



Language

Adler, Glenn ; Steinberg, Jonny, [From Comrades to Citizens: The South African Civics Movement and the Transition to Democracy](#) [1], Basingstoke and New York, Macmillan and St Martin's, in association with the Albert Einstein Institution, 2000, pp. 272

Primarily on nonviolent action in townships during apartheid. Combines a national strategic overview by Jeremy Seekings of how the concept of civic struggle evolved in the period 1977-90 with detailed local accounts.

Baskin, Jeremy, [Striking Back: a history of COSATU](#) [2], London, Verso, 1990, pp. 488

Authoritative account of COSATU's early years by then National Coordinator.

Benson, Mary, [The African Patriots: The Story of the African National Congress of South Africa](#) [3], London, Faber and Faber, 1963, pp. 310 , [US title South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright, 1966]

Covers the period 1910- 60.

Biko, SteveArnold, Millard, [The Testimony of Steve Biko](#) [4], ed. Arnold, Millard, London, Maurice Temple Smith, 1978, pp. 298 , [US title: Black Consciousness in South Africa]

Biko, a key figure in the move to radical black consciousness, was killed while in custody by the security services.

Callinicos, Alex ; Rogers, John, [Southern Africa after Soweto](#) [5], 2nd edition, London, Pluto Press, 1978, pp. 246

Includes critical assessment of the 1960s campaigns and examination of trade union action in the 1970s.

Cobbett, William ; Cohen, Robin, [Popular Struggles in South Africa](#) [6], London and Trenton NJ, James Curaray and Africa World Press, 1988, pp. 234

Includes chapters on political unionism, the township revolts, student politics (school and university). Earlier version of the much-cited article Swilling, Mark , [The United Democratic Front and the township revolt](#) [7] Durban, South Africa, South African History Archives (SAHA), , 1987, pp. 23 , reprinted here on pp. 90-113, are available online.

Drewett, Michael, [Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid: South Africa](#) [8], In Cloonan, Martin ; Garafalo, Reebee , [Policing Pop](#) [9] Philadelphia PA, Temple University Press, , 2003, pp. 153-165

See also Drewett, Michael , [Aesopian Strategies of Textual Resistance in the Struggle to Overcome the Censorship of Popular Music in Apartheid South Africa](#) [10] In Müller, Beate , [Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age](#) [11] Amsterdam and New York, Rodopi, , 2004, pp. 189-207 .

Feit, Edward, [African Opposition in South Africa: The Failure of Passive Resistance](#) [12], Stanford CA, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1967, pp. 223

A critical study of the 1954-55 campaigns.



Gasa, Nomboniso, [Women in South African History](#) [13], Cape Town, Human Sciences Research Council, 2007, pp. 456

Part Three – ‘War: armed and mass struggles as gendered experiences’ – includes Jacklyn Cock, “‘Another mother for peace’: Women and peace building in South Africa, 1983-2003, pp. 257-280, and Janet Cherry “‘We were not afraid’: The role of women in the 1980s’ township uprising in the Eastern Cape’, pp. 281-313, and Pat Gibbs, ‘Women, labour and resistance: Case studies from the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area, 1972-94’, pp. 315-343.

Good, Kenneth, [The capacities of the people versus a predominant, militarist, ethno-nationalist elite: democratisation in South Africa](#) [14], Interface: a journal for and about social movements, Vol. 3, issue 2, 2011, pp. 311-358

Contents that the ANC ‘showed an increasing intolerance for the values upheld by the UDF, like criticism and self-criticism of elites and nonviolence’.

Hope, Marjorie ; Young, James, [The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation](#) [15], New York, Orbis Books, 1981, pp. 268

Kuper, Leo, [Passive Resistance in South Africa](#) [16], London, Jonathan Cape, 1956, pp. 256 , [US: Yale University Press, 1957 and 1960]

Sociological study of the 1952 ‘Defiance Campaign’.

