*, [S.I.]: Book On Demand Ltd, 2013; N.L. Clark and B. Worger, *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*, Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2nd ed., 2011; and William Beinart and Marcelle C. Dawson, *Popular politics and resistance movements in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2010.

Africans.²³ There were thus several instances of international collaboration. However, non-South Africans were authors (including those books jointly authored or edited with South Africans) of approximately 42.5 percent of the relevant books published between 2010 and 2015. The figure is higher, at 51.25 percent, if the autobiographies published by the veterans of the struggle (who are not academics) are excluded.

It is clear that there is significant interest in the history of the South African liberation struggle among South African and non-South African scholars. However, a significant proportion of the relevant journal articles were published by non-South Africans, who also produced the bulk of the books published between 2010 and 2015. In addition, it appears that South African scholars engage in very limited international collaboration on research on the history of the liberation struggle.

The results of the survey give some indication of the relevance of the research theme for South African academics. Respondents to the survey were asked to indicate their research on various thematic areas of the history of the liberation struggle in the past three years. They were allowed to select more than one thematic area in which they had done research during this period. The responses are set out in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Research on various thematic areas of the history of the liberation struggle

| Answer choices | Response | |
|--|----------|-----|
| | % | No. |
| The wars of resistance and other struggles up to 1910 | 54.76 | 32 |
| Nationalist resistance between 1910 and 1960 | 30.51 | 18 |
| The history of the liberation struggle between 1960 and 1994 | 49.15 | 29 |
| None of the above | 37.29 | 22 |
| Total respondents: 59 | | |

Twenty-two (37.3%) of those who responded to the question (total=59) indicated that they had not conducted research on any theme. The 37 respondents who had conducted research on the history of the liberation struggle in the past three years had carried out 79 relevant research projects, with 32 focusing on the first phase of the liberation struggle, 18 on the second phase, and 29 on the third phase. The research by 18 of the respondents had given rise to conference papers, 14 to book chapters, 13 to journal articles, 9 to books, 7 to unpublished monographs, and 6 to dissertations or theses. 17 respondents indicated that their research had given rise to between one and three peer-reviewed publications, 3 indicated that their research had given rise to between four and six peer-reviewed publications, and 1 independent researcher indicated that the research had given rise to more than six peer-reviewed publications in the past three years. This data indicates that a number of academics at South African universities and independent researchers view the history of the liberation struggle as a relevant research topic.

However, with close to half of the research outputs reviewed in this study produced by non-South Africans, it appears that research and scholarship on this history in the South African Academy is

²³ Clifton C. Crais and Thomas V. McClendon (eds), *The South Africa reader: History, culture, politics*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2014; Awol Kassim Allo (ed), *The Courtroom as a Space of Resistance: Reflections on the Legacy of the Rivonia Trial*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2015.

severely constrained. To what extent is this influenced by the relevance given to the history of the liberation struggle in the South African education system?

Study of the history of the liberation struggle

There are several studies of the reasons for Africa's relatively poor research capacities and achievements. In many such studies, Africa's relatively poor research output is ascribed to, among others, factors such as the underfunding of research and research institutions, the lack of vibrant graduate study programmes, the lack of incentives that recognise and reward high-calibre research, effective research management systems, and an institutional culture supportive of research and inquiry, a collapse of research activity in Africa, the deterioration in the general standard of education in many African countries, and the frequently problematic relationship between the variable quality and relevance of much local research on the one hand and, on the other, the limited local utilisation and support for research.²⁴

While recognising the salience of these arguments, this study takes a different approach by examining the impact of the relevance given to one discipline, history, and one field of inquiry in this discipline in particular, the history of the South African liberation struggle, in the country's education system. The focus is on the study of history and the history of the liberation struggle at both school and university levels as one among a number of factors that influence research outputs by scholars in the field. Relevant documents of the Department of Basic Education were accessed to obtain information on the numbers of school history learners and the school history curriculum (refer to Appendix E). The web-pages of all History and Political Science departments were examined to identify the relevant modules offered by these departments (refer to Appendix F).²⁵ A search was conducted of several data-bases using a wide range of key words and phrases to identify relevant theses and dissertations and their authors produced between 2010 and 2015 (refer to Appendix G).

In South Africa, history is taught as a subject from Grade 4 level up to Grade 12. However, at Grade 10 in the secondary school level learners are required to select 7 school subjects, with history being one of the optional subjects. The compulsory subjects are two of the official languages, mathematics or mathematics literacy, and life orientation. The data in Table 2 below indicates that in the past four years there has been an increase in the percentage of students who wrote history in the National Senior Certificate (NSC) examinations from 13.8% of the total number of candidates who registered for the examinations in 2011 to 16.8% in 2014. There has thus been a steady annual increase in the number of history students as well as the proportion of the total NSC candidates who wrote history since 2011, which indicates more interest in history among high school students in South Africa.

²⁴ Akilagpa Sawyerr, 'African Universities and the Challenge of Research Capacity Development', *The Journal of Higher Education in Africa (JHEA)/La Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique (RESA)*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2004, pp. 211–240.

²⁵ The web-pages and on-line handbooks of university departments are generally where prospective students obtain information for use in the selection of courses to study, and are therefore appropriate for a review of the relevance given to the history of the liberation struggle in these courses.

Table 2: Number and percentage of learners that wrote various subjects in the NSC examinations, 2011-2014

| Subject | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| No. of learners who wrote history in the NSC examinations | 85 928 | 94 489 | 109 046 | 115 686 |
| Percentage of learners who wrote history | 13.8% | 14.6% | 15.4% | 16.8% |
| No. of learners who wrote life sciences in the NSC examinations | 264 819 | 278 412 | 301 718 | 284 298 |
| Percentage of learners who wrote life sciences | 42.7% | 43% | 42.7% | 41.3% |
| No. of learners who wrote geography in the NSC examinations | 199 248 | 213 735 | 239 657 | 236 051 |
| Percentage of learners who wrote geography | 32.1% | 33% | 33.9% | 34.3% |
| No. of learners who wrote business studies in the NSC examinations | 187 677 | 195 507 | 218 914 | 207 659 |
| Percentage of learners who wrote business studies | 30.3% | 30.2% | 31% | 30.2% |
| No. of learners who wrote physical sciences in the NSC examinations | 180 585 | 179 194 | 184 383 | 167 997 |
| Percentage of learners who wrote physical sciences | 29.1% | 27.7% | 26.1% | 24.4% |
| No. of learners who wrote accounting in the NSC examinations | 137 903 | 134 978 | 145 427 | 125 987 |
| Percentage of learners who wrote accounting | 22.2% | 20.8% | 20.6% | 18.3% |
| No. of Learners who wrote economics in the NSC examinations | 133 358 | 134 369 | 150 114 | 137 478 |
| Percentage of learners who wrote economics | 21.5% | 20.7% | 21.2% | 20% |
| No. of Learners who wrote agricultural sciences in the NSC examinations | 77 719 | 78 148 | 83 437 | 78 063 |
| Percentage of learners who wrote agricultural sciences | 12.5% | 12.1% | 11.8% | 11.3% |
| Total number of candidates who registered for NSC examinations | 620 266 | 647 687 | 707 136 | 688 660 |

Source: Department of Basic Education, *National Senior Certificate Examination 2014: School Subject Report, Eastern Cape*, Department of Basic Education, Pretoria, 2015, National Performance in 11 Most Popular Subjects, 2011-2014, 5.

However, although history is recognised as one the popular subjects taken at Grade 12 level, the number of students who write history examinations at this level is significantly lower than those who write examinations in many of the other popular optional subjects. There are significantly more students who wrote examinations in life sciences (Biotechnology, Microbiology, Genetics, Biology, Zoology, Botany, Entomology, Physiology, Anatomy, Morphology, Taxonomy, Environmental Studies and Sociobiology), geography, business studies, physical science and accounting than those who wrote the history examinations during this period.

The relevance of history as a school subject in South Africa has been influenced to some extent by curriculum reform since 1994, with three stages of reform identified in the literature on this process. In the first phase, which occurred shortly after the first democratic elections in 1994, curriculum reform involved the purging of the apartheid curriculum of 'racially offensive and outdated content'.²⁶ The apartheid-era history curriculum emphasised the triumph of the whites over the blacks, and that whites were superior, blacks inferior and South Africa rightfully belonged to the Afrikaners. Where blacks did feature in this history, they were presented as a problem that whites had to deal with.²⁷ But the reformed curriculum released for the 1995 school year was based largely on the old curriculum, with a few content changes.²⁸

²⁶ Jonathan Jansen, 'Rethinking education policy making in South Africa: Symbols of change, signals of conflict', in A. Kraak & M. Young (eds.), *Education in retrospect: policy and implantation, 1990-2000*, Pretoria, HRSC Press, 2001, 43.

²⁷ Tabe Fidelis Ebot, 'The history of history in South African secondary schools, 1994-2006', MA dissertation, University of the Western Cape, Bellville, 2008, vxiiff. For more detail about the history curriculum during the apartheid era refer to L. Witz and C. Hamilton, 'Reaping the Whirlwind: The Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa and Changing Popular Perceptions of History', *South African Historical Journal*, 24, 1991; O. van den Berg, 'History Syllabus Revision: An odyssey into Curriculum Development-South African Style', in M. Lawrence (ed), *South African Education Policy: Analysis and Critique*, The Proceedings of the Kenton Conference 6-9 November 1981, Cape Town: Faculty of Education, University of Cape Town, 1982; M. Walker, 'History and History teaching in Apartheid South Africa', *Radical History Review*, 46(7), 1990; G. Cuthbertson and A. Grundlingh, 'Some problematic issues in the restructuring of history education in South African schools', *South African Historical Journal*, 26, 1992; and R. Sieborger and E. Viglieno, 'The status-quo in curriculum

In 1997 the ANC-led government introduced its first new curriculum for secondary schools, which was called Curriculum 2005 (C2005).²⁹ History, which had for a very long time been an important subject in its own right in the school curricula, was amalgamated into selected themes or topics in a new area of study called the Human and Social Sciences Learning Area. Themes were selected from the different disciplines of history, geography, religion and civics.³⁰ One critic of the new learning area stipulated that the curriculum called for the mastery of geographic basics and only a few names and dates for history, without any critical analysis of South Africa's multi-layered historical narratives and about the root of the apartheid social order.³¹ This, and other criticisms of curriculum 2005, eventually led to the re-instatement of history as a school subject in the 2002 National Curriculum Statement.

The History curriculum of the Department of Basic Education introduces an aspect of the history of the liberation struggle at Grade 4 level in one of the topics: *Learning from Leaders* (refer to Appendix E).³² The syllabus emphasises Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi as great leaders, focusing on the qualities they possess and using their life stories as examples. In addition, teachers may add a local, provincial, national or international leader of their own choice who has contributed to the advancement of democracy and human rights. The history of the liberation struggle is not included in any of the topics in the history syllabi for Grades 5 and 6. However, Grade 6 learners are required to work on a research project to develop a biography of a South African who has contributed to the building of democracy.

A more substantive reflection on the history of the liberation struggle is then given only at Grade 7 level, with topics such as *Colonisation of the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries* and *Co-operation and conflict on the frontiers of the Cape Colony in the early 19th century*. Learners are taught the history of the causes and effects of slave resistance in the Cape and the Frontier wars on the eastern frontier of European settlement and Xhosa resistance to British rule. The relevant topic in the Grade 8 history syllabus, *The Mineral Revolution in South Africa*, covers themes such as the African Political

development in history in South Africa', in History Education Group (eds), *History Matters: Debates about a new history curriculum for South Africa*, Cape Town: Heinemann Centaur Publishes, 1993, which were all cited extensively by Ebot.

²⁸ Ebot, 'The history of history in South African secondary schools, 1994-2006', xxv.

²⁹ For more details about the history of curriculum reform in South Africa refer to L. Chisholm, 'The politics of curriculum review and revision in South Africa', paper presented at the 'Oxford' International Conference on Education and Development, 9-11 September 2003, Oxford University; L. Chisholm, 'The state of curriculum reform in South Africa', in J. Daniel, A. Habib, R. Southall (eds), *State of the Nation, 2003-2004*, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 2004; and Bertram, 'Procedural and substantive knowledge'.

³⁰ Ebot, 'The history of history in South African secondary schools, 1994-2006', vii.

³¹ S.S. Polakow-Suransky 'Historical Amnesia? The Politics of Textbooks in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in Kagengo Mutua and Cynthia Szymanski Sunai (eds), *Research on Education in Africa, Caribbean and the Middle East: An Historic Overview*, Charlotte: Information Age Publishing Inc., 2009, 83. Cited in Ebot, 'The history of history in South African secondary schools, 1994-2006', xxxiv.

³² The history syllabi for the various grades were drawn from the following sources: Department of Basic Education, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Social Sciences – Intermediate Phase, Grades 4-6*, available at <http://www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=6YVORE9%2bpYE%3d&tabid=572&mid=1568>; Department of Basic Education, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Social Sciences – Senior Phase, Grades 7-9*, available at <http://www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=6jpCz5DCZ08%3D&tabid=573&mid=1629>; Department of Basic Education, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: History – General, Grades 10-12*, available at <http://www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=F99lepqD6vs%3D&tabid=570&mid=1558>.

Organisation (APO), the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Bambatha Rebellion, the formation of the Union of South Africa, the formation of South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the Satyagraha Campaign of 1913-1914, and the 1913 Land Act.

The history syllabus at Grade 9 level includes topics such as *Turning points in South African History, 1960, 1976 and 1990*, and *Turning points in modern South African History since 1948*. The focus in *Turning points in South African History, 1960, 1976 and 1990* is on the Sharpeville massacre, Soweto uprising and the release of Nelson Mandela and unbanning of liberation movements. These key turning points in South African history are a depiction of the conflict between the government and the black population of the country, where the Sharpeville massacre occurred due to the resistance by the black population against pass laws that were implemented by the government; the June 1976 student uprisings were against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and the Bantu Education Act; and 1990 provided a significant turning point with the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of liberation movements. The content includes the 1960 Sharpeville massacre and Langa march; formation of the PAC in 1959, the causes, leaders, and events of the Soweto Uprising of 16th June 1976, spiralling events that followed throughout the country, and longer-term consequences of the uprising for resistance and repression; internal resistance and repression in the 1980s; external pressure on the apartheid regime during the 1980s; the end of the Cold War; the unbanning of political movements in 1990; the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, negotiations and political violence between 1990 and 1994; and the first democratic election in 1994.

The key themes of *Turning points in modern South African History since 1948* are the coming of apartheid in 1948 and non-violent resistance to apartheid in the 1950s. The content of this topic includes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights after World War II; a definition of racism; human evolution and our common ancestry; apartheid and the myth of 'race'; the National Party and apartheid; racial segregation before apartheid; the main apartheid laws in broad outline; the Group Areas Act and the Sophiatown forced removal; the Bantustans and the forced removal of the people of Mogopa to Bophuthatswana; repression and non-violent resistance to apartheid in the 1950s; the banning of the SACP; the ANC programme of action, a biography of Albert Luthuli that focus on his role in the ANC and resistance to apartheid; the Defiance Campaign (including the influence of Mahatma Gandhi); the Freedom Charter and Treason Trial; the 1956 Women's March; and brief biographies of Helen Joseph and Lillian Ngoyi and their roles in resistance to apartheid. Students are also required to do an oral history and research project.

Thus, by the time learners have completed Grade 9, at which time they are required to decide on the subjects to be taken at the FET level, they have been introduced to all three phases of the history of the liberation struggle. The only significant gap in the curriculum up to this level is the history of the liberation struggle in the period from 1913 to 1948.

At Grade 10 level, students are given insight into the impact of the British colonisation of the Cape and Natal on the people that were living there – the Khoikhoi, the Xhosa, the Basotho, the Zulus and the Boers; changing labour patterns and slavery; expanding frontiers and the Xhosa's response to this; the Anglo-Zulu wars in Natal; and co-operation and conflict on the Highveld in response to expansion of the Boers.

One of the five topics in the Grade 11 syllabus, *Apartheid in South Africa: 1940s to 1960s*, deals with the history of the liberation struggle. The themes here include the global pervasiveness of racism and segregation in the 1920s and 1930s; segregation after formation of the Union; the National Party victory in 1948; the legalisation of apartheid (the creation of the apartheid state, including the laws against multi-racial labour unions and the banning of the Communist Party in South Africa); overcoming apartheid (the nature of internal resistance to apartheid before 1960); change in strategy from petitions to the Programme of Action (orientation towards mass mobilisation and strengthening the ANC by forming alliances; how this resistance was part of a wider global resistance to racism, the erosion of human rights and civil liberties); the response of the apartheid state (repression in the 1950s); the impact of the Sharpeville massacre; armed conflict; and the Rivonia Trial (1964) and its consequences (resistance driven underground).

