

Blanquerna - Ramon Llull University, School of Communications and International Relations

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**FROM CHILDS TO HEROES:
CONSTRUCTIONS OF MASCULINITY IN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS DURING APARTHEID AND POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA**

Ian Puis Farrés - NIU: 758167

Oscar Mateos Martin

Research FDP

Foreign Policy and the European Union

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ABSTRACT

In line with feminist analyses of the gendered dimensions of domination, the present research work is aimed at developing an intersectional understanding of the processes through which the figures of the “manly dominant” and the “emasculated native” are constructed and the ways they shape successive resistance and nation-building processes. For the South African case in particular, this research work provides a qualitative analysis of the tension between, on the one hand, the apartheid project as a driver of black men’s emasculation and, on the other, constructions of masculinity embedded in both responses and resistances to it and the subsequent nation-building process, with attention payed to the African National Congress. In this respect, it identifies the apartheid’s politics of racialisation and spatial and sexual segregation as determinants of hierarchic relationships between white dominant and black marginalised and subordinate - and ultimately emasculated - masculinities. Furthermore, and in relation to the African National Congress, the present research work sheds light on the formation and enactment of constructions of masculinity aimed at reasserting black men’s virility and embodying the new South Africa in the context of nation-building.

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1 - INTRODUCTION

Discussions on nationalism and citizenship have continually been at the center of political and academic debates, especially in post-colonial nation-states; however, their study through feminist lenses has only gained important momentum since recent decades. In this respect, feminist scholars have approached such topics from particularly different and interesting points of view, with some rather taking an interest in how domination - as affected by assertions of masculinity and femininity - shapes gender regimes and performances in successive resistance and nation-building processes (see, for example: Stoler, 1989; McClintock, 1995; Sinha, 1995). In this sense, they have shed light on the ways racist and sexist strategies of domination construct the “manly dominant” and the “emasculated native” as opposite and hierarchical poles and how this relationship determines both resistance movements and nation-building processes.

In accordance with this line of investigation, and in the context of apartheid in South Africa, the present work formulates the following research questions: To what extent are conflicts and post-conflict nation-building processes gendered? Under what conditions has masculinity been constructed in the case of post-apartheid South Africa?

The choice of case study is determined by the willingness to put in practice a less explored approach to, and application of, the theory of intersectionality. In this regard, the intention is to avoid an exclusive focus neither on gender nor on race, which could derive in an oversimplified reading of the apartheid project. The prioritisation of one of these axes of analysis over the other would overlook the fact that the experiences of gender and race are deeply imbricated both between themselves and with other processes of social categorisation, therefore affecting the validity of this research’s findings.

That being said, and with the objective of answering to the research questions, it is argued here that the apartheid was an episode in the history of South Africa that emphasized black men’s emasculation owing to a long-lasting and systematic process of accentuated subjugation and disparagement. As a further development, it is also argued that the post-apartheid nation-building process was a masculinized pursuit aimed at disowning, purging or counterbalancing such emasculation.

Hence, this research work is intended to provide a qualitative analysis of the tension between, on the one hand, the apartheid project as a driver of black men’s emasculation and, on the

other, constructions of masculinity embedded in both responses and resistances to it and the subsequent nation-building process, with attention paid to the African National Congress (hereinafter “the ANC”). In other words, this research’s case study will intend to understand how hyper-masculinized regimes of domination can ultimately act as catalysts of a group’s perceived undermining of manliness and, as a result, how this tension is negotiated and/or rearticulated for nation-building purposes.

An important question arises here with regards to this research’s exclusive focus on the ANC. Such a focus is certainly not aimed at asserting that the latter was the only African actor involved in resistance and nation-building; on the contrary, the history of anti-apartheid struggle and nation-building in South Africa provides for a broad constellation of different groups and actors, with each one of them pursuing its own agenda despite sharing an inclination towards overcoming domination. But what is true is that the first president of the post-apartheid South Africa - of whom some speeches will be analysed - was a member of the ANC; furthermore, much of the available literature on the effects of masculine discourses at the political level has concentrated on this organisation too. Hence, the exclusive focus on the ANC finds its justification in the sense of continuity and coherence that it brings to the present research work.

1.1 - Theoretical approach

For the proper development of this research, the present work resorts to various critical theories. Their selection has been made according to the utility of the concepts they provide, as well as their contributions to making visible and challenging IR’s endemic Eurocentrism.