Lodge, Tom, [Black Politics in South Africa since 1945](#) [17], London, Longman, 1983, pp. 389

Covers key campaigns up to Sharpeville and the Soweto student rebellion.

See also Lodge, Tom , [The Interplay of Nonviolent and Violent Action in the Movements Against Apartheid in South Africa, 1983-94](#) [18] In Roberts; Garton Ash, [Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present](#) [19] ([A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements](#) [20]) New York, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 213-230 .

Lodge, Tom ; Nasson, Bill, [All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s](#) [21], London, Hurst, 1992, pp. 400

Luckhardt, Ken ; Wall, Brenda, [Organize or Starve: The History of the South African Congress of Trade Unions](#) [22], New York, International Publishers, 1980, pp. 485

Luthuli, Albert, [Let My People Go!](#) [23], London, Collins, 1962, pp. 256

Autobiography of President of ANC from 1952 to 1967, and Nobel Prize winner.

Mandela, Nelson, [Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela](#) [24], London, Little Brown, 1994, pp. 768 , [and Abacus paperback 1995]

Includes views on nonviolence and support for the turn to violent resistance. Mandela’s earlier articles, speeches and addresses at his trials are published in: Mandela, Nelson , [No Easy Walk to Freedom](#) [25] [1965] London, Heinemann, , 1986, pp. 189 .



Marx, Anthony, [Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990](#) [26], New York, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 347

Examines relationship between strategies and different ideologies of resistance based on race, nation or class.

Meredith, Martin, [Nelson Mandela: A Biography](#) [27], London, Hamish Hamilton, 1997, pp. 596

Michelson, Cherry, [The Black Sash of South Africa: A Case Study in Liberalism](#) [28], London, Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 204

Analysis of (predominantly) white women's organization publicly opposing apartheid since 1950, known especially for its vigils.

Mufson, Steven, [The Fighting Years: The Struggle for a New South Africa](#) [29], Boston, Beacon Press, 1990, pp. 360

Washington Post journalist, who was in South Africa 1984-86, interviewed leaders of banned organizations and more conservative Africans. Less strong on post-1986 period.

Neocosmos, Michael, [From People's Politics to State Politics: Aspects of National Liberation in South Africa](#) [30], In Olukoshi, [The Politics of Opposition in Contemporary Africa](#) [31] ([E. I.2.1.i. General Overviews](#) [32]), Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 195-241

Discusses the post-1990 statist supplanting of 'the popular emancipatory project'.

Presbey, Gail, [Evaluating the Legacy of Nonviolence in South Africa](#) [33], *Peace and Change*, Vol. 31, issue 2, 2006, pp. 141-174

Evaluates claims that 'nonviolence, if adhered to more resolutely, would have ended apartheid sooner', reminding readers of the high level of support for the ANC's armed wing. Suggests that despite some over-simplifications, the claims for nonviolence, though speculative, are plausible.

Scott, Michael, [A Time to Speak](#) [34], London, Faber, 1959, pp. 365

Autobiography of Anglican priest who took the case of the Herero people of South West Africa to the UN, opposing their incorporation into the Union of South Africa. Chapter 8 describes the Indian resistance to discriminatory legislation in 1946.

Seekings, Jeremy, [The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991](#) [35], Cape Town and Oxford, David Philip and James Currey, 2000, pp. 371

Authoritative organizational history (commissioned by the UDF at the point when it disbanded).

Seidman, Gay, [Guerrillas in their midst: armed struggle in the South African anti-apartheid movement](#) [36], *Mobilization*, Vol. 6, issue 2 (Fall), 2001, pp. 111-127

Smuts, Dene ; Westcott, Shauna, [The Purple Shall Govern: A South Africa A to Z of Nonviolent Action](#) [37], Cape Town, Oxford University Press and Centre for Intergroup Studies, 1991, pp. 165



Examples of nonviolent action from the 1950s to the 1990s. Brief extracts illustrate tactics such as boycotts, courting arrest, funerals, graffiti, ostracism, prayer, resisting removal, voluntary exile and 'wading-in' (against segregated beaches).