The history of the liberation struggle receives relatively extensive treatment in the Grade 12 history syllabus. Included here is a focus on civil protests from the 1950s to the 1960s, which covers themes such as women and the anti-pass campaign; the role of women in the Defiance Campaign; the Federation of South African Women; women's role in the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter campaigns; the women's 1955 anti-pass campaign; and the 1956 women's march. The bulk of this topic focuses on the civil rights movement in the United States. In the topic on *How South Africa emerged as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s* the focus is on mass civil society protests in South Africa in the 1980s; the liberation organisations; and factors resulting in the crisis that led to the collapse of apartheid.

It is clear, then, that recognition is given to the history of the liberation struggle as a significant aspect of black history in the school curriculum. Given the extensive treatment of history in general in the school curriculum up to Grade 9, and the history of the liberation struggle in Grades 4 to 12, it should be expected that history would be a popular subject for students undergoing teacher training. However, since teacher training in South Africa shifted to the universities after the closure of the teacher training colleges in 2001,³³ the relevance of history in general at the tertiary level is tied closely to the relevance given to the Humanities in South Africa.

A significant factor which impacts on the relevance of history as a choice of study at the Further Education and Training level (grades 10 to 12) is the increasing emphasis on science education in preparation for tertiary education. This has been re-inforced by the emphasis placed on science education in Higher Education and Science and Technology policies since 1994.³⁴ The result was declining interest in history among Grades 10 to 12 learners and university students. This is reflected in the decrease in headcount enrolment in the Humanities in general at South African universities, which decreased by 36% from 273,000 in 1996 to only 175,000 in 2002. Enrolments in the Humanities recovered after 2002 to reach 215,000 by 2008, which was still 58,000 fewer students than in 1996. The average annual decline in Humanities enrolments was 2% over the 13-year period, while enrolment headcounts in Science Education and Technology, Business and Management, and

³³ Linda Chisholm, 'The Debate about Re-opening Teacher Education Colleges', unpublished paper, February 2010, 16.

³⁴ Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study on the State of the Humanities in South Africa: Status, prospects and strategies*, August 2011. Available at <http://www.assaf.org.za/files/2011/09/2011-Humanity-final-proof-11-August-2011.pdf>. Accessed on 12 November 2015, 25-57.

Education maintained steady growth during the same period, with average annual growth rates of 4.5% for SET, 6.0% for Business and Management, and 5.7% for Education from 1996 to 2008.³⁵

In 2011, the Academy of Science of South Africa released a *Consensus Study on the State of the Humanities in South Africa*. Among the key findings of the *Consensus Study* relevant for this paper were:

- There is a crisis in the Humanities reflected in declining student enrolments, falling graduation rates, and decreasing government funding within institutions of higher learning.
- The evolution and administration of government policy in the post-apartheid period has systematically benefited Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics to the exclusion, and even detriment, of the Humanities disciplines in the country.
- The Humanities within institutions of higher learning is in a state of intellectual stagnation and, singular innovations notwithstanding, has remained in this moribund condition for more than fifteen years.
- The decline of the Humanities has many causes that include government policy and funding, institutional choices and decision-making, school guidance and counselling, and parental and student preferences.³⁶

In 2011, the DHET released the *Charter for the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSS)* which had been commissioned by the Minister of Higher Education and Training to situate the humanities and social sciences in higher education and give recommendations for the furthering of these fields of study.³⁷ Here, too, it was noted that South Africa's policy framework prioritises the sciences and technology and has attempted to steer the Academy towards powering-up economic growth.³⁸

Notwithstanding the challenges faced by the humanities, to what extent have the History departments at universities impacted on the relevance of History education at the tertiary level? One commentator on History departments at South African universities stated the following: 'History departments and their faculties have, in particular, chosen a path of irrelevancy, irrelevancy to higher education, and irrelevancy to society at large'.³⁹ William Worger adds that South African historians have 'made themselves and their discipline irrelevant, especially to the majority of the population who want to find out about their history and can't in the university'.⁴⁰

The central questions here are: Have the History department adjusted to changes in the school history curricula and to the increasing relevance given to black history in general, and the history of the liberation struggle in particular in the national narrative? Are they relevant structures through which South Africans can get a formal education on this significant aspect of black history?

³⁵ Ibid., 61-2.

³⁶ Ibid., 15.

³⁷ Department of Higher Education and Training, *The Charter for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 30 June 2011. Available at <http://www.dhet.gov.za/Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/Report%20on%20the%20Charter%20for%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences.pdf>. Accessed on 12 November 2015.

³⁸ Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, 25.

³⁹ William Worger, 'The Tricameral Academy: Personal Reflections on Universities and History Departments in "Post-Apartheid" South Africa', *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 38(1), 2014, 194.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 213.

The headcount of enrolments in History undergraduate courses at South African universities decreased from 1,870 students in 2004 (1.3% of total enrolment in the Humanities) to 1,554 students in 2008 (0.9% of total enrolments in the Humanities).⁴¹ History students constituted about 0.24 percent of all undergraduate students in 2008. The number of students enrolled for doctoral studies in History decreased from 107 in 2004 (3% of total doctoral enrolments in the Humanities) to 99 in 2008 (2.9% of total doctoral enrolments in the Humanities),⁴² and a total of 120 History students obtained their doctorates between 2000 and 2009.⁴³

A review was conducted of the undergraduate and Honours curricula of the History Departments at all South African universities available on their websites (refer to Appendix F). No information could be obtained for the departments at the universities of Limpopo and Venda, while the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University does not have a separate History department. In general, virtually all departments listed in Table 3 below offer at least one module on South African history in their undergraduate and/or honours courses, with many of these modules including relevant content on the history of the liberation struggle. The significant exception is the undergraduate history course at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which appears to have no relevant content in the course outline on the Department's web-page.

Just over half, i.e. 8 of the 15 departments whose curricula were reviewed, including some with the most detailed content in their modules, do not offer a relevant module at the first year level. In addition, it is not clear what content is offered in what could be a relevant first-year module of the History department of the University of the North West.

Only 4 of the 15 university departments whose curricula were reviewed appear to offer the opportunity to study the history of the liberation struggle in great detail in their undergraduate and honours courses.⁴⁴ The History department of the University of the Witwatersrand offers three

⁴¹ Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, Table 2, 65-6. These figures are drawn from the student record systems of the universities using the field for 'intended major'. The accuracy of the data could be compromised if institutions do not record 'intended majors' correctly (75n). The figures consequently do not take into account the larger number of students who take history courses as an 'elective'. For instance, there were 1,632 undergraduate students enrolled for history education in the University of KwaZulu-Natal's School of Education in 2015 (Johan Wasserman, Email communication, 28 November 2015), the History Department at the University of Johannesburg had 773 undergraduate students in 2015 (Carmen Joel, Email communication, 27 November 2015), the History Department at the University of the Free State had 379 undergraduate students in 2015 (Andre Wessels, Email communication, 6 November 2015), the History Department at the University of Stellenbosch had 543 undergraduate students (Albert Grundlingh, Email communication, 24 November 2015), and there were 296 history undergraduate students at the University of Cape Town in 2015 (Lance van Sittert, Email communication, 24 November 2015). While the headcount enrolments does not provide a full reflection of the number of students taking a course at the undergraduate level, the numbers here compare dismally with headcount enrolments in public administration (about 16,9% of total undergraduate enrolment in the humanities in 2008) and psychology (11,9% of total undergraduate student enrolment in the humanities in 2008). Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, Table 3, 66-7.

⁴² Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, Table 3, 66-7. Refer also to Table 14, 99-100. However, a substantial number of students do take history as an elective,

⁴³ *Ibid*, Table 15, 102. This can be contrasted with the 251 students who graduated with a doctorate in public administration and 526 psychology doctorates between 2000 and 2009.

⁴⁴ The phrase 'appear to offer' is used here because the analysis is based on the information available on the curricula of the selected departments and not on actual teaching in the departments, and because some of the

modules at second-year level that contain relevant material. Its module on *South Africa before 1880* deals with the beginning of European settlement, the introduction of slaves, the expansion of the Cape Colony and the effects of these events upon first the Khoisan and then the Nguni, the changes that took place in the Cape following annexation by Britain, the nature of the subsequent relations between black and white in the interior, and the response of the British authorities in the Cape and in Britain to the new situation that these developments created. The module in the second-year level on the *History of Sub-Saharan Africa* includes a section on the establishment of colonial administration, and explores the contradictory processes of African resistance and accommodation to conquest and to the entrenchment of colonial rule during the 20th century, and another section on the growth of mass nationalist movements and of large scale ethnic or 'tribal' mobilisation, focusing in particular on the influence of the depression years and the transformative effects of the Second World War. The module on *Race, Class and Nation in Modern South Africa* explores the origins of apartheid and the processes of urbanisation, political resistance and the formation of race, class and national/ethnic identity. Two modules offered at third-year level on *The Making of Modern South Africa* examine the crucial economic, social, demographic, and political forces which shaped modern South Africa since the mining revolution in the late 19th century, including forms of resistance, and the policy of segregation and the making of apartheid; urbanisation and the creation of an urban culture; political resistance, including rural uprisings, trade unions and formal parties; and high apartheid, the 1976 uprising and the crisis of apartheid. Three modules at the honours level include sections that explore rural and urban resistance during various periods in the 20th century.⁴⁵

Table 3: Level of Study at which relevant modules are offered by History Departments

| University | First Year | Second Year | Third Year | Honours |
|------------------------------------|------------|-------------|------------|---------|
| 1. University of the Witwatersrand | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 2. University of Cape Town | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| 3. University of Cape Town | No | Yes | No | No |
| 4. University of the Western Cape | No | No | Yes | No |
| 5. University of Stellenbosch | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| 6. Rhodes University | No | Yes | Yes | No |
| 7. Walter Sisulu University | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| 8. University of Zululand | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 9. University of KwaZulu-Natal | No | No | No | Yes |
| 10. University of Johannesburg | No | No | No | Yes |
| 11. University of Pretoria | Yes | Yes | No | No |
| 12. University of South Africa | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |
| 13. University of the North West | Unclear | Unclear | No | No |
| 14. University of the Free State | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| 15. University of Fort Hare | No | No | Yes | Yes |

The History department of the University of Stellenbosch offers modules at all three levels of its undergraduate course that contain relevant material. At first-year level, the department has a module that provides a survey of South African history with a focus on debates on the settlement of population groups in South Africa; clashes in the interior and the historical significance of 19th century migrations; the mineral revolution and its impact on modern South Africa; Afrikaner nationalism as a historical factor; segregation and apartheid; and black nationalism and politics in the 20th century. Its module at the second-year level on *South Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries*

information of the modules offered obtained from the websites of the departments does not contain detailed content of the modules.

⁴⁵ http://www.wits.ac.za/socialsciences/history/8159/history_home.html.

includes the dynamics of cultural transformation and the fluidity of the race and class structures of the 18th and 19th century Cape colonial order, the rise of black polities and white republics in the interior, and the shaping of a new political and cultural society in reaction to the mineral revolution, including the subjugation and colonisation of the Tlhaping and the impact of the discovery of gold on the black and white working classes. The themes in the department's module on *South Africa in the 20th century* at the third-year level include cultural and political dimensions of the rise and disintegration of Afrikaner nationalism; perspectives on apartheid; and the growth and dynamics of black political organisations and the change in power relations in 1994. The factors underpinning the phenomenon of Afrikaner nationalism and the gradual disintegration of the movement in the latter part of the 20th century are also explored. Various perspectives on apartheid and its antecedents are discussed in an attempt to understand its appeal for a certain section of the South African population. This is followed by an analysis of the nature and dynamics of opposition to the system.⁴⁶

The History department of the University of Zululand offers modules that have relevant content at all three levels of its undergraduate course. Its module at the first-year level includes a focus on the arrival, distribution and interaction of blacks and whites in Southern Africa since the Stone Age; the origins of racism in South Africa, with a focus on racial relations in the 17th and 18th century under British colonial rule, the spread of whites over Southern Africa, and the *Mfecane* and Great Trek. The module at the second-year level on *19th and early 20th century South Africa* explores the impact of mining, industrialisation and urbanisation on the South African economy; the circumstances which lead to the Anglo-Boer War and the unification of South Africa; early 20th century politics in South Africa based on a racially-divided society; South Africa's participation in the two world Wars; and the beginning of the liberation struggle. At the third-year level the module on the *Zulu Monarchy and KwaZulu-Natal leaders in Retrospect* examines human relations and racial disparities in the Union of South Africa by 1948; the racial policies of Strijdom, Malan, Verwoerd and Botha; the Communist Party and the Treason Trial, 1956-1961; Anton Lembede and the ANC youth league; Robert Sobukwe and the PAC; the New South Africa, 1994; and KwaZulu-Natal leaders such as John L Dube, Mahatma Gandhi, General Louis Botha, Albert Luthuli, and Mangosuthu Buthezi.⁴⁷

Similarly, the History department at the University of the Free State has modules at all three levels of its undergraduate course that include a focus on aspects of the history of the liberation struggle. At first-year level the department offers a module, in two parts, on an *Introduction to the Twentieth Century History of South Africa and Africa*, with a focus on the historically most important changes in the country, region and continent from the end of the 19th century to the end of the 20th century. At second-year level the module on *The Rise of Nationalism in South Africa* focuses on the struggle against colonialism and the drive towards independence, while the relevant module at the third-year level titled *En Route to the New South Africa* focuses on the final struggle for and against apartheid and the transition to majority rule. The History department of the Walter Sisulu University offers modules on *South Africa: from Earliest Times to the Mfecane* and from the *Mfecane to the South Africa War* at the first-year level, on *The Making of Modern South Africa* and *Segregation, Apartheid*

⁴⁶ <http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Arts/Departments/history/programmes>.

⁴⁷ <http://www.unizulu.ac.za/images/DEPARTMENT%20OF%20HISTORY.pdf>.

and Resistance in South Africa at the second-year level, and *Themes in the History of the Eastern Cape* at the third-year level.⁴⁸

The History department of the University of South Africa offers modules with relevant features of the history of the liberation struggle at the first- and third-year levels, as well as at the honours level. Its first-year module on *The Making of Early Colonial South Africa* explores major themes in the history of early colonial South Africa, particularly the nature of the Dutch colony at the Cape, the social and economic importance of slavery, the resistance of indigenous peoples to white settlement in the colony and on its frontiers, and the formation of a new society and racial order. At the third-year level, the department's module on *Modern South Africa, From Soweto to Democracy* examines the efforts to reform apartheid from the 1970s to 1990, while the relevant module at the honours level, *Themes from modern South African history*, focuses on the major themes in the history of modern South Africa (particularly liberalism, Afrikaner nationalism and black resistance to white minority domination) and the importance of these themes in shaping the history of the country.⁴⁹

Mention should also be made of the History Department of the University of Pretoria, which offers a module at the first-year level on *Africa and South Africa* that focuses on the making of African and South African societies from the earliest times to the present, with an emphasis on the most significant historical forces, factors and events. Another module at second-year level focuses on the origin and theoretical foundations of segregation and apartheid and their entrenchment in South African legislation, the resistance against the institution of these policies, and the subsequent dismantling of apartheid.⁵⁰ The History department of Rhodes University offers a module at the second-year level on *Themes in Southern African History* such as Cape slavery, 19th century conflict, economic inequality, land dispossession, representations of the 'Frontier', the history of the liberation struggle, the collapse of apartheid, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the record of the post-apartheid government. The relevant module at third-year on *The Making of Modern South Africa* tracks the major economic, social and political events within southern Africa including the South African War, the Native Land Act, the rise of the mining industry, the formation of the African National Congress, apartheid-era legislation and its effects, as well as the anti-apartheid struggle.⁵¹ The Department of Historical Studies at the University of Johannesburg offers a module at the first-year level that devotes some attention to the history of the liberation struggle in the context of Africa and South Africa in the global village since 1945,⁵² and a module at the Honours level, *Themes on South Africa*, which appears to focus on South African history before 1865 that might be relevant.⁵³

What is particularly disturbing is that the History departments at two historically disadvantaged universities that have extensive archival collections of relevance to research on, and study of the history of the South African liberation struggle, the University of the Western Cape and Fort Hare University, offer relatively little content in any of their undergraduate and honours courses on the

⁴⁸ <http://www.wsu.ac.za/waltersisulu/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Mthatha-Campus-Faculty-of-Humanities-Social-Science-and-Law-20151.pdf>.

⁴⁹ <http://www.unisa.ac.za/contents/faculties/humanities/docs/myModules-Unisa-2013-History.pdf>.

⁵⁰ <http://www.up.ac.za/historical-heritage-studies/article/1915010/ges-geskiedenis>.

⁵¹ <https://www.ru.ac.za/history/studying/>.

⁵² Stephen Sparks, Email communication, 26 November 2016.