First, this research is primarily informed by, and locates itself within, feminist theories - more concretely, gender theories. In this respect, the main differences between feminist and gender analyses are worth clarifying here. According to Cynthia Enloe, while “a *gender analysis* explores meanings attached to femininity and masculinity, [...] it is a *feminist analysis* that explicitly puts power at the center of analysis” (2007, p.100). Therefore, it can be argued that the present research work is a feminist inquiry because of the use it makes of the methodological framework provided by the theory of intersectionality to interrogate both relations and negotiations of power under apartheid; moreover, it is also a gender-based analysis owing to its deliberate focus on constructions of masculinity and the employment it

makes of Connell's concept of "hegemonic masculinity" to explore their formation and enactment within the ANC.

Through the lenses of gender studies, certain concepts acquire new and relevant meanings and become instrumental in the development of this research work. That is the case, for instance, of "emasculatation", "embodiment" and its derivatives, as well as "performance". In this respect, "emasculatation" is understood here as the product of particular hegemonic strategies of differentiation and subordination. It is therefore both an axis along which domination is constructed and the interpretation of this particular domination from the male body. This conceptualisation derives from the employment of the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" within its original formulation - that is, in tandem with the concept of "emphasized femininity" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Furthermore, "embodiment" accounts for the ways social, cultural and political dynamics are inscribed onto an individual's body. In constructivist words, the concept seeks to illustrate the nature and course of particular operations of social-construction. And in connection with this, "performance" makes reference to the ways individuals experience and negotiate, (re)articulate and display embodiments in their processes of identity-formation. (Butler, 1999).

In addition to feminist and gender theories, this work does also locate itself within postcolonial theories in terms of epistemology. It is therefore highly concerned about the standpoints from which it interprets reality and the attitudes towards Africa as an object of knowledge that its interpretations may unintentionally nourish. According to this, the present research is postcolonial; but despite that, it rather opts for using concepts from Latin American decolonial studies. This is mainly due to the fact that decolonial feminism incorporates the theory of intersectionality as a methodological framework (Espinosa, 2012), which is something that certainly gives more coherence to this research.

1.2 - Methodology and structure of the research

In terms of methodology, this work's case study is divided into three sections. Section 1 will examine the structural and symbolic features of the apartheid project having driven black men's emasculatation; Section 2 will present an overview of the formation and enactment of masculinity in the ANC's responses and resistances to apartheid; and Section 3 will explore the existence or not of a masculinist rethoric in nationalist discourses that Nelson

Mandela pronounced during his first year of post-apartheid presidency (1994-1999). In this respect, it has to be noted that the analysis makes use of different methods for the development of each section.

Section 1 uses the methodological framework provided by the theory of intersectionality to analyse negotiations of power under apartheid. More concretely, the section applies Nira Yuval Davis' analysis grid (2009), which integrates both structural and subjective dimensions into a single model of intersectional analysis. Hence, it is according to such a grid, as well as through the lenses of men's studies, that an examination of the processes of marginalisation and subordination resulting from the politics of apartheid, on the one hand, and their symbolic effects on black men's subjectivity, on the other, will be carried out.

With the aim of backing up the theoretical argumentation developed in the previous section, Section 2 establishes a dialogue between the works of scholars that have interrogated, for different periods of apartheid, connections between constructions of masculinity and the ANC's resistances and responses to domination (Unterhalter, 2000; Xaba, 2001; Erlank, 2003; Suttner, 2005). In other words, the objective is to retrace the evolution under apartheid of performances of masculinity within the ANC through the discussion of secondary sources, thus developing an understanding of the big picture on the basis of smaller pictures. This is made possible principally thanks to the fact that these scholars have covered different periods of apartheid in their analyses.

Finally, Section 3 employs the qualitative method of discourse analysis to explore, in three speeches that Nelson Mandela pronounced during his first year of post-apartheid presidency (1994-1999), the existence of discursive structures typifying masculinity and femininity and their correspondence with the notions and concepts advanced in Section 2. Information regarding the speeches chosen will be provided in due course; nonetheless, and in relation to their time frame, worth mentioning is the fact that it has been found preferable to reduce it to a single year instead of developing a discussion on the basis of speeches pronounced in different years - thus different contexts. As a result of this, it is obvious that the evidence presented in this section will be limited and therefore not completely valid for drawing conclusions regarding Nelson Mandela's whole post-apartheid presidency and the South African nation-building process; notwithstanding, it is also true that it can help illuminate some important aspects of the conditions under which post-apartheid masculinity was constructed and performed.