Suttner, Raymond, [Legacies and Meanings of the United Democratic Front \(UDF\) Period for Contemporary South Africa](#) [38], In Hendricks, Cheryl ; Lushaba, Lwazi , [From National Liberation to Democratic Renaissance in Southern Africa](#) [39] Dakar, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESIRA), , 2006, pp. 59-81

Suttner, Raymond ; Cronin, Jeremy, [50 Years of the Freedom Charter](#) [40], Pretoria, Unisa Press, 2006, pp. 246

Revised and updated from the banned book Suttner, Raymond ; Cronin, Jeremy , [30 Years of the Freedom Charter](#) [41] Johannesburg, Ravan Press, , 1986, pp. 266 . Recounts the process of formulating as well as discussing the political implications of the Freedom Charter adopted in 1955. (Part of Unisa's series 'Hidden Histories'.)

Tutu, DesmondAllen, John, [The Rainbow People of God](#) [42], ed. Allen, John, London, Bantam, 1995, pp. 286

Tutu influenced world opinion in the 1980s and 1990s and chaired the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

van Kessel, Ineke, [Beyond Our Wildest Dreams: The United Democratic Front and the Transformation of South Africa](#) [43], Charlottesville and London, University of Virginia Press, 2000, pp. 367

Uses three case studies to illustrate the complexity of the UDF. Addresses generational tensions and conflicts between belief systems that the UDF itself, and most studies of it, tended to ignore.

See also:

Kurt Schock, [Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies](#) [44], ([A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements](#) [45]), pp. 56-68 on anti-apartheid struggle generally.

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<https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1956/passive-resistance-south-africa> [17] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1983/black-politics-south-africa-1945> [18] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2009/interplay-nonviolent-and-violent-action-movements-against-apartheid-south-africa> [19] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2009/civil-resistance-and-power-politics-experience-non-violent-action-gandhi-present> [20] <https://civilresistance.info/section/introduction-nonviolent-action/1-theory-methods-and-examples/1b-strategic-theory-dynamics> [21] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1992/all-here-and-now-black-politics-south-africa-1980s> [22] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1980/organize-or-starve-history-south-african-congress-trade-unions> [23] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1962/let-my-people-go> [24] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1994/long-walk-freedom-autobiography-nelson-mandela> [25] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1986/no-easy-walk-freedom> [26] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1997/lessons-struggle-south-african-internal-opposition-1960-1990> [27] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1997/nelson-mandela-biography> [28] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1975/black-sash-south-africa-case-study-liberalism> [29] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1990/fighting-years-struggle-new-south-africa> [30] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1998/peoples-politics-state-politics-aspects-national-liberation-south-africa> [31] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1998/politics-opposition-contemporary-africa> [32] <https://civilresistance.info/section/e-resisting-oppressive-dictatorial-military-or-authoritarian-rule/e-i-africa-sub-saharan/e-6> [33] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2006/evaluating-legacy-nonviolence-south-africa> [34] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1959/time-speak> [35] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2000/udf-history-united-democratic-front-south-africa-1983-1991> [36] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2001/guerrillas-their-midst-armed-struggle-south-african-anti-apartheid-movement> [37] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1991/purple-shall-govern-south-africa-z-nonviolent-action> [38] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2006/legacies-and-meanings-united-democratic-front-udf-period-contemporary-south-africa> [39] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2006/national-liberation-democratic-renaissance-southern-africa> [40] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2006/50-years-freedom-charter> [41] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1986/30-years-freedom-charter> [42] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1995/rainbow-people-god> [43] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2000/beyond-our-wildest-dreams-united-democratic-front-and-transformation-south-africa> [44] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2005/unarmed-insurrections-people-power-movements-nondemocracies> [45] <https://civilresistance.info/taxonomy/term/7>