⁵³ http://www.uj.ac.za/postgraduate/Documents/6_UJ_PostGrad_Brochure2015_HUMANITIES_Online.pdf.

history of the liberation struggle. The only relevant modules on South African history offered by UWC's History department are at the third-year level. The two modules on *The Making of the South African City in the Twentieth Century* and *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the South African Past* include a focus on the circumstances of colonisation and responses to conquest; the administrative, economic, social, gender and cultural aspects of colonialism; and nationalism and the legacies of colonialism; and the mandate and framework of the TRC; debates and themes emerging from and through the work of the TRC; and responses and critical evaluation of the TRC's work.⁵⁴

The History department at the University of Fort Hare offers three modules at the third-year level which deal with the evolution of South African historiography from the Settler and British school of the 19th century to the emergence of post-colonial/postmodern history theory of the late 20th century; the setting for the initial contact and subsequent interaction between the settlers and pre-colonial African societies in the mid-18th century until South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994; and a phase-by-phase thematic narrative of the major political and/ideological tendencies that shaped the liberation struggle in South Africa and the evolution of the major political organisations and their effect and influence on trade unionism, working-class movements and rural resistance. One module at the honours level focuses on *Society and Politics in the Eastern Cape*, with a focus on the interactive factors and various forces (religious, cultural and political frontiers) that were instrumental in the evolution of race relations in the Eastern Cape primarily and greater South Africa secondarily.⁵⁵

The History departments of two other South African universities which have extensive archival collections, the universities of Cape Town and KwaZulu-Natal, also appear to offer little relevant content in their curricula. The Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town offers an introduction to the liberation struggle in comparative perspective as part of a module offered at the first-year level.⁵⁶ The relevant modules on South African history offered by the department are at the second-year level. The key themes in the two relevant modules offered – *Conflict and Conquest: South Africa to 1900* and *Subjects to Citizens?: South Africa since 1900* – include warfare and state formation amongst African societies; a consideration of the dynamics of early Dutch and British colonial society; slavery and other forms of unfree labour; frontier violence and group formation; land conquest and dispossession; imperialism and resistance; the mineral revolution and its transformation of the social, political and economic life of South Africans, and histories of race, culture, nation, economy, state and citizen.⁵⁷ The history of the liberation struggle is dealt with briefly in modules covering a range of issues about South African history offered by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's History department at the second- and third-years.⁵⁸ However, the most relevant module is offered in the Honours course on *Race and Racism in Historical Perspective*.⁵⁹

Political Science Departments are arguably the only other academic departments at universities – with the exception of the very few African Studies Departments – where students are likely to be able to study the history of the liberation struggle. However, the headcount of enrolments in

⁵⁴ <https://www.uwc.ac.za/Faculties/ART/History/Pages/default.aspx>.

⁵⁵ <http://www.ufh.ac.za/faculties/social-sciences/departments/history>.

⁵⁶ Nigel Worden, Email communication, 26 November 2015.

⁵⁷ <http://www.historicalstudies.uct.ac.za/hst/undergraduate-studies/requirements-for-a-major-in-history>.

⁵⁸ Goolam Vahed, Email communication, 26 November 2015.

⁵⁹ http://saa.ukzn.ac.za/Libraries/handbooks_2014/COH.sflb.ashx.

Political Science undergraduate courses at South African universities increased only marginally from 3,629 in 2004 (2.6% of total enrolments in the Humanities) to 3,643 in 2008 (2.2% of total enrolments in the Humanities).⁶⁰ Political Science undergraduate students were 0.56 percent of the total number of undergraduate students in the country at the time. The number of students enrolled for doctoral studies in Political Science increased from 112 in 2004 (3.2% of total doctoral enrolments in the Humanities) to 132 in 2008 (3.7% of total doctoral enrolments in the Humanities),⁶¹ and a total of 121 Political Science students obtained their doctorates between 2000 and 2009.⁶²

In general, virtually all departments listed in Table 4 below offer at least one module on South African politics in their undergraduate and/or Honours courses, with many of these modules including relevant content on the history of the liberation struggle. The exception is the undergraduate and Honours politics courses at the University of the Free State,⁶³ while the undergraduate politics course at Rhodes University has no relevant content.⁶⁴

Table 4: Level of Study at which relevant modules are offered by Political Science Departments

| University | First Year | Second Year | Third Year | Honours |
|---|------------|-------------|------------|---------|
| 1. University of the Witwatersrand | No | Yes | No | No |
| 2. University of Cape Town | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| 3. University of the Western Cape | Unclear | Unclear | No | No |
| 4. University of Stellenbosch | Yes | No | No | No |
| 5. Rhodes University | No | No | No | Yes |
| 6. Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University | Unclear | No | No | No |
| 7. Walter Sisulu University | Unclear | No | No | Unclear |
| 8. University of Zululand | Unclear | Yes | No | Unclear |
| 9. University of KwaZulu-Natal | No | Yes | Yes | No |
| 10. University of Johannesburg | No | Yes | No | No |
| 11. University of Pretoria | Unclear | Unclear | Unclear | No |
| 12. University of South Africa | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| 13. University of the North West | Unclear | No | No | No |
| 14. University of the Free State | No | No | No | No |
| 15. University of Fort Hare | No | Yes | No | Yes |

⁶⁰ Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, Table 2, 65-6. It must be noted, as one Professor pointed out in an email communication to the author, undergraduate enrolments in Political Science departments at some universities are not due to the popularity of Political Science among students, but the fact that it is a compulsory course in the Bachelor of Administration, which is a very popular choice among students. This is partly a legacy of the apartheid university curriculum, geared at providing employment for civil servants in the 'homelands', and partly a reflection of the lingering reality that the public sector is still the largest sectoral employer' in some of the province (Pamela Johnson, Email communication, 3 November 2015). In addition, the figures given here do not reflect the total number of students enrolled in Political Science undergraduate courses. For instance, the University of South Africa Department of Political Science had 4,396 undergraduate students registered in 2015 (Dirk Kotze, Email communication, 26 November 2015), 1,570 undergraduate students were registered in the Political Science Department at the University of Johannesburg in 2015 (Suzanne Graham, Email communication, 5 November 2015), Rhodes University had 622 undergraduate Political Science students in 2015 (Sally Matthews, Email communication, 3 November 2015), the Department of Political Science at the University of Fort Hare had 315 undergraduate students in 2015 (Pamela Johnson, Email communication, 3 November 2015), and 324 undergraduate students were registered with the Political Studies department at Walter Sisulu University in 2015 (Gladys Ashu, Email communication, 11 November 2015).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Table 14, 99-100.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Table 15, 102.

⁶³ <http://humanities.ufs.ac.za/content.aspx?id=188>.

⁶⁴ <https://www.ru.ac.za/politicalinternationalstudies/studying/>.

However, 8 of the 15 Political Science departments whose curricula were reviewed do not offer a relevant module at the first year level. In addition, it is not clear what content is offered in what could be relevant first-year modules by a further 6 departments at the following universities: the University of the Western Cape, University of Pretoria, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Walter Sisulu University, the University of Zululand, and the University of the North West. There is thus only one Political Science departments where it can be unequivocally stated that there is relevant content in the first-year undergraduate course, i.e. the Political Science department at the University of Stellenbosch. However, this is the only relevant module offered by the department.

None of the 15 Political Science departments whose curricula were reviewed appear to offer the opportunity to study the history of the liberation struggle in great detail in their undergraduate and honours courses. The Department of Political Science at the University of Zululand offers modules at first-, second- and Honours-level that might be relevant. However, the limited information available on the content of the modules on the department's web-page makes it difficult to come to any conclusions.

Nevertheless, the curricula of several departments deserve mention. The relevant module offered by the UCT Political Studies department at the third-year level is a survey of the main developments in South African political thought since the beginning of the 20th century, which starts with competing visions for a unified South Africa after the discovery of gold. It examines a range of political thinkers, including Gandhi, Verwoerd and Mandela, and a range of texts from different periods. It is intended to give students an understanding of the main political traditions in modern South Africa, and how they have interacted and developed. At the Honours level the department offers a module that draws on historical, sociological, and other materials to investigate the 20th century political history of the country.⁶⁵ Both the History and Political Science departments at UCT do not offer relevant modules at the first-year level.

The Department of Politics and International Relations at Fort Hare offers a module at second-year level on South African government and politics which includes a section on historical resistance to apartheid and another at the honours level with a focus on reform and resistance in contemporary South Africa.⁶⁶ However, both the History and Political Science departments at Fort Hare have no relevant content at the first-year level. The Politics department at the University of the Western Cape offers a module at the first-year level on *South African Politics and Government*, and another at the third-year level on *South Africa in Comparative Politics*, with no indication of the content of these modules.⁶⁷ Similarly, the curricula of the Political Science departments at the universities of the North-West⁶⁸ and South Africa include modules on South African politics, but there is no detailed content to indicate their relevance.⁶⁹

The University of KwaZulu-Natal Politics department offers two modules that may be relevant: *Politics and Law in South Africa* at second-year level; and *Contemporary South African Politics* at

⁶⁵ <http://www.politics.uct.ac.za/>.

⁶⁶ <http://www.ufh.ac.za/faculties/social-sciences/departments/political-science>.

⁶⁷ <https://www.uwc.ac.za/Faculties/EMS/DPS/Pages/default.aspx>.

⁶⁸ <http://www.nwu.ac.za/sites/www.nwu.ac.za/files/files/m-students/documents/2015%20HUMAN%20AND%20SOCIAL%20SCIENCES%20UNDERGRADUATE.pdf>.

⁶⁹ <http://www.unisa.ac.za/default.asp?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=1586>.

third-year level. There is no relevant content in any of the modules offered at the first-year level.⁷⁰ The Department of Political Studies at Wits offers one module at the second-year level which is the only relevant modules in its undergraduate and Honours courses. The module on *South African Politics and Governance* is intended to familiarize students with key themes and controversies in South Africa's politics. It examines the making of the country's borders and its state; the controversies over the definitions of South African citizenship in the 20th and 21st centuries; and the relationship between the executive, legislature, judiciary and bureaucracies. Included are debates about the place of identity politics, race and class in South Africa – both in the past, and in the present. It includes an analysis of the modernity of South Africa's politics and models of governance, the reliance of the apartheid state on quasi-legal "states of emergency" in the governance of the country, and the role of both legal and extra-legal means and methods of protest both during the apartheid era and in the present moment. These discussions take place in the context of a detailed study of the country's political history, from colonialism throughout apartheid to the present day.⁷¹

The overall impression from this review of the curricula is that, with some notable exceptions, South African universities do not give much relevance to the history of the liberation struggle. Where relevant undergraduate and post-graduate modules are offered to enable a detailed study of this topic, it is generally not offered at the first-year-level. There are also some universities, such as the University of Cape Town, where both the History and Political Science departments give minimal treatment of the history of the liberation struggle at the undergraduate level.

The results of the survey indicate the views of academics about the relevance given to this history in their curricula. Twenty-two of the respondent felt that their department's undergraduate curriculum dealt sufficiently with the history of the liberation struggle, while 17 disagreed with this statement. Respondents were asked to indicate the various thematic areas of the history of the liberation struggle they had lectured on in the past three years. They were allowed to select more than one thematic area on which they had lectured during this period. 13 (25.5%) of those who responded to the question (total=51) indicated that the question was not applicable to them, and 8 (15.7%) indicated that they had not lectured on any theme. The distribution of themes lectured on by the remaining 30 respondents is illustrated in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Teaching on various thematic areas of the history of the liberation struggle

| Answer choices | Response | |
|--|----------|-----|
| | % | No. |
| The wars of resistance and other struggles up to 1910 | 58.82 | 30 |
| Nationalist resistance between 1910 and 1960 | 35.29 | 18 |
| The history of the liberation struggle between 1960 and 1994 | 52.94 | 27 |
| None of the above | 15.69 | 8 |
| Not applicable | 25.49 | 13 |
| Total respondents: 51 | | |

⁷⁰ <http://politicspmb.ukzn.ac.za/current-student/Undergrdaute-courses.aspx>.

⁷¹ http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/humanities/socialsciences/politicalstudies/undergraduate/8256/level_2000_courses.html.

Nine of those who lectured on the history of the liberation struggle delivered between one and three lectures, while 6 delivered between four and six lectures and 13 more than six lectures on the various thematic areas. It appears that the majority of those who lecture on the history of the liberation struggle give six or less lectures on the subject per annum. Respondents were asked to indicate if they had supervised postgraduate students on an aspect of the history of the liberation struggle in the past three years. 11 (22%) respondents to this question (total=50) indicated that the question was not applicable to them, while 16 (32%) had not supervised any students in the field. 16 had supervised students on relevant themes at Honours level, 11 at Masters' level, and 3 at Doctoral level.

At least 42 relevant theses and dissertations were produced by students at South African universities between 2010 and 2015 (refer to Appendix G). The bulk of these student research outputs at South African universities were Masters' dissertations (29). Most of these student research outputs were by students in the History department at the University of Johannesburg (7), with other significant outputs from the History department of the University of the Western Cape (5), Theology Department of the University of South Africa (4), and History department of the University of the Witwatersrand (2). There appears to be no correlation between relevant content of the undergraduate and Honours curriculum and focus on the history of the liberation struggle at the Masters and Doctoral levels. Four doctoral theses on relevant topics were produced by South African students at universities abroad during the same period.⁷²

Although most of these dissertations and theses were produced by History (18) and Political Science (6) students, there were several from other disciplines, including Theology (5), Psychology (2), Sociology (2), Industrial Sociology (1), African Studies (1), English (1), Music (1), Semitic Languages (1), Anthropology (1), International Studies (1), Journalism (1), and Information Technology (1). The four theses produced at universities abroad were in the Geography, Anthropology, History, and Clinical Psychology departments. This is indicative of interest in the history of the liberation struggle from students in diverse disciplines.

Conclusion

There is significant interest in the history of the South African liberation struggle among South African and non-South African scholars. However, close to half of the research outputs reviewed in this study are produced by non-South Africans. It appears that research and scholarship on this history in the South African Academy is severely constrained. While it is important not to underestimate the impact of a range of factors that give rise to this situation, some blame must be laid at the door of various departments at universities in South Africa.

⁷² Rushil Arvind Ranchod, "A kind of magic': The political marketing of the African National Congress", PhD thesis, Geography, University of Durham, 2012; Ian Martin Macqueen, 'Re-imagining South Africa: Black Consciousness, radical Christianity and the New Left, 1967-1977', DPhil thesis, History, University of Sussex, 2011; Suren Pillay, 'The Partisan's Violence, Law and Apartheid: The Assassination of Matthew Goniwe and the Cradock Four The Partisan's Violence, Law and Apartheid: The Assassination of Matthew Goniwe and the Cradock Four', PhD thesis, Anthropology, Columbia University, 2011; Siphon Mbuqe, 'Political Violence in South Africa: A Case Study of "Necklacing" in Colesberg', PhD thesis, Clinical Psychology, Duquesne University, 2010.

There is a progressive decline in student enrolment in the relevant disciplines from Grade 10 at the secondary school level (History) to doctoral level (History and Political Science). In addition, the review of the curricula of the History and Political Science departments of South African universities indicates that, with some notable exceptions, the majority deal inadequately with the history of the liberation struggle. The conclusion reached is that, in general, not much relevance is given to this history by South African universities. Since universities are the only institutions in South Africa that offer formal history education at the tertiary level, the overwhelming majority of South Africans are consequently not exposed to a formal education on the history of the liberation struggle beyond what they get at school. This has direct consequences for the development of research and scholarship on this topic.

Consideration might be given, at the very least, to introducing relevant content on the history of the liberation struggle at first-year level at all universities to make the History and Political Science departments more relevant. University History departments, in particular, might consider reforming their curricula to take into account the relevance given to the history of the liberation struggle in the South African school curriculum. In addition, special attention must be placed on including modules on this history in the curricula at universities where both the History and Political Science departments lack relevant content. Universities with History departments sufficiently large to do so could consider offering a number of relevant modules at the undergraduate level to enable students to specialise in the history of the liberation struggle at this level. The state of research on, and the study of, the history of the South African liberation struggle can also benefit from radically improving relevant curriculum content and research in departments at those universities that are inadequate in this regard, but where there are significant archival resources. Centres of research excellence and teaching could be fostered through establishing National Research Foundation (NRF) South African Research Chairs linked to History departments at the universities of the Western Cape and Fort Hare in particular.

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Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire

Research and teaching on the history of the South African liberation struggle

1. In the past three (3) years I have conducted research on the following aspects of the history of the South African liberation struggle:

- The Khoi-Dutch Wars
- Resistance to slavery in the Cape
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Cape
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Zululand and Natal
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Transvaal
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Orange Free State
- African political organisations and resistance to colonialism prior to 1910
- Nationalist resistance between 1910 and 1960
- The history of the liberation struggle between 1960 and 1964
- None of the above

2. In my research on these aspects of the history of the South African liberation struggle I have:

- Collected archival material
- Conducted interviews
- None of the above

3. My research in these areas over the past three years has given rise to:

- A dissertation/thesis
- Conference paper(s)
- Unpublished monograph(s)
- Journal article(s)
- Book chapter(s)
- Book(s)
- None of the above

4. My research on the history of the South African liberation struggle in the past three years has given rise to:

- Between one and three peer-reviewed publications
- Between four and six peer-reviewed publications

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- More than six peer-reviewed publications
- None of the above

5. In the past three years I have lectured an undergraduate course that includes the following aspects of the history of the South African liberation struggle:

- The Khoi-Dutch Wars
- Resistance to slavery in the Cape
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Cape
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Zululand and Natal
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Transvaal
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Orange Free State
- African political organisations and resistance to colonialism prior to 1910
- Nationalist resistance between 1910 and 1960
- The history of the liberation struggle between 1960 and 1964
- None of the above

6. These aspects of the history of the liberation struggle in the course are collectively:

- Between one and three lectures
- Between four and six lectures
- More than six lectures
- None of the above
- Not applicable

7. Do you think that your department's undergraduate curriculum deals sufficiently with the history of the South African liberation struggle?