2 - APPREHENDING AND DEVELOPING INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH: A BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW

Owing to this research's deliberate focus on masculinity, the present literature review starts by discussing the most significant developments within the field of men's studies, as well as its main theoretical underpinnings. This account is complemented with three other discussions concerning decolonial feminism, the gendered dimensions of nation-building and the theory of intersectionality, respectively. Hence, the objective of this literature review is to acknowledge the connections between these different fields of study in order to pave the way for an interdisciplinary case study of constructions of masculinity in the ANC during apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

2.1 - Masculinity and men's studies

Men's studies - also referred to as "the sociology of masculinity", in relation to the field of study from which early practitioners and theorists used to come - began to be developed by the 1950s, as a result of a growing number of feminist inquiries, in general, and reflections concerning men's realities, more concretely. Hence, men's studies are informed by feminist theories and, as such, do also seek to analyse and better understand the socio-cultural construction of gender relations. Notwithstanding, and contrary to feminist theories, scholars of men's studies rather specialized at the very beginning in the critical study of men's behaviours and practices - such as violence, paternity, sexuality - and the needs and concerns resulting from them - for example, men's physical and mental health.

However, men's studies have undergone important changes since the 1950s. With respect to my research's approach and case study, more recent developments are worth mentioning here: since recent decades, scholars of men's studies have become much more interested in the analysis of men and masculinity within the context of other societal relations. In this regard, the work of R. W. Connell (1987; 1995) is particularly relevant, as she wrote two seminal books in which she developed an unprecedented theoretical account of gender relations. According to her, masculinity is inherently relational and therefore cannot be understood separately from the concept of "femininity" that accompanies it.

Connell's account of gender relations mainly relies on the concept of "hegemonic masculinity", which she herself introduced. In broad terms, hegemonic masculinity is "the

masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations” (Connell, 1995, p.76). Hence, it helps illuminate the ways gendered relations and structures operate, and change or become stabilized, as well as acknowledge the existence of multiple forms of masculinity and hierarchies among them. In this regard, the concept has been predominantly used to make reference to a given personality model, to an actual group of men. Owing to such an essentialist use in research, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), but also Schippers (2007) and Beasley (2008; 2013) have suggested its reformulation in particular areas. The present research work coincides with them all in the need for (1) understanding it as “an enabling mode or representation, which mobilises institutions and practices” (Beasley, 2013, p.36); and (2) employing it within its original formulation - that is, in tandem with the concept of “emphasized femininity” that accompanies it - for the sake of examining the formation and enactment of masculinity in the terms of an hegemonic project, be it local or societal.

All in all, the concept has driven much of men’s studies’ developing research effort all over the world, as illustrated by the proliferation of different monographs and collections focusing on masculinities in particular countries or regions. A general review of such monographs and collections sheds light on the fact that gender systems, while being predominantly local, are also influenced by regional or global dynamics. In this sense, scholars analysing masculinities in Africa have faced the need to make sense of the effects of historical processes at the origin of today’s globalized world - such as imperial conquests and colonial violence (Morrell, 2001; Miescher and Lindsay, 2003; Porter, 2013). In fact, R. W. Connell had already pointed out this direction when she argued, in Chapter 8 of *Masculinities* (1995), that such processes were gendered from the start.

2.2 - The modern/colonial world-system and decolonial feminism

In relation to the aforementioned questions, the work of some Latin American decolonial scholars - closely tied to the “Grupo Modernidad/Colonialidad” - is instrumental in illuminating important aspects of the gendered dimensions of power and domination.

In an article published in 1992, Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano reviewed and further developed Immanuel Wallerstein’s world-system theory, with the objective of exposing the racist underpinnings of the existing modern world-system. He therefore coined the concept of “coloniality of power”, which intends to illustrate the living legacy of colonialism in

contemporary societies and its effects on social relations and identity-building processes. As Argentinian semiologist Walter D. Mignolo (2015) has pointed out, the concept of “coloniality of power” is aimed at asserting the fact that the denial of non-Western peoples’ cultures and lives is what ultimately constitutes the modern-world system. Such a statement suggests that coloniality is both the reverse and inevitable face of modernity - hence the concept of “modern/colonial world-system.