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable

8. Which aspects of the history of the South African liberation struggle do you think should be given greater attention in your department's undergraduate course?

- The Khoi-Dutch Wars
- Resistance to slavery in the Cape
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Cape
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Zululand and Natal
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Transvaal
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Orange Free State

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- African political organisations and resistance to colonialism prior to 1910
- Nationalist resistance between 1910 and 1960
- The history of the liberation struggle between 1960 and 1964
- None of the above
- Not applicable

9. In the past three years I have supervised a postgraduate student conducting research on an aspect of the history of the liberation struggle at:

- Honours level
- Masters level
- Doctorate level
- None of the above
- Not applicable

10. I have supervised postgraduate research on the following aspects of the history of the South African liberation struggle:

- The Khoi-Dutch Wars
- Resistance to slavery in the Cape
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Cape
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Zululand and Natal
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Transvaal
- The history of resistance to colonial expansion in the former Orange Free State
- African political organisations and resistance to colonialism prior to 1910
- Nationalist resistance between 1910 and 1960
- The history of the liberation struggle between 1960 and 1964
- None of the above
- Not applicable

11. I am a:

- Lecturer in the History Department
- Lecturer in the Politics Department
- Lecturer in the African Studies Department
- Researcher in a research institute/council
- Independent researcher
- Other (please specify)

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12. I am a:

- Junior lecturer
- Lecturer
- Senior lecturer
- Associate Professor
- Professor
- Researcher
- Other (please specify)

13. My highest qualification is:

- An Honours degree
- A Masters' degree
- A Doctorate
- Other (please specify)

14. I am employed by the:

- University of Cape Town
- University of Fort Hare
- University of the Free State
- University of KwaZulu-Natal
- University of Limpopo
- North West University
- University of Pretoria
- Rhodes University
- University of Stellenbosch
- University of the Western Cape
- University of the Witwatersrand
- University of Johannesburg
- Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
- University of South Africa
- University of Venda
- Walter Sisulu University
- University of Zululand
- Human Sciences Research Council
- Other (please specify)

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15. In terms of the South African classification of race groups I am:

- White
- African
- Indian
- Coloured
- Other (please specify)

16. I am:

- Female
- Male

17. In terms of my country of origin I am:

- South African
- Non-South African

18. My name is (optional):

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Appendix B: Relevant articles in journals, 2010-2015

| SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHOR | JOURNAL | ARTICLE TITLE AND JOURNAL ISSUE |
|--|---|---|
| 1. S.I. Blackbeard | 1. <i>South African Historical Journal (ISI)</i> | 'An Unprecedented but Significant Atrocity': A Window into the War of the Axe, 1846–1847, Vol. 67, Issue 2, 2015 |
| 2. Martin Plaut | | Gandhi's Decisive South African 1913 Campaign: A Personal Perspective from the Letters of Betty Molteno, Vol. 66, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 22-54 |
| 3. Ian Macqueen | | Resonances of Youth and Tensions of Race: Liberal Student Politics, White Radicals and Black Consciousness, 1968–1973, Vol. 65, Issue 3, 2013, pp. 365-382 |
| 4. T. Dunbar Moodie | | Bra Soks: An Inside Story of the Rise of the National Union of Mineworkers at Vaal Reefs Gold Mine, Vol. 65, Issue 3, 2013, pp. 383-402 |
| 5. Thula Simpson | | Introduction, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 381-392 |
| 6. Jane Starfield | | 'A Member of the Race': Dr Modiri Molema's Intellectual Engagement with the Popular History of South Africa, 1912–1921, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 434-449 |
| 7. Andrew Hayden Manson & Bernard Mbenga | | The African National Congress in the Western Transvaal/Northern Cape Platteland, c. 1910–1964: Patterns of Diffusion and Support for Congress in a Rural Setting, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 472-493 |
| 8. Tom Lodge | | Reflections on <i>Black Politics in South Africa since 194</i> , Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 494-506 |
| 9. Luli Callinicos | | Oliver Tambo and the Dilemma of the Camp Mutinies in Angola in the Eighties, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 587-621 |
| 10. Carla Tsampiras | | Sex in a Time of Exile: An Examination of Sexual Health, AIDS, Gender, and the ANC, 1980–1990, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 637-663 |
| 11. Nandha Naidoo | | The 'Indian Chap': Recollections of a South African Underground Trainee in Mao's China, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 707-736 |
| 12. Wessel Visser | | 'Guard Your Interests and Read <i>The Worker</i> ': The Rise and Demise of <i>The Worker</i> , Mouthpiece of the South African Labour Party, Vol. 63, Issue 3, 2011, pp. 367-393 |
| 13. Genevieve Klein | | Publicising the African National Congress: <i>The Anti-Apartheid News</i> , Vol. 63, Issue 3, 2011, pp. 394-413 |
| 14. Garth Benneyworth | | Armed and Trained: Nelson Mandela's 1962 Military Mission as Commander in Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe and Provenance for his Buried Makarov Pistol |
| 15. Tshepo Moloi | | Bodibeng High School: Black Consciousness Philosophy and Students Demonstration, 1940s–1976, Vol. 63, Issue 1, 2011, pp. 102-126 |
| 16. Raymond Suttner | | 'The Road to Freedom is via the Cross' 'Just Means' in Chief Albert Luthuli's Life, Vol. 62, Issue 4, 2010, pp. 693-715 |
| 17. Julian Brown | | SASO's Reluctant Embrace of Public Forms of Protest, 1968–1972, Vol. 62, Issue 4, 2010, pp. 716-734 |
| 18. Chris Saunders | | Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa: New Perspectives, Vol. 62, Issue 1, 2010, Special Issue: Feature: Liberation History in Southern Africa, pp. 1-6 |
| 19. Jeremy Seekings | | Whose Voices? Politics and Methodology in the Study of Political Organisation and Protest in the Final Phase of the 'Struggle' in South Africa, Vol. 62, Issue 1, 2010, Special Issue: Feature: Liberation History in Southern Africa, pp. 7-28 |
| 20. P. Denis | | Seminary Networks and Black Consciousness in South Africa in the 1970s, Vol. 62, Issue 1, 2010, Special Issue: Feature: Liberation History in Southern Africa, pp. 162-182 |
| 21. Gary Minkley | 2. <i>Journal of Southern African Studies (ISI)</i> | The Graves of Dimbaza and the Empire of Liberation, Vol. 41, Issue 3, 2015, Special Issue: South African Empire, pp. 617-634 |
| 22. Crain Soudien | | Nelson Mandela, Robben Island and the Imagination of a New South Africa, Vol. 41, Issue 2, 2015, The Contradictions of Identity, pp. 353-366 |
| 23. Stephanie Victor | | The Politics of Remembering and Commemorating Atrocity in South Africa: The Bisho Massacre and its Aftermath, 1992–2012, Vol. 41, Issue 1, 2015, New Perspectives on Liberation and the Politics of the Past, pp. 83-102 |
| 24. Clive Glaser | | Soweto's Islands of Learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando High Schools Under Bantu Education, 1958–1975, Vol. 41, Issue 1, 2015, New Perspectives on Liberation and the Politics of the Past, pp. 159-171 |
| 25. Anne Heffernan | | Black Consciousness's Lost Leader: Abraham Tiro, the University of the North, and the Seeds of South Africa's Student Movement in the 1970s, Vol. 41, |

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| | | Issue 1, 2015, <i>New Perspectives on Liberation and the Politics of the Past</i> , pp. 173-186 |
| 26. Anne Mager | | Colonial Conquest and the Tambookie Frontier: The Story of Maphasa, c.1830–1853, Vol. 39, Issue 2, 2013, pp. 251-270 |
| 27. Ian Macquene | | Students, Apartheid and the Ecumenical Movement in South Africa, 1960–1975, Vol. 39, Issue 2, 2013, pp. 447-463 |
| 28. Isabella Kentridge | | 'And so they moved one by one': Forced Removals in a Free State Town (1956–1977) Vol. 39, Issue 1, 2013, pp. 135-150 |
| 29. James G.R. Simpson | | Boipatong: The Politics of a Massacre and the South African Transition, Vol. 38, Issue 3, 2012, pp. 623-647 |
| 30. Julian Brown | | An Experiment in Confrontation: The Pro-Frelimo Rallies of 1974, Vol. 38, Issue 1, 2012, pp. 55-71 |
| | | |
| 31. Thula Simpson | 3. <i>African Affairs (ISI)</i> | Main Machinery: The ANC's Armed Underground in Johannesburg During the 1976 Soweto Uprising, Vol. 70, Issue 3, 2011, pp. 415-436 |
| 32. Thula Simpson | | Military Combat Work: the Reconstitution of the ANC's Armed Underground, 1971–1976, Vol. 70, Issue 1, 2011, pp. 103-122 |
| 33. Maggie Davey | | Who Killed Dulcie September?, Vol. 69, Issue 1, 2010, pp. 177-186 |
| | | |
| 34. Goolam Vahed & Ashwin Desai | 4. <i>African Studies Review (ISI)</i> | A case of 'strategic ethnicity'? The Natal Indian Congress in the 1970s, Vol. 46, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 22-47 |
| | | |
| 35. Andrew Manson | 5. <i>African Historical Review (DHET)</i> | "Punching Above its Weight". The Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum (Maref) and the Fall of Bophuthatswana, Vol. 43, Issue 2, 2011, pp. 55-83 |
| 36. Gregory F. Houston | | The South African Democracy Education Trust's 'Road to Democracy' Project: Areas of Focus and Methodological Issues, Vol. 42, Issue 2, 2010, pp. 3-26 |
| | | |
| 37. Denver A. Webb | 6. <i>Journal of African History (ISI)</i> | War, racism, and the taking of heads: Revisiting military conflict in the Cape Colony and western Xhosaland in the Nineteenth Century, March 2015 – Vol. 56, Issue 1, pp 37-55 |
| 38. Paul S. Thompson | | A Critical Analysis of James Stuart's <i>A History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906</i> , Vol. 41, June 2014, pp 195-220 |
| | | |
| 39. Roger Southall | 7. <i>Journal of Contemporary African Studies (IBSS)</i> | From liberation movement to party machine? The ANC in South Africa, Vol. 32, Issue 3, 2014, Special Issue: Legacies of Liberation: Postcolonial Struggles for a Democratic Southern Africa, pp. 331-348 |
| | | |
| 40. Ian M. Macquene | 8. <i>Journal of Asian and African Studies (IBSS)</i> | Black Consciousness in Dialogue in South Africa: Steve Biko, Richard Turner and the 'Durban moment', 1970–1974, July 22, 2013, |
| 41. Chris Saunders | | Pan-Africanism: The Cape Town Case, Vol. 47, no. 3, June 2012, 291-300 |
| | | |
| 42. S.P. Lekgoathi | 9. <i>Journal of African Media Studies (ISI)</i> | The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and its audiences in apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991, Vol. 2, Number 2, 1 August 2010, 139-153 |
| | | |
| 43. B.P. Van Laun | 10. <i>Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies (IBSS)</i> | Of bodies captured: the visual representation of the Paarl march and Poqo in apartheid South Africa, Vol. 40, Issue 1, 2014, Special Issue: African Photographies: Iterations with Difference I, 43-65 |
| | | |
| 44. D. Bonnin | 11. <i>Journal of Natal and Zulu History (IBSS)</i> | Political Violence – Disrupting Ways of 'Doing' Politics: An Exploration of Organisational and Political Life in Mpumalanga Township, 1970s-1980s, Vol. 29, 2011 |
| | | |
| 45. P. Denis z | 12. <i>Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae (DHET)</i> | The churches' response to political violence in the last years of apartheid: the case of Mpophomeni in the Natal Midlands, vol.39, no.1, May 2013 |

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| 46. Christopher Merrett | 13. Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography (IBSS) | Gender, age and the politicisation of space during the time of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, Vol. 21, Issue 5, 2014, 550-566 |
| 47. M. Tshoamedi | 14. Transformation: Critical Perspectives on South Africa (IBSS) | (En)gendering the transition in South Africa: the role of COSATU women activists, Number 78, 2012, 1-26 |
| 48. Ashwin Desai & Goolam Vahed | 15. Politikon (ISI) | The Natal Indian Congress, the Mass Democratic Movement and the Struggle to Defeat Apartheid: 1980–1994, Vol. 42, Issue 1, 2015, pp. 1-22 |
| 49. Rebecca Hodes | 16. International Journal of African Historical Studies (ISI) | “Free Fight on the Grand Parade”: Resistance to the Greyshirts in 1930s South Africa, 47:2 (2014), pp. 185–208 |
| 50. Riedwaan Moosage | 17. Kronos (DHET) | A prose of ambivalence: liberation struggle discourse on necklacing, 2010, vol.36, n.1, pp. 136-157 |
| 51. L. Scholtz and I. Scholtz | 18. Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe (ISI) | The Conference of Kabwe and the ANC/SACP’s armed struggle, Vol. 51, no. 4, Dec. 2011 |
| 52. Shireen Ally | 19. Africa (ISI) | Peaceful memories: Remembering and forgetting political violence in KaNgwane, South Africa, Vol. 81, Issue 3, August 2011, pp 351-372 |
| NON-SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHOR | JOURNAL | ARTICLE TITLE AND JOURNAL ISSUE |
| 1. P.S. Landau | 1. South African Historical Journal (ISI) | Controlled by Communists? (Re)Assessing the ANC in its Exilic Decades, Vol. 67, Issue 2, 2015 |
| 2. Melissa Armstrong | | Healthcare in Exile: ANC Health Policy and Health Care Provision in MK Camps, 1964 to 1989, Vol. 66, Issue 2, 2014, pp. 270-290 |
| 3. Catherine Corder | | Gandhi’s Decisive South African 1913 Campaign: A Personal Perspective from the Letters of Betty Molteno, Vol. 66, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 22-54 |
| 4. Hilary Sapire | | Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in Late Apartheid South Africa, Vol. 65, Issue 2, 2013, pp. 167-198 |
| 5. David Killingray | | Significant Black South Africans in Britain before 1912: Pan-African Organisations and the Emergence of South Africa’s First Black Lawyers, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 393-417 |
| 6. Heather A. Hughes | | Dialectical Dances: Exploring John Dube’s Public Life, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 418-433 |
| 7. Meghan Healy-Clancy | | Women and the Problem of Family in Early African Nationalist History and Historiography, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 450-471 |
| 8. Irina Filatova | | The Lasting Legacy: The Soviet Theory of the National-Democratic Revolution and South Africa, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 507-537 |
| 9. Paul S. Landau | | The ANC, MK, and ‘The Turn to Violence’ (1960–1962), Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 538-563 |
| 10. Scott Everett Couper | | Emasculating Agency: An Unambiguous Assessment of Albert Luthuli’s Stance on Violence, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 564-586 |