Finally, and by expanding Aníbal Quijano’s analysis, Argentinian sociologist and feminist philosopher Maria Lugones (2008; 2011), and others (Espinosa, 2012) later on, have developed the concept of “coloniality of gender”. The latter suggests that both modernity and coloniality must be understood as simultaneously shaped through intersectional articulations of gender. What is important to bear in mind here is that, as Catia Cecilia Confortini puts it, “gender, as a power relation, shapes and naturalizes other social relations of power by assigning them to mutually exclusive categories of super/subordination to each other” (2012, p.7). In line with this, the masculine/feminine pair is reproduced up to the point of seeing the social world in terms of binary opposites, with “the first, masculine, term [being] generally valued over the second, feminine, term” (Hooper, 2001, p.43).

2.3 - Gender-based research on nationalism

Following on from this, and going back to the initial discussion concerning men’s studies, worth mentioning here is the fact that recent developments in men’s studies have also been useful to the understanding of the connections between manhood and nationhood (Nira Yuval-Davis, 1997; Joane Nagel; 1998; these selected works being just a sample from a growing field). Other feminist inquiries have also shed light on the fact that nation-building processes and citizenship discourses are subjective and relational practices (Enloe, 1989) and that, as such, they are dependent on the construction of systems and relationships that constitute and institutionalize gender difference (McClintock, 1997; Preciado, 2019). This literature, together with Lugones’ concept of “coloniality of gender”, allows us to think that nation-building processes and citizenship discourses tend to be substantially determined by the above mentioned binary opposites and their performative nature, as well as the aim to transition from one to the other. An example of such understanding is Jorge Gomez Izquierdo and Guitté Hartog’s research work (2011) on the masculine imaginaries embedded in narratives of Mexican history.

Their work is also influential for my current research project due to the fact that it makes use of the theory of intersectionality to carry out a particular analysis of masculinity. Undoubtedly, and as acknowledged by different scholars (Bilge, 2009; Sosa-Sánchez and Hartog, 2014) - an intersectional approach enriches men's studies. Notwithstanding, little or no current researches on masculinity explicitly employ the conceptual and methodological framework provided by the theory of intersectionality, although the latter has always indirectly stimulated and facilitated men's studies since its coining by American lawyer and legal theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw.

2.4 - The theory of intersectionality

In 1989 and 1991, Crenshaw wrote two groundbreaking articles that investigated the law's incapacity to answer to black women's discriminations, which she considered to be intersectional. Before her, Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis had published in 1983 a very innovative article entitled "Contextualizing Feminism". They all coincided in that there are experiences of discrimination that cannot be adequately explained and described from a single point of view. And according to them, the newly-coined theory of intersectionality could facilitate the analysis of the ways through which different axes of both categorization and differentiation are complexly imbricated in particular processes of domination and subordination. In subsequent years, two different schools of thought would start to take shape. On the one hand, that of American black feminists who advocate for a systemic approach to intersectionality. On the other hand, that of different European sociologists - such as Dorthe Staunaes or Baukje Prins - who advocate for a more socio-constructivist approach.

Despite the fact that systemic intersectional feminists are opposed to all forms of essentialism, it is true that they still refer to gender, race, class, etcetera... as being either social identities or axes of subordination. In this sense, gender, race, class, etcetera... are still defined and approached as if they were "traditional categories". On the contrary, and from a socio-constructivist point of view, gender, race, class, etcetera... rather refer to processes of social division. That is to say that these categories are the result of the interactions between all different social actors. As Dorthe Staunaes (2003) clearly sums up, gender, race, class, etcetera... are not the causes of certain phenomena, but the product. By asserting that these categories are socially constructed, socio-constructivist feminists criticize the more fixed nature of social categories as proposed by systemic feminists. Following on from Staunaes'

statement, Baukje Prins (2006) estimates that a socio-constructivist approach allows the understanding of how different power relations are constantly updated through peoples' experiences, but also how subjects transit in between and negotiate them in their process of self-construction.

By adopting a more socio-constructivist approach, two important challenges traditionally linked to the theory of intersectionality can be overcome. First, the difficulty of introducing emotional aspects into intersectional analyses. In this regard, Nira Yuval-Davis, in an article entitled "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics", already proposed in 2009 to integrate both structural and subjective dimensions into a single model of intersectionality. Second, the possibility of examining how intersectionality is being interpreted and which meanings it acquires depending on the context. In this respect, Carmen Romero Bachiller and Marisela Montenegro (2013) have advocated for transitioning from Crenshaw's intersectionality, which is illustrated by the analogy of car traffic at a street crossing, to a more "situational" one. This approach would involve taking into account both the socio-historical and local contexts in which intersectionality is formed, in order to visualize constructions of femininity and masculinity as being always particular, unique. With regards to all these aspects, the already mentioned research work by Izquierdo and Hartog (2011) is certainly a great example of how to carry out an analysis that is sensitive to emotional factors and that takes into account peoples' socio-historical and local realities at the same time.

3 - THE APARTHEID PROJECT AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF MASCULINITY IN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: A CASE STUDY

The objective of the present case study is to examine the tension between, on the one hand, the apartheid project as a driver of black men's emasculation and, on the other, masculinity discourses embedded in both responses and resistances to it and the subsequent nation-building process, with a specific focus on the African National Congress (ANC). As for its structure, this case study is divided into the three sections outlined in the Introduction. Each section's concrete methodology and organisation, as well as objectives, will be briefly explained again at the beginning of each one of them.

3.1 - THE APARTHEID PROJECT AND BLACK MEN'S EMASCULATION

The objective of this first section is to examine, on the basis of Nira Yuval Davis' intersectional analysis grid (2009), the structural determinants of the apartheid project having driven black men's emasculation and their symbolic implications. So as to facilitate its understanding, the present section has been divided into two parts, which correspond to each of the issues addressed.

3.1.1 - Structural determinants

Apartheid has come to define the system of institutionalised racial segregation inaugurated by the National Party after its election victory in 1948, which lasted until the early 1990s. As the aim of this subsection is not to develop a comprehensive account of the apartheid project but to shed light on the ways the latter may have emphasized black men's emasculation, I will rather concentrate only on its defining features and their subsequent effects.

Undoubtedly, and as the apartheid state developed a series of laws, regulations and proscriptions - such as the 1950 Population Registration Act or the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act, among others - designed to enforce and sustain systematic racial separatism, race permeated all spheres of society. Notwithstanding, all those laws, regulations and proscriptions would have had no "real" effect without a particular politics of population,

without them being tied to racialized geographies. Hence, a second and equally fundamental condition of the apartheid project was spatial. As a matter of fact, the 1913 Land Act and the 1923 Urban Areas Act - both complemented later on with the 1936 Native Land and Trust Act - already provided a framework of spatial segregation, which the apartheid state refashioned and extended throughout subsequent years.

As stated by Glen Elder (1998), “part of that racial invention through spatial practice also included the politics of sex and the body” (p.114). In fact, two of the very first apartheid laws - as informed by State anxiety about black men’s perceived sexual threat and the male body in general - were primarily concerned with the regulation of gender and sexuality. Grouped together, the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the 1950 Immorality Act prohibited sexual relations “across the color bar”, thereby enforcing a racially-based sexual segregation. Particularly interesting then is to look at the ways these laws, together with the aforementioned ones, regulated and constructed both white and black masculinity. In order to properly do so, it is worthwhile to go back to the Literature Review’s discussion regarding the concept of “hegemonic masculinity”.

As mentioned there, the latter makes reference to a particular political ideal or model of masculinity that “occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations” (Connell, 1995, p.76). The concept is therefore instrumental in recognising the existence of multiple forms of masculinity and differences, inequalities and hierarchies among them too. In the South African case, hegemonic masculinity had both formed and been formed by the politics of racialisation (Unterhalter, 2000, p.162). The Apartheid project, as an attempt to promote and sustain white political supremacy, provided particular conditions for the construction of white male identities, them being defined and maintained in juxtaposition with masculinities linked to marginalised and subordinate racialised groups (Slootmaeckers, 2019, p.247) - that is, principally, black men. Expressed differently, white masculinity gained its meaning under apartheid through processes of othering embedded in relationships of domination with black masculinities. Such processes of othering are the *logic of contrast* and the *logic of contradiction* (Christensen and Jensen, 2014; Hutchings, 2008), respectively. In the following lines, the effects of each one of them on black men’s subjectivity are considered separately, although it should be recognised that, in practice, they were by no means mutually exclusive.

To begin with, the *logic of contrast* determines the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and marginalised masculinity, which results from the intersection of gender, race, class and other processes of social division. Above all, the *logic of contrast* is aimed at maintaining, through separatism and exclusion, the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate masculinities. Such a divide between “real men” and “others” - or, expressed differently, normal versus deviant - was certainly one of the abiding principles of apartheid. Owing to the ubiquity of race, black people were viewed as less advanced than whites, with their physical attributes becoming markers of cultural inferiority. In line with this, the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act provides for an illustrative example: its passing brought in, throughout subsequent years, a governmental system founded on chiefs and “tribal authorities” as the only political representation for black Africans; furthermore, all black Africans were assigned a “homeland” on the basis of their record of origin, thus accentuating their retribalization. Hence, and according to these different examples, the *logic of contrast* can be seen as one of the driving forces of black men’s emasculation under apartheid because the validity of their masculinity was denied as a result of it.