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| 11. Stephen Ellis | | Politics and Crime: Reviewing the ANC's Exile History, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 622-636 |
| 12. Jason Hicke | | Subaltern Consciousness in South Africa's Labour Movement: 'Workerism' in the KwaZulu-Natal Sugar Industry, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 664-684 |
| 13. Elizabeth Williams | | Anti-Apartheid: The Black British Response, Vol. 64, Issue 3, 2012, Special Issue: The ANC at 100, pp. 685-706 |
| 14. Bryan Trabold | | Historical Narratives as a Rhetoric of Resistance in Apartheid South Africa: The History Workshop and <i>The New Nation</i> , Vol. 62, Issue 4, 2010, pp. 735-752 |
| 15. Arianna Lissoni | | The PAC in Basutoland, c. 1962–1965, Vol. 62, Issue 1, 2010, Special Issue: FEATURE: LIBERATION HISTORY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, pp. 54-77 |
| 16. Leslie Hadfield | | Biko, Black Consciousness, and 'the System' eZinyoka: Oral History and Black Consciousness in Practice in a Rural Ciskei Village, Vol. 62, Issue 1, 2010, Special Issue: FEATURE: LIBERATION HISTORY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, pp. 78-99 |
| | | |
| 17. Helena Pohlandt-McCormick | 2. <i>Journal of Southern African Studies (ISI)</i> | The Graves of Dimbaza and the Empire of Liberation, Vol. 41, Issue 3, 2015, Special Issue: South African Empire, pp. 617-634 |
| 18. Louisa Cantwell | | Chiefly Power in a Frontline State: Kgosi Linchwe II, the Bakgatla and Botswana in the South African Liberation Struggle, 1948–1994, Vol. 41, Issue 2, 2015, pp. 255-272 |
| 19. Jill E. Kelly | | Bantu Authorities and Betterment in Natal: The Ambiguous Responses of Chiefs and Regents, 1955–1970, Vol. 41, Issue 2, 2015, pp. 273-297 |
| 20. Rachel Sandwell | | 'Love I Cannot Begin to Explain': The Politics of Reproduction in the ANC in Exile, 1976–1990, Vol. 41, Issue 1, 2015, New Perspectives on Liberation and the Politics of the Past, pp. 63-81 |
| 21. Arianna Lissoni & Maria Suriano | | Married to the ANC: Tanzanian Women's Entanglement in South Africa's Liberation Struggle, Vol. 40, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 129-150 |
| 22. Charles Denton Johnson | | Re-Thinking the Emergence of the Struggle for South African Liberation in the United States: Max Yergan and the Council on African Affairs, 1922–1946, Vol. 39, Issue 1, 2013, pp. 171-192 |
| 23. Daniel Douek | | 'They Became Afraid When They Saw Us': MK Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Bantustan of Transkei, 1988–1994, Vol. 39, Issue 1, 2013, pp. 207-225 |
| 24. Stephen Ellis | | The Genesis of the ANC's Armed Struggle in South Africa 1948–1961, Vol. 37, Issue 4, 2011, pp. 657-676 |
| 25. Daniel R. Magaziner | | Pieces of a (Wo)man: Feminism, Gender and Adulthood in Black Consciousness, 1968–1977, Vol. 37, Issue 1, 2011, pp. 45-61 |
| 26. Timothy Gibbs | | Chris Hani's 'Country Bumpkins': Regional Networks in the African National Congress Underground, 1974–1994, Vol. 37, Issue 4, 2011, pp. 677-691 |
| | | |
| 27. Jonny Steinberg | 3. <i>African Affairs (ISI)</i> | Policing, state power, and the transition from apartheid to democracy: A new perspective, Vol. 113, Issue 451, Pp. 173-191 |
| 28. Sarah M. Mathis | | From warlords to freedom fighters: Political violence and state formation in Umbumbulu, South Africa, Vol. 112, Issue 448, Pp. 421-439 |
| 29. Gary Kynoch | | Reassessing transition violence: Voices from South Africa's township wars, 1990–4, Vol. 112, Issue 447, Pp. 283-303 |
| 30. Patrick Harries | | Slavery, Indenture and Migrant Labour: Maritime Immigration from Mozambique to the Cape, c.1780–1880, Vol. 73, Issue 3, 2014, pp. 323-340 |
| 31. Steve Davis | | Struggle History and Self-Help: The Parallel Lives of Nelson Mandela in Conventional and Figurative Bio, Vol. 73, Issue 2, 2014, pp. 169-191 |
| 32. Jon Soske | | The Life and Death of Dr Abu Baker 'Hurley' Asvat, 23 February 1943 to 27 January 1989, Vol. 70, Issue 3, 2011, pp. 337-358 |
| | | |
| 33. Catherine Higgs | 4. <i>African Studies Review (ISI)</i> | Silence, Disobedience, and African Catholic Sisters in Apartheid South Africa, September 2011 – Vol. 54, Issue 2, pp 1-22 |
| 34. Sean Redding | | Faction Fights, Student Protests, and Rebellion: The Politics of Beer-Drinks and Bad Food in the Transkei, South Africa, 1955–63, September 2010 – Vol. 53, Issue 2, pp 125-147 |
| | | |
| 35. Steven Gish | 5. <i>African Historical Review (DHET)</i> | Amy Biehl and the ANC: A Scholar-Activist in South Africa, 1992–93, Vol. 45, Issue 1, 2013, pp. 1-21 |
| | | |
| 36. Saul Dubow | 6. <i>Journal of African History (ISI)</i> | Were there political alternatives in the wake of the Sharpeville-Langa violence in South Africa, 1960?, March 2015 – Vol. 56, Issue 1, pp 119-142 |

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| 37. Leslie Anne Hadfield | | Challenging the <i>status quo</i> : Young women and men in Black Consciousness community work, 1970s South Africa, July 2013, Vol. 54, Issue 2, pp 247-267 |
| 38. Leslie Anne Hadfield | 7. <i>History in Africa (IBSS)</i> | Can We Believe the Stories about Biko? Oral Sources, Meaning, and Emotion in South African Struggle History, Vol. 42, June 2015, pp 239-263 |
| 39. Gwilym Colenso | 8. <i>International History Review (ISI)</i> | The 1907 Deputation of Basuto Chiefs to London and the Development of British–South African Networks, Vol. 36, Issue 4, 2014, pp. 619-652 |
| 40. Ryan M. Irwin | | Apartheid on Trial: South West Africa and the International Court of Justice, 1960–66 Vol. 32, Issue 4, 2010, pp. 619-642 |
| 41. Gavin Peter Williams | 9. <i>Journal of Contemporary African Studies (IBSS)</i> | Ruth First: political journalist, researcher and teacher, Vol. 32, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 13-34 |
| 42. James Gump | 10. <i>Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies (IBSS)</i> | Unveiling the Third Force: Toward Transitional Justice in the USA and South Africa, 1973–1994, Vol. 15, Issue 1, 2014, 75-100 |
| 43. Arriana Lissoni | 11. <i>New Contree (DHET)</i> | Chieftaincy and resistance politics in Lehurutshe during the apartheid era, No 67 (Special Edition), 2013 |
| 44. Franziska Rueedi | 12. <i>Africa (ISI)</i> | 'Siyayinyava!': Patterns of violence in the African townships of the Vaal Triangle, South Africa, 1980–86, Vol. 85, Issue 3, August 2015, pp 395-416 |
| 45. Robin Kelley | 13. <i>Ufahamu (IBSS)</i> | The Third International and the Struggle for National Liberation in South Africa, 38(1), 2014 |
| 46. Vinay Lal | | Mandela, Luthuli, and Nonviolence in the South African Freedom Struggle, 38(1), 2014 |
| 47. Nana Osei-Opare | | Communism and the Tutelage of African Agency: Revisiting Mandela's Communist Ties, 38(1), 2014 |
| 48. Jochen S. Arndt | 14. <i>Journal of Military History (ISI)</i> | Treacherous Savages & Merciless Barbarians: Knowledge, Discourse and Violence during the Cape Frontier Wars, 1834 -1853, 74 #3 (July 2010): 709-735 |

The following journals had no relevant articles: *Mobilization: An International Journal (ISI)*, *Journal of Modern African Studies (ISI)*, *Historia (IBSS)* and the *Nordic Journal of African Studies (IBSS)*.

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Appendix C: Relevant books

Search words and phrases: COSATU; African National Congress; United Democratic Front; Armed Struggle; Umkhonto we Sizwe; Pan Africanist Congress; APLA, Liberation struggle, Apartheid, Political violence, Revolution, Massacre, Communist Party, Inkatha, Black Consciousness Movement, Treason Trial, Oliver Tambo, Freedom Charter, Campaign, Civic movement, Community organisations, Imprisonment, Robben Island, Exile, Angola, Oppression, Racism, New Unity Movement, Trade unions, Women's organisations, Slave revolts, Ant-colonial struggles, Natal Indian Congress, South African Indian Congress, Nationalist Party.

Search conducted in: Worldcat, and the catalogues of the Library of Congress, the British Library and the National Library of South Africa

| SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORS | TITLE | PUBLISHER |
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| 1. Fester, Gertrude | <i>South African Women's Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Struggles: 1980-2014 Rhetoric and Realising Rights, Feminist Citizenship and Constitutional Imperatives: A Case of the Western Cape</i> | Saarbrücken: Scholars' Press, 2015 |
| 2. Mangena, Mosibudi | <i>Triumphs and heartaches: A courageous journey by South African patriots</i> | Pan Macmillan South Africa, 2015 |
| 3. Manong, Stanley | <i>If we must die: An autobiography of a former commander of uMkhonto we Sizwe</i> | Nkululeko, 2015 |
| 4. Neame, Sylvia | <i>The Congress movement: The unfolding of the Congress Alliance 1912-1961</i> | Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2015 |
| 5. Pogrand, Benjamin | <i>Robert Sobukwe: How can Man Die Better (New Edition)</i> | New York: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2015 |
| 6. Vadi, Ismail | <i>The Congress of the People and Freedom Charter: A people's history</i> | Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2015 |
| 7. Brand, Christo | <i>Mandela: My prisoner, my friend</i> | London: John Blake Publishing, 2014 |
| 8. Dlamini, Jacob | <i>Askari: A story of collaboration and betrayal in the anti-apartheid struggle</i> | Auckland Park: Jacana, 2014 |
| 9. Hain, Peter | <i>Ad & Wal Values, Duty, Sacrifice in Apartheid South Africa</i> | New York: Biteback Publishing, 2014 |
| 10. Anthea Jeffery | <i>People's War: New Light on the Struggle for South Africa</i> | New York: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2014 |
| 11. Joffe, Joel | <i>The State vs. Nelson Mandela: The Trial that Changed South Africa</i> | New York: Oneworld Publications, 2014 |
| 12. Khumalo, Jacob | <i>Freedom versus apartheid: For ordinary poor South Africans</i> | Salvokop [South Africa]: J. Khumalo, 2014 |
| 13. Kondlo, K., Saunders, C. and Zondi, S. (eds) | <i>Treading the waters of history: Perspectives on the ANC</i> | Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2014 |
| 14. Lapsley, Michael | <i>Die Narben der Apartheid Mein Leben als Kämpfer für Freiheit und Versöhnung</i> | Leverkusen: Budrich, Barbara, 2014 |
| 15. Pahad, Aziz | <i>Insurgent diplomat: Civil talks or civil war?</i> | Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2014 |
| 16. Shabalala, Siphon R | <i>A high price for freedom: Memoirs of Siphon Richard Shabalala</i> | Cape Town: Center for Advanced Studies of African Society, 2014 |
| 17. Weiss, Ruth | <i>A path through hard grass: A journalist's memories of exile and apartheid</i> | Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2014 |
| 18. Badat, Saleem | <i>The forgotten people: Political banishment under apartheid</i> | Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013 |
| 19. Bundy, Colin | <i>Govan Mbeki</i> | Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2013 |
| 20. Cachalia, Amina | <i>When hope and history rhyme: An autobiography</i> | Picador Africa, 2013 |
| 21. Coetzee, Carli | <i>Accented futures: Language activism and the ending of apartheid</i> | Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2013 |
| 22. Erlink, N., Nieftagodien, N. Badsha, O., Lissoni, A. and Soske, J. (eds) | <i>One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories Today</i> | Chicago: Wits University Press, 2013 |
| 23. Isaacs, Nomanono | <i>Escaping Apartheid: A letter to my mother</i> | CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013 |
| 24. Maloka, Eddy | <i>The South African Communist Party: Exile and after apartheid</i> | Auckland Park [Johannesburg]: Jacana, 2013 |
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| 26. Odendaal, André | <i>The founders: The origins of the ANC and the struggle for democracy in South Africa</i> | University Press of Kentucky, 2013 |
| 27. Ramphela, Mamphela | <i>A passion for freedom: My life</i> | Tafelberg, 2013 |
| 28. Ranchod, Rushil | <i>A kind of magic: The political marketing of the ANC</i> | Auckland Park, Jacana Media, 2013 |

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| 30. Thobejane, Tsoaledi | <i>The fight for an egalitarian South Africa/Azania: Towards politics of racial harmony and equity</i> | New York: Nova Publishers, Rev. ed., ©2013 |
| 31. Allen, Vida | <i>The struggle for liberation and freedom in the Northern Cape, 1850-1994</i> | Kimberley: McGregor Museum, 2012 |
| 32. Cherry, Janet | <i>Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto weSizwe): South Africa's freedom fighters, 1960s-1980s</i> | Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012 |
| 33. Conway, Daniel | <i>Masculinities, militarisation and the end conscription campaign: War resistance in apartheid South Africa</i> | Johannesburg: Wits University, 2012 |
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| 36. Harvey, Ebrahim | <i>Kgalema Motlanthe: A political biography</i> | Auckland Park: Jacana, 2012 |
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| 38. Kasrils, Ronnie | <i>Armed & Dangerous: From Undercover Struggle to Freedom</i> | Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2012 |
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| 77. Simpson, J.D.R. | <i>The Boipatong Massacre and South Africa's democratic transition</i> | Leiden, African Studies Centre, 2011 |
| 78. Smith, Janet | <i>Hani: A Life Too Short</i> | Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2011 |
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| 80. Welsh, David | <i>Ending apartheid</i> | Harlow, England; New York: Longman/Pearson, 2011 |
| 81. Beresford, David | <i>Truth is a strange fruit: A personal journey through the apartheid war</i> | Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2010 |
| 82. Bottoman, Wonga | <i>The making of an MK cadre</i> | Pretoria: LiNc Publishers, ©2010 |
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| 90. Goldberg, D. | <i>The Mission: A Life For Freedom in South Africa</i> | Johannesburg: STE, 2010 |
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| 92. Hodgson, Rica | <i>Foot soldier for freedom: A life in South Africa's liberation movement</i> | Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2010 |
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| 94. Isaacs, Sedick | <i>Surviving in the apartheid prison: Flashbacks of an earlier life</i> | [South Africa?]: Xlibris, c2010 |
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| 101. Massey, D. | <i>Under Protest: The Rise of Student Resistance at the University of Fort Hare</i> | Unisa Press, Pretoria, 2010 |
| 102. Mbenga, Bernard | <i>People of the dew: A history of the Bafokeng of Phokeng-Rustenburg Region, South Africa, from early times to 2000</i> | Auckland, South Africa: Jacana, 2010 |
| 103. Mokae, Sabata-mpho | <i>The story of Sol T. Platje</i> | Kimberley, South Africa: Sol Platje Educational Trust, 2010 |
| 104. Naidoo, J. | <i>Fighting for Justice: A lifetime of political and social activism</i> | Johannesburg, Picador Africa, 2010 |
| 105. Naidoo, Logan | <i>In the shadow of Chief Albert Luthuli: Reflections of Goolam Suleman</i> | KwaDukuza: Luthuli Museum, 2010 |
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| 6. Renwick, Robin | <i>The end of apartheid: Diary of a revolution</i> | New York: Biteback Publishing, 2015 |
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| 10. Cornell, Drucilla | <i>Law and Revolution in South Africa: uBuntu, Dignity, and the Struggle for Constitutional Transformation</i> | Oxford: Fordham University Press, 2014 |
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| 49. Carson, Tracy M | <i>Tomorrow it could be you: Strikes and boycotts in South Africa, 1978-1982</i> | Oxford; New York: Peter Lang, ©2011 |
| 50. Clark, N. L. and Worger, B. | <i>South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid</i> | Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2nd ed., 2011 |
| 51. Eglash-Kosoff, Carole | <i>The human spirit: Apartheid's unheralded heroes</i> | Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, [2011] |
| 52. Greaves, Adrian | <i>Isandlwana: How the Zulus humbled the British empire</i> | Barnsley, U.K.: Pen & Sword Military, 2011 |
| 53. Hughes, Heather | <i>The first president: A life of John L. Dube, founding president of the ANC</i> | Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2011 |
| 54. Jeannerat, Caroline F. | <i>Embroiled: Swiss churches, South Africa and apartheid</i> | Zürich: Lit, 2011 |
| 55. Kallen, Stuart A | <i>Open the jail doors--we want to enter: The Defiance Campaign against apartheid laws, South Africa, 1952</i> | Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-First Century Books, ©2011 |
| 56. Leebaw, Bronwyn A. | <i>Judging state-sponsored violence, imagining political change</i> | Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011 |
| 57. Reno, W. | <i>Warfare in independent Africa</i> | Cambridge University Press, New York, 2011 |
| 58. Senker, Cath | <i>South Africa's anti-apartheid movement</i> | Chicago: World book, 2011 |
| 59. Turrin, Silvia C. | <i>Il Movimento della consapevolezza nera in Sudafrica: dalle origini al lascito di Stephen Biko</i> | Genova: Erga, [2011] |
| 60. Yorke, Edmund James | <i>Isandlwana 1879</i> | Stroud, Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 2011 |
| 61. Coster, Patience | <i>The struggle against apartheid</i> | Mankato, Minn.: Arcturus Pub., 2010 |
| 62. Couper, Scott | <i>Albert Luthuli: Bound by faith</i> | Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010 |
| 63. Beinart, William and Dawson, Marcelle C. | <i>Popular politics and resistance movements in South Africa</i> | Johannesburg: Witwatersrand Univ Press, 2010 |
| 64. Decker, Marie-Laure de | <i>Apartheid</i> | Paris: Democratic Books, 2010 |
| 65. Gerhart, G.M. and Glaser, C. (eds) | <i>From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, Volume 6, Challenge and Victory, 1980-1990</i> | Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2010 |
| 66. Henriksson, Lennart | <i>A journey with a status confessionis: Analysis of an apartheid related conflict between the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1982-1998</i> | Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, ©2010 |
| 67. Knight, Ian | <i>Zulu rising: The epic story of iSandlwana and Rorke's drift</i> | London: Macmillan, 2010 |
| 68. Koosman, Melissa | <i>The fall of apartheid in South Africa</i> | Hockessin, Del.: Mitchell Lane, ©2010 |
| 69. Krabill, Ron | <i>Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the end(s) of apartheid</i> | Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010 |
| 70. Landau, P. | <i>Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400 to 1948</i> | New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010 |
| 71. Limb, Peter | <i>The ANC's early years: Nation, class and place in South Africa before 1940</i> | Pretoria: Unisa Press, c2010 |
| 72. Lock, Ron | <i>Zulu conquered: The march of the red soldiers, 1822-1888</i> | Barnsley: Frontline, 2010 |
| 73. McClendon, Thomas | <i>White chief, Black lords: Shepstone and the colonial state in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878</i> | Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010 |
| 74. Meredith, Martin | <i>Mandela: A biography</i> | New York: PublicAffairs, c2010 |
| 75. Scott, Christina | <i>Nelson Mandela: A force for freedom</i> | London: Andre Deutsch, 2010 |
| 76. Skinner, Rob | <i>The foundations of anti-apartheid: Liberal humanitarians and transnational activists in Britain and the United States, c.1919-64</i> | Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010 |
| 77. Smith, David James | <i>Young Mandela</i> | London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2010 |
| 78. Sonneborn, Liz | <i>The end of apartheid in South Africa</i> | New York: Chelsea House, 2010 |
| 79. Stapleton, Timothy J. | <i>A military history of South Africa: From the Dutch-Khoy wars to the end of apartheid</i> | Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2010 |
| 80. Tadjó, Véronique | <i>Nelson Mandela non à l'apartheid</i> | Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône): Actes Sud junior, 2010 |
| 81. Thörn, Håkan | <i>Solidaritetsens betydelse: [kampen mot apartheid i Sydafrika och framväxten av det globala civilsamhället]</i> | Stockholm: Atlas, 2010 |
| 82. Wade, Stephen | <i>Empire and espionage: The Anglo-Zulu War 1879</i> | Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2010 |