In a different manner, the *logic of contradiction* conditions the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and subordinate masculinity. In this instance, subordination is much more than mere stigmatization; actually, the former is deeply rooted in the apartheid’s structural and symbolic exclusionary practices. The *logic of contradiction* creates and maintains the distinction between the masculine and the not-masculine, thus exacerbating the aforementioned divide between “real men” and “others”. The effects on black men’s sexuality of particular apartheid laws concerned with the regulation of gender and sexuality exemplify its significance. For instance, under the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the 1950 Immorality Act black men’s sexual relations were deemed transgressive in at least two ways: first, sex with women of other racial groups was outlawed; second, sex between men was also outlawed (Elder, 1998, p.116). From a purely sexual - though considerably symbolic too - standpoint, the enforcement of these laws constructed the emasculated other. In line with this, and moving towards a more political point of view, subordination (added to marginalisation) became more pronounced when considering how black men aspired to (white) masculine ideals. As it will be duly explained later on, black men’s lack of access to the modern political system - fuelled through the *logic of contrast*, and exacerbated through the *logic of contradiction* - was also viewed as a denial of manhood, as both a structural and symbolic emasculation.

3.1.2 - Symbolic implications

In this second part, the analysis of the symbolic implications of black men's emasculation is carried out on the assumption that the Apartheid project was, throughout, a modern/colonial one. Nonetheless, it should be noted that some symbolic features have already been approached in the previous part, mainly when dealing with the effects produced by the logics of contrast and contradiction. Worth mentioning too before starting is the fact that the present part has predominantly been developed on the basis of a section of Deborah Posel's account on the apartheid as a modernising project (2011, pp.343-345); moreover, the latter has been confronted with Maria Lugones' seminal contributions to decolonial feminism (2008; 2011).

First of all, it is important to bear in mind the fact that the project of modernity - principally viewed then as an index of civilisation - was already evident in South African governance from the time of Union in 1910 (Posel, 2011, p.343). For instance, and as Natasha Erlank (2003, p.654) points out, the advent of Apartheid in 1948 occurred in a context in which Africans were "modernizing" their social and private lives. In turn, the advancement of apartheid brought with it, at the bureaucratic level, an increased professionalisation of administration, as well as an unprecedented obsession with measurement. In this regard, one should also take into account that the Apartheid state's political standard was always closely aligned - even during the years of greatest isolation and repudiation by the international community - with Western notions of the modern state dependent on centrally planned modes of governance (Posel, 2011, p.344).

Looking from a more symbolic standpoint, the Apartheid state articulated and channelled its immanent "coloniality" - with reference to the work of Maria Lugones (2008; 2011) - through bureaucratic means. In other words, the Apartheid state's day-to-day exercise of power demanded the construction of the marginalised and subordinate Other through particular forms of (racial, sexual) othering; the latter were highly dependent on their "fixity" for the proper depiction of what had always been (historically, culturally) "in place". So, and to summarize, it is argued here that it was predominantly through modern means of social engineering that the Apartheid state, in pursuit of its socio-spatial politics, gave symbolic rigidity to notions of race, gender and sexuality.

Following on from this, and according to decolonial feminism's premises, it can be stated that under apartheid both race and gender became social organizing principles (Lugones, 2008):

both reproduced hierarchies of status or opportunity according to binary dichotomies typical of colonial times. Notwithstanding, it should be noted that everyday life under apartheid never really presented a binary structure; indeed, it was full of nuances. What is rather being asserted here is that the apartheid per se generated fictitious binary divisions, which permeated reality to a certain degree.

With these binary dichotomies having been naturalized in some measure, it becomes possible to understand apartheid as a matter of (white, civilized) masculine versus (black, savage) emasculated relationships. Subsequently, it is also possible to view resistance and liberation movements - in this particular case, the ANC - as being determined by the aim to move from one categorisation to another. That is to say that black men's perceived undermining of manliness triggered from their side the need for reasserting their masculinity - their symbolic virility - in a form of mirror imaging. In this respect, it is particularly relevant to point out that early nationalist leaders, as well as subsequent ones, were mainly born and raised in middle-class African households (Erlank, 2003, p.654). There was thus, from the very beginning, a certain aspiration to that modernity that was revoked with apartheid.

3.2 - CONSTRUCTIONS OF MASCULINITY IN THE ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE

This second section is intended to provide an overview of the formation and enactment of masculinity in the ANC's responses and resistances to apartheid by setting up a dialogue between the works of different scholars that have tackled this issue. In this regard, South African masculinity studies have always been predominantly focused on the connections between masculinity and violence; therefore, only a few scholars (Unterhalter, 2000; Xaba, 2001; Erlank, 2003; Suttner, 2005) have been concerned with the effect of masculine discourses at the political level. Since their works differ in perspective and approach - despite revolving around a similar line of argument -, the present section seeks to establish an open dialogue between them, with their points of friction and agreement being signalled and discussed and consequently determining this section's organisation.

Finally, let it be said too that original quotations coming from these scholars' works - such as fragments of speeches - will be duly transcribed as long as it is considered that (1) they facilitate the reader's understanding of the arguments advanced by the given scholar; (2) they

enrich the present explanation; and (3) they favour dialogue between them. At no time is this intended to take advantage of their works, but rather to point out the value of their findings.

3.2.1 - The early configuration of a masculinist liberation movement

To begin with, Natasha Erlank (2003) has interrogated intersections between constructions of masculinity and nationalist discourses from the early years of Union to the advent of Apartheid in 1948. In this respect, one should bear in mind that some of apartheid's most characteristic building blocks had already been implemented - or, at least, partially implemented - by the time the National Party won the 1948 elections. For instance, the country was already largely divided according to racial lines. In addition to spatial segregation, other racially discriminatory laws and practices were already in existence, as illustrated by the fact that the African population already had almost no voting rights.

All these aspects are certainly of huge relevance for understanding the terms under which a nationalist project and discourse started to develop. According to Erlank, "the combined effect of racist legislation and lack of voting rights turned African men into children" (2003, p.662). Despite the fact that the caricaturization of Africans as a "child race" came exclusively from whites, its use by early black nationalist leaders suggests the need to consider how there was, since the very beginning, an intention to counteract it. Hence, both the denial of - or the threat to - manhood, on the one hand, and the nonacceptance of a forced "childlike status", on the other, had a prominent rhetorical place in early nationalist discourse.

Erlank illustrates this by citing the words of Zaccheus Mahabane, among others. Owing to the fact that they do certainly help illuminate the above mentioned aspects, they have been transcribed hereunder. So, in an address to the Cape Province National Congress in 1921, Mahabane - who would then become ANC president from 1924 to 1927 and 1937 to 1940 - stated:

'[T]he white man... has described our people as the 'child races' of the Empire. They have carried this to a logical conclusion by denying us the right, privileges and responsibilities of manhood... I emphatically refuse to submit or subscribe to this policy of treating men of maturer years as children or youths" (p.662)

With regards to Mahabane's words, let's not forget that the Apartheid project started in a context in which Africans were "modernizing" their social and private lives - as mentioned in

the previous section. Therefore, the denial of manhood has to be read also as expressing a threat to African's - but especially black men's - aspiration to modernity. It should be noted here that the insistent focus on black men's experience of apartheid - as illustrated by the last sentence - arises from the acknowledgement of the fact that in addition to representing a rejection of colonial stereotypes, South Africa's Western-style modernization resulted in the development of a new gendered model of society, characterized by "the promotion of distinct feminine and masculine qualities as well as a separation of public from domestic life" (Erlank, 2003, p.657). Therefore, and coming back to the main idea, the "denial of manhood" metaphor has to be read as also expressing - beyond the general threat to Africans' aspiration to modernity - black men's particular impossibility to participate in the public realm for nation-building purposes. In this sense, a forced "childlike status" symbolically relegated black men to the domestic (feminine) domain.

This aspect is also noticeable in the ANC Youth League's discursive endeavours. Founded in 1944 with the aim of broadening the ANC's membership, the Youth League quickly became a strong bastion of political protest, owing to its sometimes more radical approach (Mager and Mulaudzi, 2011, p.372). In her work, Erlank highlights the fact that the preamble of the ANC Youth League Manifesto constantly depicted "black and white struggle as masculine, including a reference to the 'emasculatation of an entire community' achieved by successive segregationist legislation" (2003, p.665).