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Appendix D: South African and Non-South African authors of relevant journal articles and books, 2010-2015

| JOURNAL (SOUTH AFRICAN) | JOURNAL (NON-SOUTH AFRICAN) | BOOK (SOUTH AFRICAN) | BOOK (NON-SOUTH AFRICAN) |
|--|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Ally, Shireen (Socio) | Armstrong, Melissa | Adhikari, Mohamed | Allo, Awol Kassim |
| 2. Benneyworth, Garth (Macgregor Museum) | Arndt, Jochen S. | Allen, Vida | Beinart, William |
| 3. Blackbeard, S.I. (Lang) | Cantwell, Louisa | Asmal, K. | Bevernage, Berber |
| 4. Bonnin, D. (Lab Stud.) | Colenso, Gwilym | Badat, Saleem | Braga, Pablo de Rezende S. |
| 5. Brown, Julian (2)* (PS) | Corder, Catherine | Badsha, Omar | Carson, Tracy M. |
| 6. Callinicos, Luli (H) | Couper, Scott Everett | Bam, Makaula Ayanda | Chalk, Frank |
| 7. Davey, Maggie (Ind) | Davis, Steven | Bozzoli, Belinda | Clark, Nancy L. |
| 8. Denis, P. (2)* (Rel) | Douek, Daniel | Bundy, Colin | Cohn, Ronald |
| 9. Desai, Ashwin (2)* (Soc) | Dubow, Saul | Cannel, T. | Coster, Patience |
| 10. Glaser, Clive (PS) | Ellis, Stephen (2)* | Carneson, Lynn | Couper, Scott |
| 11. Heffernan, Anne (H) | Filatova, Irina | Cherry, Janet | Crais, Clifton C. |
| 12. Hodes, Rebecca (H) | Gibbs, Timothy | Coetzee, Carli | Curry, Dawne Y |
| 13. Houston, Gregory (Ind) | Gish, Steven | Conway, Daniel | Dakers, Diane |
| 14. Kentridge, Isabella H) | Gump, James | Cornell, Drucilla | Davidson, A. |
| 15. Klein, Genevieve Lynette (Stud) | Hadfield, Leslie (3)* | Denis, Philippe (2)* | Dawson, Marcelle C. |
| 16. Lekgoathi, S.P. (H) | Harries, Patrick | Desai, Ashwin | Decker, Marie-Laure de |
| 17. Lodge, Tom (PS) | Healy-Clancy, Meghan | Dlamini, Jacob | Delvaux, Isabelle |
| 18. Macqueen, Ian (3)* (H) | Hicke, Jason | Duka, M. M. | Dubow, Saul (2)* |
| 19. Mager, Anne (H) | Higgs, Catherine | Du Pisani, J. A. | Eglash-Kosoff, Carole |
| 20. Manson, Andrew Hayden (2)* (H) | Hughes, Heather A. | Duncan, Graham | Ellis, Stephen |
| 21. Mbenga, Bernard (H) | Irwin, Ryan M. | Esterhuysen, W. P. | Feld, Marjorie N. |
| 22. Merrett, Christopher (Unknown) | Johnson, Charles Denton | Erlink, Natasha | Field, Sean |
| 23. Minkley, Gary (H) | Kelley, Robin | Fester, Gertrude | Filatova, I. |
| 24. Moloi, Tshepo (H) | Kelly, Jill E. | Field, Roger | Gaitskill, Deborah Lundall |
| 25. Moodie, T. Dunbar (An) | Killingray, David | Forrest, Kally | Gallagher, Jim |
| 26. Moosage, Riedwaan (Stud) | Kynoch, Gary | Glaser, Clive (2)* | Gerhart, G.M. |
| 27. Naidoo, Nandha (Ind) | Lal, Vinay | Goldberg, D. | Gibbs, Timothy |
| 28. Plaut, Martin (Ind) | Landau, Paul (2)* | Haasbroek, Hannes | Gish, Steven |
| 29. Saunders, Chris (2)* (H) | Lissoni, Arianna (3)* | Hadland, A. | Gleijeses, Piero |
| 30. Scholtz, L. (Stell) | Magaziner, Daniel R. | Hain, Peter | Gockel, Klaus |
| 31. Scholtz, L. (Stell) | Mathis, Sarah M. | Hamilton, Carolyn | Greaves, Adrian |
| 32. Seekings, Jeremy (Soc) | Osei-Opore, Nana | Harris, Peter | Harris, Peter |
| 33. Simpson, Thula (4)* (H) | Pohlandt-McCormick, Helena | Harvey, Ebrahim | Henriksson, Lennart |
| 34. Soudien, Crain (Ed) | Redding, Sean | Hodgson, Rica | Higginson, John |
| 35. Southall, Roger (Soc) | Rueedi, Franziska | Holland, Heidi | Hill, Shannen L. |
| 36. Starfield, Jane (SW) | Sandwell, Rachel | Holt, H.P. | Hughes, Heather |
| 37. Webb, Denver A. (H) | Sapire, Hilary | Isaacs, Sedick | Jeannerat, Caroline F. |
| 38. Suttner, Raymond (H) | Soske, Jon | Jeffrey, Anthea | Kallen, Stuart A |
| 39. Thompson, Paul S. (H) | Steinberg, Jonny | Joffe, Joel | Keniston, Billy |
| 40. Tsampiras, Carla (Heal) | Suriano, Maria | Kasrils, Ronnie (2)* | Knight, Ian |

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|-----|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 41. | Tshoaedi, M. (Soc) | Trabold, Bryan | Kathrada, Ahmed | Koosman, Melissa |
| 42. | Vahed, Goolam (2) (H) | Williams, Elizabeth | Keable, Ken | Krabil, Ron |
| 43. | Van Laun, B.P. (Stud) | Williams, Gavin Peter | Kepe, T. | Landau, P. |
| 44. | Victor, Stephanie (Ind) | | Khumalo, Jacob | Leebaw, Bronwyn A. |
| 45. | | | Kondlo, Kwandiwe (2)* | Limb, Peter (2)* |
| 46. | | | Kumalo, Simangaliso Raymond | Lissoni, Arianna |
| 47. | | | Lapsley, Michael | Lock, Ron |
| 48. | | | Legassick, Martin | Makhulu, Anne-Maria |
| 49. | | | Levy, M. | Marback, Richard |
| 50. | | | Levy, Norman | McClendon, Thomas, V. (2)* |
| 51. | | | Lodge, Tom | Meredith, Martin |
| 52. | | | Ludi, Gerard | Mu Lier, Johann |
| 53. | | | Magaziner, Daniel R. | Munro, Brenna M. |
| 54. | | | Maharaj, Mac | Myra, Immell |
| 55. | | | Maloka, Eddy | Oldiges, Claudia |
| 56. | | | Mandela, Nelson (2)* | Ranger, Terence O. |
| 57. | | | Mangcu, Xolela | Reno, W. |
| 58. | | | Margo, K. | Renwick, Robin |
| 59. | | | Mashamaite, Moss | Reynolds, Pamela |
| 60. | | | Mashinini, Emma | Russell, D.E.H |
| 61. | | | Massey, D. | Russell, Jesse |
| 62. | | | Mathabane, Mark | Sapire, Hilary |
| 63. | | | Mbenga, Bernard (2)* | Scott, Christina |
| 64. | | | Mokae, Sebata-Mpho | Shorter, Edward |
| 65. | | | Molema, Seetsele Modiri | Skinner, Rob |
| 66. | | | Naidoo, J. | Senker, Cath |
| 67. | | | Naidoo, Logan | Simon, Laura |
| 68. | | | Ndlela, Mzwakhe | Smith, David James |
| 69. | | | Ngcobo, Lauretta | Sonneborn, Liz |
| 70. | | | Nieftagodien, Noor | Soske, Joe |
| 71. | | | Noonan, Patrick | Stapleton, T.J.A. |
| 72. | | | Ntsebeza, L. | Sutherland, Deborah |
| 73. | | | Ntsimane, R. | Tadjo, Véronique |
| 74. | | | Odendaal, André | Thörn, Håkan |
| 75. | | | Pahad, Aziz | Tilly, Charles |
| 76. | | | Peires, J. B. | Tolno, Charles-Pascal |
| 77. | | | Pheko, S.E.M. | Tripp, Sebastion |
| 78. | | | Pheto, Molefe | Turrin, Silvia C. |
| 79. | | | Pillay, Gerald | Vinson, Robert Trent |
| 80. | | | Pogrund, Benjamin | Wade, Stephen |
| 81. | | | Ragaven, Chengiah R, | Watson, Richard L. |
| 82. | | | Ramphele, Mamphela | Whitman, Daniel |
| 83. | | | Ranchod, Rushil | Wieder, Alan |

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|------|--|--|------------------------|
| 84. | | Ross, Robert | Wilderson, Frank B. |
| 85. | | Saleh, R. | Williams, Elizabeth M. |
| 86. | | Saunders, Chris (2)* | Worger, Bill |
| 87. | | Schoeman, R. | Yorke, Edmund James |
| 88. | | Seedat, R. | |
| 89. | | Sipoko, S. | |
| 90. | | Simpson, J.D.R. | |
| 91. | | Smith, Janet | |
| 92. | | South African Democracy Education Trust (2)* | |
| 93. | | Sparks, Allister | |
| 94. | | Swanepoel, D. | |
| 95. | | Swanepoel, Sunet | |
| 96. | | Terreblanche, Sampie | |
| 97. | | Theal, George McCall | |
| 98. | | Thobejane, Tsoaledi Daniel | |
| 99. | | Tsholoba, Menziwa Esau | |
| 100. | | Turok, Ben (2)* | |
| 101. | | Vadi, Ismail | |
| 102. | | Vahed, Goolam | |
| 103. | | Wells, Julia | |
| 104. | | Welsh, David (2)* | |
| 105. | | Worden, Nigel | |
| 106. | | Wotshela, L. | |

* Indicates the number of articles in cases where the author has published more than one article or book

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Appendix E: School history curriculum

| GRADE | TOPIC NO. | TOPIC | THEME |
|---|-------------|--|---|
| Four | 1 | Local history | <i>How we find out about the present in a local area (information from pictures; information from writing; information from stories and from interviews with people; and information from objects)</i> |
| | | | <i>History project for Grade 4: Local history</i> |
| | 2 | Learning from leaders | <i>Ask and answer questions about the lives and qualities of good leaders</i> |
| | | | <i>Life stories of leaders who show the above qualities: Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi</i> |
| | 3 | Transport through time | <i>Transport on land</i> |
| | | | <i>Case study: Environmental damage: exhaust fumes in a big city</i> |
| | | | <i>Transport on water</i> |
| | | | <i>Transport in the air</i> |
| | 4 | Communication through time | <i>The oldest forms of human communication</i> |
| | | | <i>San hunter-gatherers (the first people in southern Africa) as an example</i> |
| | | | <i>Change in modern forms of communication</i> |
| | Five | 1 | Hunter-gatherers and herders in Southern Africa |
| <i>San hunter-gatherer society in the Later Stone Age</i> | | | |
| <i>Khoikhoi herder society in the Later Stone Age</i> | | | |
| 2 | | The first farmers in Southern Africa | <i>When, why and where the first African farmers settled in Southern Africa</i> |
| | | | <i>How early African farmers lived in settled chiefdoms</i> |
| 3 | | An ancient African society: Egypt | <i>The Nile River and how it influenced settlement</i> |
| | | | <i>Way of life in ancient Egypt</i> |
| | | | <i>Case study: The tomb of Tutankhamen</i> |
| 4 | | A heritage trail through the provinces of South Africa | <i>The spread of Egypt's advanced knowledge to other places, such as Europe and the Middle East</i> |
| | | | <i>The names of provinces and their capital cities on a map</i> |
| | | | <i>What heritage is</i> |
| | | | <i>Different examples of heritage from each province – heritage in sites of significance, objects, people's achievements, names of places, and changing identities, and indigenous medicine, in architecture, in art, and indigenous knowledge systems</i> |
| Six | 1 | An African kingdom long ago in Southern Africa: Mapungubwe | <i>Changes in societies in the Limpopo Valley between 900 AD and 1 300 AD:</i> |
| | | | <i>Settlements in the Limpopo Valley before Mapungubwe: K2 and Schroda</i> |
| | | | <i>Mapungubwe: first state in southern Africa 1220 – 1300</i> |
| | | | <i>Change and continuity in East Coast trade with settlements inland</i> |
| | | | <i>Great Zimbabwe</i> |
| | | | <i>European explorer in Asia at the same time as Mapungubwe was at its height</i> |
| | 2 | Explorers from Europe find Southern Africa | <i>Reasons for European exploration: The European Renaissance 15th and 16th centuries - a turning point in European history (Leonardo da Vinci and Galileo); New ideas and knowledge; Inventions (gunpowder, magnetic compass, caravel); Spreading the Christian religion; Trade and making a profit (European trade route to the East via southern Africa - Dias and his crew encounter the Khoikhoi in Mossel Bay 1488, The journey of Dias, The journey of Da Gama, VOC - Dutch East India Company) - journeys, Life of a sailor on a VOC ship).</i> |
| | | | <i>How people govern themselves in a democracy: our national government</i> |
| | 3 | Democracy and citizenship in South Africa | <i>Rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy</i> |
| | | | <i>Children's rights and responsibilities</i> |
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| | | | <i>National symbols since 1994</i> | |
| | | | <i>History research project: A biography of a South African who has contributed to building democracy</i> | |
| | 4 | Medicine through time | <i>Indigenous healing in South Africa</i> | |
| | | | <i>Some modern Western scientific medical discoveries</i> | |
| | | | <i>Link between holistic and Western forms of healing today</i> | |
| Seven | 1 | The kingdom of Mali and the city of Timbuktu in the 14th century | <i>Trade across the Sahara Desert</i> | |
| | | | <i>The kingdom of Mali</i> | |
| | | | <i>The city of Timbuktu</i> | |
| | 2 | The Transatlantic Slave Trade | <i>West Africa before the European slave trade</i> | |
| | | | <i>The nature of slavery in West Africa before Europeans</i> | |
| | | | <i>Slavery in the American South</i> | |
| | | | <i>The impact of the transatlantic slave trade on slaves</i> | |
| | | | <i>The impact of the transatlantic slave trade on the economies of West Africa, America and Britain</i> | |
| 3 | Colonisation of the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries | <i>Indigenous inhabitants of the Cape in 17th century; Where African farmers were settled; Reasons for the VOC (DEIC) permanent settlement at the Cape 1652; Results of the Dutch settlement (Slaves at the Cape, Free burghers - Dutch and French Huguenot immigration to the Cape, Expanding European frontiers, and Land dispossession and consequences for the indigenous population)</i> | | |
| 4 | Co-operation and conflict on the frontiers of the Cape Colony in the early 19 th century | <i>Arrival of British and the expanding frontiers of European settlement</i> | | |
| | | <i>The Eastern frontier of European settlement</i> | | |
| | | <i>The northern frontier of European settlement</i> | | |
| Eight | 1 | The Industrial Revolution in Britain and Southern Africa from 1860 | <i>Changes during the Industrial Revolution in Britain</i> | |
| | | | <i>Southern Africa by 1860</i> | |
| | | | <i>Diamond mining in Kimberley 1867 onwards</i> | |
| | 2 | The Mineral Revolution in South Africa | <i>Britain, diamond mining and increasing labour control and land expansionism</i> | |
| | | | <i>Deep-level gold mining on the Witwatersrand 1886 onwards</i> | |
| | | | <i>The Mineral Revolution as a turning point in South African history (The shifting balance of power: defeat of the Boer Republics 1902; African Political Organisation (APO) 1902; Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) 1903; Bambatha Rebellion 1906; Union 1910; formation of South African Native National Congress (SANNC) 1912 (later renamed ANC); Satyagraha Campaign of 1913 – 1914; Land Act 1913)</i> | |
| | 3 | The scramble for Africa: late 19th century | <i>European colonisation of Africa in the late 19th century</i> | |
| | | | <i>Case Study: The Ashanti kingdom</i> | |
| | 4 | World War I (1914-1918) | <i>Reasons why World War I broke out</i> | |
| | | | <i>Aspects of experiences in World War I</i> | |
| | | | <i>Women in Britain during World War I</i> | |
| | | | <i>The defeat of Germany and the Treaty of Versailles</i> | |
| Nine | 1 | World War II (1919-1945) | <i>The rise of Nazi Germany</i> | |
| | | | <i>World War II: Europe</i> | |
| | | | <i>World War II in the Pacific</i> | |
| | 2 | The Nuclear Age and the Cold War (1945-1990) | <i>Increasing tension between the Allies after the end of World War II in Europe</i> | |
| | | | <i>End of World War II in the Pacific: Atomic bombs and the beginning of the Nuclear Age</i> | |
| | | | <i>Definition of the superpowers and the meaning of 'Cold War'</i> | |

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| | | | <i>Areas of conflict and competition between the Superpowers in the Cold War</i> | |
| | | | <i>The end of the Cold War 1989</i> | |
| | 3 | Turning points in South African history 1948 and 1950s | <i>The Universal Declaration of Human Rights after World War II</i> | |
| | | | <i>Definition of racism</i> | |
| | | | <i>1948 National Party and Apartheid</i> | |
| | | | <i>1950s: Repression and non-violent resistance to apartheid</i> | |
| | | | <i>Oral history and research project</i> | |
| | 4 | Turning points in South African history 1960, 1976 and 1994 | <i>1960: Sharpeville massacre and Langa march</i> | |
| | | | <i>1976: Soweto uprising</i> | |
| | | | <i>1990: Release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of liberation movements</i> | |
| Ten | 1 | The world around 1600 | <i>China: a world power in the 14th and 15th centuries (1368 to 1644)</i> | |
| | | | <i>Songhai: an African Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries (around 1340 to 1591)</i> | |
| | | | <i>India (Mughal) (1526 to 1858)</i> | |
| | | | <i>European societies</i> | |
| | 2 | Expansion and conquest during the 15th -18th centuries | <i>Overview: The reasons why European expansion was possible</i> | |
| | | | <i>Case studies: America: Spanish conquest</i> | |
| | | | <i>Case studies: Africa: Portugal and the destruction of Indian Ocean Trade; and the Dutch East India Company</i> | |
| | 3 | The French Revolution | <i>France in 1789</i> | |
| | | | <i>The causes and the course of the revolution</i> | |
| | | | <i>Napoleon, the reaction against democracy and the modernisation of France</i> | |
| | | | <i>Case study: the spread of revolutionary aspirations</i> | |
| | | | | <i>Legacies</i> |
| | 4 | Transformations in southern Africa after 1750 | <i>What was South Africa like in 1750?</i> | |
| | | | <i>Political changes from 1750 to 1820</i> | |
| | | | <i>Political revolution between 1820 and 1835</i> | |
| | | | <i>Legacies</i> | |
| | 5 | Colonial Expansion after 1750 | <i>Britain takes control of the Cape</i> | |
| | | | <i>The Zulu kingdom and the colony of Natal</i> | |
| | | | <i>Co-operation and conflict on the Highveld</i> | |
| | 6 | The South African War and Union | <i>Background to the South African War: mining capitalism (broad overview)</i> | |
| | | | <i>The South African War from 1899 to 1902</i> | |
| | | | <i>The Union of South Africa 1910 (a brief overview)</i> | |
| | | | <i>The Natives Land Act of 1913</i> | |
| | Eleven | 1 | Communism in Russia 1900 to 1940 | <i>What is communism?; The writings of Karl Marx; 1905 revolution: the issues that led to the revolution; The link between the 1905 and 1917 revolutions: mass participation of workers and peasants; Trotsky's role; and the influence on Lenin's revolutionary theory; The February and October revolutions of 1917: political, economic and social causes; The civil war and war communism; Lenin seizes control of the state; the Party as the vanguard (head) of the proletariat; Lenin's interpretation of Marxism: Marxism-Leninism; Women and the Russian Revolution; Death of Lenin and the power struggle: national versus internationalism (Trotsky and Stalin); Stalin's interpretation of Marxism-Leninism; the coming of the Second World War.</i> |
| 2 | | Capitalism and the USA 1900 to 1940 | <i>The nature of capitalism in the USA; the American dream of individual possibilities; capitalist boom of the 1920s; USA society in the 1920s; Wall Street crash of 1929; election of Roosevelt: offering a New Deal; analysis of, opposition to, and assessment of the New Deal; outbreak of the Second World War and the economic recovery of the USA; impact of and responses to the crisis of capitalism in the USA in other parts of the world, such as Germany and Japan; and conclusion: the cyclical nature of capitalism.</i> | |
| 3 | | Ideas of race in the late 19th | <i>Theories and practice</i> | |

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| | | and 20th centuries | <i>Case study: Australia and the indigenous Australians</i> |
| | | | <i>Case study: Nazi Germany and the holocaust</i> |
| | 4 | Nationalisms: South Africa, the Middle East and Africa | <i>What is nationalism?</i> |
| | | | <i>Case study: South Africa: Rise of African nationalism; Rise of Afrikaner nationalism</i> |
| | | | <i>Case study: The Middle East</i> |
| | | | <i>Case study: From 'Gold Coast' to Ghana</i> |
| | | | <i>Review: The positive and negative features of nationalism</i> |
| | 5 | Apartheid in South Africa 1940s to 1960s | <i>Introduction - the global pervasiveness of racism and segregation in the 1920s and 1930s; Segregation after formation of the Union: National Party victory in 1948; legalising Apartheid (the creation of the Apartheid state, including the laws against multi-racial labour unions and the banning of the Communist Party in South Africa); overcoming Apartheid (the nature of internal resistance to Apartheid before 1960); from petitions to the Programme of Action (orientation towards mass mobilisation and strengthening the ANC by forming alliances; how this resistance was part of a wider global resistance to racism (the erosion of human rights and civil liberties); the response of the Apartheid state (repression in the 1950s); the impact of the Sharpeville massacre; armed conflict; Rivonia Trial (1964) and its consequences (resistance driven underground); review ('Apartheid' becomes an international word, and putting South Africa within a broader world context in relation to the uniqueness of Apartheid).</i> |
| Twelve | 1 | The Cold War | <i>The origins of the Cold War (Overview; source-based questions; a broad narrative)</i> |
| | | | <i>Extension of the Cold War: Case study: China (examined each year as an option to Vietnam.)</i> |
| | | | <i>Extension of the Cold War: Case study: Vietnam (Examined each year as an option to China)</i> |
| | 2 | Independent Africa | <i>What were the ideas that influenced the independent states?</i> |
| | | | <i>Comparative case studies (1960 to 1980) as examples to illustrate the political, economic, social and cultural successes and challenges in independent Africa (1960 to 1980).</i> |
| | | | <i>The successes and challenges faced by independent Africa</i> |
| | | | <i>Africa in the Cold War: USSR, USA, Cuba, China and South Africa – Case study: Angola</i> |
| | 3 | Civil Society protests 1950s to 1990s | <i>Introduction: Overview of civil society protests</i> |
| | | | <i>Case Study: the US Civil Rights Movement</i> |
| | | | <i>Case Study: the Black Power Movement</i> |
| | | | <i>Conclusion</i> |
| | 4 | Civil resistance 1970s to 1980s in South Africa | <i>Introduction (Nature of the Apartheid state in the 1970s and 1980s; and Opposition - underground, in prison and in exile</i> |
| | | | <i>The challenge of Black Consciousness to the Apartheid state</i> |
| | | | <i>The crisis of Apartheid in the 1980s</i> |
| | 5 | The coming of democracy in South Africa, and coming to terms with the past | <i>The negotiated settlement and Government of National Unity</i> |
| | | | <i>The Truth and Reconciliation Commission</i> |
| | | | <i>Remembering the past: memorials</i> |
| | 6 | The end of the Cold War and a new global world order, 1989 to present | <i>The end of the Cold War: The events of 1989</i> |
| | | | <i>A new world order</i> |

Sources: Department of Basic Education, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Social Sciences – Intermediate Phase, Grades 4-6*; Department of Basic Education, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Social Sciences –Senior Phase, Grades 7-9*; Department of Basic Education, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: History – General, Grades 10-12*.

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Appendix F: Curricula of university History and Political Science departments with relevant content

| NAME OF UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT | LEVEL | COURSE CONTENT |
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| History – University of the Witwatersrand | 2 nd Year | HIST 2003: History of Sub-Saharan Africa: This modular unit comprises two sections. The first section, sub-Saharan Africa from the eighth to the nineteenth century, begins with an examination of the different approaches historians have adopted to Africa's past. It then examines the nature of African societies, analysing processes of social and economic change at work within these societies from the eighth and ninth centuries onwards. The impact of external influences on the continent, such as Islam, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and Portuguese colonial expansion are considered next. The rise of the medieval West African empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai, as well as the Kingdom of the Kongo and Swahili society on the East African coast are explored in this context. The second section focuses on the twentieth century. It analyses the establishment of colonial administration, exploring the contradictory processes of African resistance and accommodation to conquest and to the entrenchment of colonial rule. The unit then looks at the years of hope of the colonial rulers (1920s) and the years of disenchantment of those subject to colonial rule (1930s). It assesses the environmental, economic and political impact of colonial rule and traces the social and cultural transformations that this produced, for example, the development of African peasantries and urban working classes, and the proliferation of Christian, Islamic, and Millenarian sects. The section then investigates the growth of mass nationalist movements and of large scale ethnic or 'tribal' mobilization, focusing in particular on the influence of the depression years and the transformative effects of the Second World War. The dynamics of decolonization are explored, as well as selected aspects of the post 1950s African experience, for example, the role of trade unions in post-colonial African politics and the guerrilla struggles in Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia. |
| | | HIST 2005: South Africa before 1880: This modular unit covers South African history from earliest times up to and including the mineral revolution of the 1870s. The unit starts with the pre-colonial period and examines what is known of the origins of the South African populations and the relations between them. It deals with the following issues: the beginning of the European settlement, the introduction of slaves, the expansion of the Cape Colony and the effects of these events upon first the Khoisan and then the Nguni, and the changes that took place in the Cape following the annexation by Britain. The unit then considers the important changes that were occurring beyond the borders of the Cape Colony. Larger African states were coming into existence, and there were also waves of migration from what is now KwaZulu-Natal into the interior. At the same time there were also waves of migration from the Cape Colony into the interior, culminating in the 'Great Trek' of the 1830s. This section examines the causes and effects of these developments, the nature of the subsequent relations between black and white in the interior and the response of the British authorities in the Cape and in Britain to the new situation that these developments created. |
| | | HIST 2007: Race, Class and Nation in Modern South Africa: Aside from exploring the origins of apartheid and the processes of urbanization, political resistance and the formation of race, class and national/ethnic identity, this unit investigates how the history of modern South Africa has been constructed and represented. Researchers connected to the Department discuss their work as well as the processes involved in producing their historical texts. The unit will also critically examine the ways in which South Africa's past has been portrayed in films, television documentaries, etc. |
| | 3 rd Year | HIST3008: The Making of Modern South Africa A: This and the following unit examine the crucial economic, social, demographic, and political forces which have shaped modern South Africa since the mining revolution in the late 19th century. Particular attention is given to the history of 'ordinary' people: their way of life; their cultural and material adaptations in the face of a rapidly changing society; and their forms of resistance. This involves the exploration of key patterns of identity, association and consciousness such as class, race, ethnicity, nationalism, gender and generation. |
| | | HIST3009: The Making of Modern South Africa B: This unit continues the exploration of key themes in modern South African history. It examines the policy of segregation and the making of apartheid; urbanization and the creation of an urban culture; political resistance, including rural uprisings, trade unions and formal parties; high apartheid, the 1976 uprising and the crisis of apartheid. Aside from exploring key themes and developments in modern South African history, this course – as with the preceding unit – examines the diverse ways in which that history has been constructed and represented. |
| | Hons | HIST 4001 Rural Transformation: Town & Countryside in Transition: This unit explores profound transformations in the fabric of South African society brought about by the interplay of rural and urban society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The themes considered include the causes and consequences of migrant labour, changing dynamics of generation and gender, the politics and practice of resistance, evolving forms of sexuality, issues of racial and ethnic identity, the contestation of chieftainship and the intersection of malevolence, misfortune and witchcraft. |
| | | HIST 4011 Rural Development: In this unit theories of rural development and comparative perspectives will be used to illuminate processes of rural transformation in South Africa. We will also root the discussion of the possibilities and prospects of rural development in a rich appreciation of deep-seated patterns of change at work in the countryside. The unit will highlight a number of themes, including migrant labour, rural resistance, state intervention, forms of accumulation, labour regimes, land reform, gender, generation, stratification, chieftainship, local government and the role of markets. |

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| | | HIST 4013 The Making of Urban South Africa: The unit explores the social, political and economic history of urbanization in South Africa from the late 19th to the late 20th centuries. Its central focus is the Witwatersrand, but it also examines parallel and especially divergent processes in Cape Town, Durban, East London, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria. A central spine to the unit is provided by a set of related questions: what impelled people to the towns? How and why did they become fully urban? What new cultures and identities emerged in the multi-racial and multi-ethnic urban melting pot? What new communities and political urbanization emerged? How do we understand ungovernability in the 1940s and 1980s? What new laws and policies were formulated (eg segregation, apartheid and post-apartheid reform) to regulate and repress these processes and forces? How and why did all of the latter happen? How central were the cities to understanding the more general processes of historical change in South Africa and the sub-continent? |
| Politics – University of the Witwatersrand | 2 nd Year | POLS 2012 South Africa: Politics and Governance: The course aims to familiarize students with key themes and controversies in South Africa’s politics. We will examine the making of the country’s borders and its state; the controversies over the definitions of South African citizenship in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; and the relationship between its executive, legislature, judiciary and bureaucracies. We will also debate the place of identity politics, race and class in South Africa – both in the past, and in the present. We will consider the modernity of South Africa’s politics and models of governance, the reliance of the apartheid state on quasi-legal “states of emergency” in the governance of the country, and the role of both legal and extra-legal means and methods of protest both during the apartheid era and in the present moment. These discussions will take place in the context of a detailed study of our country’s political history, from colonialism throughout apartheid to the present day. |
| Politics: University of Cape Town | 3 rd Year | POL3013S South African Political Thought & Traditions: This course provides a survey of the main developments in South African political thought since the beginning of the twentieth century, beginning with competing visions for a unified South Africa after the discovery of gold. It examines a range of political thinkers—some of them, like Gandhi, Verwoerd or Mandela also major political actors; others less well known—and a range of texts from different periods. It is intended to give students an understanding of the main political traditions in modern South Africa, and how they have interacted and developed. It focuses on shared contexts such as decolonization and Third World liberation to provide a sense of the overall trajectory and distinctive character of political ideas in modern South Africa. It aims to enable students to analyse original texts for themselves, and to locate their own ideas within a larger historical process. |
| | Hons | POL5044F South African Politics: This advanced course explores South African politics through a variety of historical, theoretical and comparative lenses. The early weeks of the course draw on historical, sociological, and other materials to investigate the 20th century political history of the country. Students will address conflicts that have unfolded between traditional, liberal, popular and quasi-Marxist conceptions of how a society ought to be governed. The middle sections of the course investigate the causes, significance, and implications of the ‘democratic transition’ using a diversity of scholarly resources. In the final sections, students will explore some key issues in South Africa’s contemporary political life. They will focus on the party system; the nature of the post-apartheid state; the relationships between party, state and business; contests over the meaning of democracy; and the changing character of the ANC. There will be a core of essential readings. Beyond these, however, the course will be centred around student-led, independently researched, seminars and discussions. |
| History – University of Cape Town | 2 nd Year | HST2042F Conflict and Conquest: South Africa to 1900: This course examines themes in the history of southern Africa from earliest times to c. 1900. It will look at topics related to the settlement of southern Africa by pre-colonial indigenous societies and the impact that colonial expansion had on these societies. Topics will include warfare and state formation amongst African societies; a consideration of the dynamics of early Dutch and British colonial society; slavery and other forms of unfree labour; frontier violence and group formation; land conquest and dispossession; imperialism and resistance; the mineral revolution and its transformation of the social, political and economic life of South Africans |
| | | HST2043S Subjects to Citizens?: South Africa since 1900: The course consciously seeks new ways of thinking and re-imagining twentieth century South African history by locating it in African and global contexts. Comparative throughout, the course engages with South African histories and historians to reveal the multiple ways in which ideas, structures, actors and events shaped the national. The course covers the long twentieth century from 1880 to 2014 and the interrelated histories of race, culture, nation, economy, state and citizen. |
| History – University of the Western Cape | 3 rd Year | History 321: The Making of the South African City in the Twentieth Century: Circumstances of colonization and responses to conquest; Colonialism: administrative, economic, social, gender and cultural aspects; Nationalism and the legacies of colonialism; Development, State and crisis in post-colonial Africa; African cities and popular culture. |
| | | History 322: The TRC and the South African Past: The mandate and framework of the TRC; debates and themes emerging from and through the work of the TRC; responses and critical evaluation of the TRC’s work. |
| Politics – University of the Western Cape | 1 st Year | South African Politics & Government |
| | 2 nd Year | SA in Comparative Politics |
| Politics – University of Stellenbosch | 1 st Year | Introduction to Political Science and South African Politics: The module is an introduction to the academic discipline of Political Science. It covers key concepts, theories, models and debates in the discipline. Following the conceptual and theoretical introduction it moves on to discuss the political development of, as well as |

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| | | politics in contemporary South Africa. |
| History – University of Stellenbosch | 1 st Year | Survey of South African History: Debates pertaining to the settlement of population groups in South Africa; Clashes in the interior - historical significance of 19th century migrations; The mineral revolution and its impact on modern South Africa; Afrikaner nationalism as a historical factor; Segregation and apartheid; Black nationalism and politics in the 20th century; South Africa and the outside world. The first part of this course aims at introducing students to the various debates and interpretations concerning the settlement of the different population groups in South Africa. Therefore the course contents are not presented as a chronological account of the past. What is the leitmotiv of the South African past justified white expansion and colonisation or the oppression and conquest of the indigenous populations and their heroic resistance against colonialism, capitalism and white domination? What is the "correct" narrative of the South African past? Is a common national narrative essential to grasp the past? What are the perspectives and interpretations on conflicts in the interior and what was the historic significance of migrations that took place in the 19th century? What was the impact of the mineral revolution on the population groups of South Africa? The second part of the course concentrates on the forces that dominated and shaped 20th century South African history and were rooted in the 19th century. Was Afrikaner nationalism a deliberate construction or the result of the natural tendency of Afrikaners towards nationalism or? Was segregation and apartheid a result of capitalism or white racism or...? Was black protest politics a steadily and evenly growing force with eventual success guaranteed? How did Afrikaner nationalism, segregation, apartheid and black protest politics feed on each other and how did it impact on South African relations with the rest of the world? |
| | 2 nd Year | South Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries: The political and cultural dynamics of the 18th and 19th century Cape societies; The establishment of new black empires and white republics in the interior in the 19th century; The mineral revolution: the making of a new political and cultural social order. Three themes are being discussed in this course. Firstly, the dynamics of cultural transformation and the fluidity of the race and class structures of the 18 th and 19 th century Cape colonial order will be investigated. In the second place the rise of black polities and white republics in the interior will be discussed. Under which conditions were they created? How did these states function politically, economically and socially? Finally the shaping of a new political and cultural society, in reaction to the mineral revolution, will be discussed. The focus will be on two case studies: How did the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West initiate the subjugation and colonisation of the Tlhaping? What social change did the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand entail for the black and white working classes and specifically for the Afrikaner working class? |
| | 3 rd Year | South Africa in the 20th Century: Perspectives on the South African War; Wealth and poverty as persistent factors in 20 th -century South Africa; Cultural and political dimensions of the rise and disintegration of Afrikaner nationalism; Perspectives on apartheid; The growth and dynamics of black political organizations and the change in power relations in 1994; Women and change in South African society; American cultural influences on black and white South Africa in historical perspectives. This module addresses the salient features of South African society during the 20th century. Social and cultural dimensions of the South African War of 1899 -1902 and the long term ramifications are unpacked. This acts as a bridge to a discussion of enduring issues of poverty in South Africa. The factors underpinning the phenomenon of Afrikaner nationalism are explicated and the gradual disintegration of the movement in the latter part of the 20th century are explored. Various perspectives on apartheid and its antecedents are discussed in an attempt to understand its appeal. This is followed by an analysis of the nature and dynamics of opposition to the system. The role of women in South Africa is placed in historical context and the potential of a gendered version of South African history is evaluated. Outside cultural influences in an age of globalization are highlighted by looking at the historical influence of America on South Africa. |
| History – Rhodes University | 2 nd Year | History 202: Themes in Southern African History: This course will be built around certain themes in the history of southern Africa - it will not be a blow-by-blow, narrative-type survey of southern African history. Particular attention will be given to themes such as Cape slavery, 19th century conflict, economic inequality, land dispossession, and representations of the 'Frontier'. We will also examine the history of the liberation struggle, the collapse of apartheid, the truth and reconciliation commission, and the record of the post-apartheid government. |
| | 3 rd Year | History 301: The Making of Modern South Africa: This course intends to provide a basic overview of the history of 20th century South Africa ending in 1990. It will chart out the history of South Africa tracking the major economic, social and political events within southern Africa including the South African War, the Native Land Act, the rise of the mining industry, the formation of the African National Congress, apartheid era legislation and its effects, as well as the anti-apartheid struggle. The course will provide the student with a good working knowledge of the history of this period and will allow them to draw more informed conclusions about present political struggles. |
| Politics – Rhodes University | | No relevant content |
| Politics – Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University | 1 st Year | South African Politics and Government: This module introduces the student to the study of South African politics. The module includes the evolution of South African politics, political parties, the current government and electoral system, as well as future trends in South African politics and political economy. |
| History – Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University | | No content |
| Politics – Walter Sisulu University | 1 st Year | POL11M2 Government and Politics in South Africa |
| | Honours | POL42M4 Southern African Politics |

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| History - Walter Sisulu University | 1 st Year | HST12M1 South Africa: from Earliest Times to Mfecane |
| | | HST12M2 South Africa: from Mfecane to the South Africa War |
| | 2 nd Year | HST21M1 The Making of Modern South Africa |
| | | HST2102 Segregation, Apartheid and Resistance in South Africa |
| 3 rd Year | HST31M2 Themes in the History of the Eastern Cape | |
| Politics – University of Zululand | 1 st Year | CPPSB13 Introduction to South African Politics |
| | | CPPSC14 Politics of Southern Africa |
| | 2 nd Year | Political Change and Behavior: Analysing the process of political transition in Africa. A study of the way that authoritative figures and institutions transfer political values resulting in a specific political culture. Agents of change and resistance as well as tolerance and conventional political participation, are studied. |
| Honours | South African political history and political theories | |
| History – University of Zululand | 1 st Year | AHIS112 South African History: Foundations of multi-cultural South Africa: the arrival, distribution and inter-action of Blacks and Whites in Southern Africa since the Stone Age; The origins of racism in South Africa: racial relations in the 17th& 18th century British colonial rule to 1854: The expansion of whites over Southern Africa; The Mfecane and Great Trek |
| | 2 nd Year | AHIS212 General topics related to 19 th and early 20th century South Africa: The impact mining, industrialisation and urbanisation had on the South African economy; Circumstances which lead to the Anglo Boer War and the unification of South Africa; Early 20th century politics in South Africa based on a racially divided society; South Africa's participation in the two world Wars; The beginning of the freedom struggle |
| | 3 rd Year | AHIS321 The Zulu Monarchy and KZN leaders in Retrospect: Human relations and racial disparities in the union of SA by 1948; Racial policies of Strijdom, Malan, Verwoerd and Botha; The Communist Party and the Treason Trial, 1956-1961; Lembede and the ANC youth league; Sobukwe and the PAC; The New South Africa, 1994; KZN leaders: Albert J. Luthuli, John L Dube, Gen. Louis Botha, Mangosuthu Buthulezi and Mohandas Gandhi |
| | Honours | Paper 5 (AHY505) Themes on the history of contemporary South Africa since 1948, e.g. defining contemporary history; political issues and constitutional changes in the post-1961 period; the Republic of South Africa in international context; recent socio-economic developments; cultural evolution and adaptation to modern technology in South Africa. |
| History – University of KwaZulu-Natal | Honours | Race and Racism in Historical Perspective |
| Politics – University of KwaZulu-Natal | 2 nd Year | POLS 204: Politics and Law in South Africa |
| | 3 rd Year | POLS 307: Contemporary South African Politics |
| History – University of Johannesburg | 1 st Year | Contemporary South Africa in Historical Perspective |
| | Honours | Historiography of South Africa |
| Politics – University of Johannesburg | 2 nd Year | Politics 2C: South African Politics: Term 1: South Africa's Transition to Democracy; Term 2: Identity Politics in South Africa: Race, Class and Gender |
| Politics – University of Pretoria | | Unclear from information on Department's web page |
| History: University of Pretoria | 1 st Year | Africa and South Africa: a survey: An overview focusing on the making of African and South African societies from the earliest times to the present, with an emphasis on the most significant historical forces, factors and events. |
| | 2 nd Year | Rise and fall of segregation and apartheid: Focuses on the origin and theoretical foundations of these policies and their entrenchment in SA legislation. The resistance against the institution of these policies and the subsequent dismantling of apartheid. The impact on the social, cultural and economic terrain. |
| History – University of South Africa | 1 st Year | The Making of Early Colonial South Africa: Transformation and Resistance – HSY1502: To enable students to gain an understanding of the major themes in the history of early colonial South Africa (particularly the nature of the Dutch colony at the Cape, the social and economic importance of slavery, the resistance of indigenous peoples to white settlement in the colony and on its frontiers, and the formation of a new society and racial order), and to acquire an appreciation of the importance of the colonial period in shaping modern South Africa. |
| | 3 rd Year | Modern South Africa: From Soweto to Democracy – HSY3705: To enable students to critically assess the efforts to reform apartheid from the 1970s to 1990; to acquire an understanding of the forces that contributed to the decline and demise of apartheid from the 1970s to 1994; and obtain an informed view of the first decade of democracy, with its challenges and responses. |

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| | Honours | Themes from modern South African history – HSY4804: To enable students to gain an understanding of the major themes in the history of modern South Africa (particularly liberalism, Afrikaner nationalism and black resistance to white minority domination) and to appreciate the importance of these themes in shaping the history of the country. |
| Politics – University of South Africa | 2 nd Year | South African politics (PSC2601) |
| | Honours | South African political issues (PLC4803) |
| History – University of the North West | 1 st Year | Themes in South African History |
| | 2 nd Year | Reflections on South Africa in Africa |
| Politics – University of the North West | 1 st Year | The South African Political Systems |
| Politics – University of the Free State | | No relevant content |
| History – University of the Free State | 1 st Year | Introduction to the Twentieth Century History South Africa |
| | 2 nd Year | The Rise of Nationalism in South Africa |
| | 3 rd Year | En Route to the New South Africa |
| History – University of Fort Hare | 3 rd Year | HIS 311/311E Introduction to Historiography: An examination of Historical Method and the dynamics involved in the process of construction, synthesis and representation of a narrative. Classification of historical sources and other strands and aspects of heritage (museology, archival study, oral histories, ethnography, life-histories, genealogies and the study of and family pedigrees). An in-depth examination of the evolution of South African historiography from the Settler and British school of the nineteenth century to the emergence of post-colonial/ postmodern history theory of the late twentieth century. |
| | | HIS 323/323E The Eastern Cape: An examination of the setting for the initial contact and subsequent interaction between the settlers and pre-colonial African societies in the mid-18 th century until South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994. The transition from physical war to ideological battle is also dealt with in the analysis of the activities (political and literal) of selected individuals from the "New African Elite". |
| | | HIS 324/324E South Africa's Liberation Struggle in the 20th Century: A phase-by-phase thematic narrative of the major political and / ideological tendencies that have shaped the liberation struggle in South Africa. It also examines the evolution of the major political organizations and their formative/stimulating effect and influence on trade unionism, working-class movements and rural resistance upsurge. |
| | Honours | HIS 503/503E: A theme from South African History – The Eastern Cape: Society And Politics (19th century): An analysis of the interactive factors and various forces (religious frontiers, cultural frontiers, political frontiers that were instrumental in the evolution of the race relations in the Eastern Cape primarily and greater South Africa secondarily. |
| Politics – University of Fort Hare | 2 nd Year | POL 222 South African Government and Politics: The South African political system; historical resistance to Apartheid; party-political policies; interest groups and the Constitution. |
| | Honours | POL 515 South African Politics: Reform and resistance in contemporary South Africa |
| University of Limpopo | | No information obtained from website |
| University of Venda | | No information obtained from website |

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Appendix G: Relevant Theses and Dissertations, 2010-2015

Search engines and databases: Open Access Theses and Dissertations; ETHOS; NTLTD Global.

| SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHOR | TITLE | UNIVERSITY |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Durbach, David Justin | A study of the linkages between popular music and politics in South Africa under Apartheid in the 1980s | MA Dissertation, African Studies, UNISA, 2015 |
| 2. Jacobs, Mzamo Wilson | Zambia, the ANC and the struggle against apartheid, 1964-1990 | MA dissertation, History, 2015, University of Johannesburg |
| 3. Jibril, Musa Ahmed | The compulsion of the apartheid regime, its demise and the advent of a new political dispensation in South Africa, 1948-1996. | DPhil thesis, History, 2015, University of Zululand |
| 4. Daku-Mante, Jacqueline G. | An analysis of civil disobedience with specific reference to the role of the United Democratic Front in South Africa | MA dissertation, Political Science, 2014, University of Pretoria |
| 5. Jolobe, Zwelethu | Getting to CODESA: An analysis on why multiparty negotiations in South Africa began, 1984-1991. | DPhil thesis, Politics, 2014, University of Cape Town |
| 6. Kunene, P.S. | From apartheid to democracy: A historical analysis of local struggles in Phomolong Township, Free State: 1985-2005 | MA Thesis, History, University of the Witwatersrand, 2014 |
| 7. Mashabela, James Kenokeno | Dr Manas Buthelezi's contribution to Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa's struggle against apartheid in South Africa, 1970s-1990s | MTh dissertation, UNISA, 2014 |
| 8. Mdingi, Hlulani Msimelelo | "What does it mean to be human?": A systematic theological reflection on the notion of a Black Church, Black Theology, Steve Biko and Black Consciousness with regards to materialism and individualism | MTh dissertation UNISA, 2014 |
| 9. Opperman, Sybrand | Aspekte van die politieke magstryd tussen die ANC en Inkatha in Natal, 1980-1990 | MA dissertation, History, 2014, University of Johannesburg |
| 10. Palombo, Matthew Cady | Interfaith praxis in the South African struggle for liberation: Towards a liberatio-political framework for Muslim-Christian relations | D.Litt et Phil. thesis, Semitic Languages, 2014, University of Johannesburg |
| 11. Plaatjie, Stephen | Conflict of ideologies: The ANC youth league and communism, 1949-1955. | MA dissertation, History, 2014, University of Johannesburg |
| 12. Jones, David | Objecting to apartheid: The history of the end conscription campaign | MA dissertation, History, 2013, University of Fort Hare |
| 13. Le Roux, Elizabeth Henriette | Between complicity and resistance: A social history of the university presses in apartheid South Africa | PhD thesis, IT, 2013, University of Pretoria |
| 14. Mchunu, Mxolisi R. | A history of political violence in KwaShange, Vulindlela district and of its effects on the memories of survivors (1987-2008) | PhD thesis, History, 2013, University of KwaZulu-Natal |
| 15. April, Thozama | Theorising women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa | DPhil thesis, History, 2012, University of the Western Cape |
| 16. Byrne, Sian Deborah | "Building Tomorrow Today": A re-examination of the character of the controversial "workerist" tendency associated with the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) in South Africa, 1979 – 1985 | M.A. dissertation, Industrial Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012 |
| 17. Clarkson, Keith Vincent | United Democratic Front as exponent of mass-based resistance and protest, 1983-1990. | D.Litt et Phil. thesis, History, 2012, University of Johannesburg |
| 18. Lalla, Varsha | Being Indian, being MK an exploration of the experiences and ethnic identities of Indian South African Umkhonto we Sizwe members | M.A. dissertation, (Political & International Studies), Rhodes University, 2012. |
| 19. Mahosi, Nkadameng | The influence of the Second World War on black labour in the Witwatersrand area, 1941-1947. | MA dissertation, History, 2012, University of Johannesburg |
| 20. Moloi, T.C. | Black Politics in Kroonstad: Political Mobilisation, Protests, Local Government, and Generational Struggles, 1976 – 1995 | PhD thesis, History, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2012 |
| 21. Sipuka, Msingathi | Evolution of the African National Congress Youth League: From "freedom in our life time" to "economic freedom in our lifetime" | M.Phil. dissertation, Political Science, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2012. |
| 22. Strydom, Willemien | Die politieke betrokkenheid van Kontak en Vroue vir Vrede, 1976-1990 | MA dissertation, Political Science, 2012, University of Johannesburg |

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| 23. | Tebello, Letsekha. | Ruth First in Mozambique: Portrait of a scholar | MA dissertation, Sociology, 2012, Rhodes University |
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