It is on the basis of these different questions that Natasha Erlank acknowledges the early configuration of a masculinist liberation movement aimed at reasserting black men's - and thus the South African nation's - virility. In this sense, Erlank agrees with Raymond Suttner (2005) in relation to the significance of black men's denial of manhood during apartheid and the effects it produced; notwithstanding, Suttner - who comes from within the ANC - appears more prone to legitimizing the need for black men to assert their masculinity in light of the subjugation and disparagement they were suffering.

3.2.2 - The development and consolidation of a struggle-related masculinity

With the apartheid project already in place, the ANC initially promoted strategies of civil disobedience. But as the apartheid regime intensified, so did protests. The open-air meeting in Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 - which ended up with police opening fire on demonstrators and killing 69 as well as wounding 180 others - was certainly a pivotal

moment, mainly owing to the fact that the events that followed completely changed the nature of nationalist resistance (Mager and Mulaudzi, 2011, p.396). A few days later, the ANC and other resistance movements were banned. This forced them to go underground and shift their strategies towards armed confrontation through their respective military wings.

By focusing on this particular period, Raymond Suttner has uncovered new elements related to ANC masculinities. More specifically, Suttner has stressed out the fact that, since the banning of the ANC, “the discourse of denial of manhood coexists with that of regaining manhood through the struggle or struggle-related activities” (2005, p.78). In other words, emasculation was now being confronted with the willingness to fight that is characteristic of (masculine) warrior ideology. In this respect, Suttner notes that throughout this period all broadcasts of *Radio Freedom* - the ANC’s radio station - would begin with references to earlier South African warriors, and so did pamphlets (2005, p.87). By means of this, ANC identity was equated with early warriors - those who fought in the last rebellions before Union -, thus drawing inspiration from that martial heroism by establishing a direct connection between past and present times.

One can therefore observe a certain transition from early “discursive contestation” - with reference to the ideas advanced by Natasha Erlank (2003) - to an actual self-affirmation through armed struggle. This last aspect - that of self-affirmation through armed struggle - is what Suttner has defined as “the making of a man” or “transition to manhood” through joining the armed struggle (2005, p.78). On this matter, the examples he provides within two specific sections of his work are certainly clarifying.

On the one hand, he exposes in pages 80 to 83 the relationship between transitioning from a “childlike status” to manhood and joining the MK - “uMkhonto we Sizwe”, the armed wing of the ANC. According to Suttner, the MK drew on traditions and rites of passage to recruit new members. In this way, initiation into manhood would become simultaneously an initiation into the struggle. In this respect, worth taking a look at is a fragment of an interview that Suttner himself conducted (2005, p.82) with Radilori John Moumakwaand, a boy from the community of Dinokana - a village forming part of Lehurutshe near Zeerust - who was recruited by the MK during apartheid. Because it does certainly help illuminate the above mentioned aspects, it has been transcribed hereunder:

“Question: Had you not been initiated?

Answer: No.

Q: Oh, so this was instead of initiation?

A: It's a form of initiation.

Q: It's a way of becoming a man?

A: It was a way of becoming a man.

Q: Oh, it wasn't after initiation, because your age group, age-set was going to get initiated through MK?

A: Through the MK.”

On the other hand, Suttner also provides in subsequent pages evidence of similar initiation rituals performed on Robben Island during imprisonment: young prisoners would in some occasions be circumcised, as well as instructed by old prisoners on masculine qualities and conducts. Undoubtedly, this is a different - although still dependent on masculine perceptions of heroism - transition to manhood, as it is rather linked to acts of comradeship between male prisoners

Finally, some African feminist scholars (Cock, 1994; Salo, 2000) have also analysed the driving forces behind resistance to apartheid. In this regard, they have shed light on the ways the apartheid's militaristic procedures of marginalisation and subordination pervaded resistance movements. According to Elaine Salo, for example, “struggle movements such as the Bonteheuwel Military Wing or MK based their opposition upon the very militaristic masculinity that it resisted” (2000, p.6) - in a form of mirror imaging, again. That is to say that the shift towards armed struggle and the development of a warrior and heroic masculinity did not derive exclusively from the banning of the ANC and other resistance movements, as Suttner's work may suggest in some way. On the contrary, one needs to also take into account how the boasting of militarized masculinity during apartheid affected and shaped black identity and behaviour.

3.2.3 - Features of post-apartheid masculinity

For her part, Thokozani Xaba (2001) has defined that particular model of masculinity characterized by a willingness to fight and emulate early South African warriors as “struggle masculinity”. However, and because her analysis rather focuses on the 1980s and 1990s, Xaba identifies a move from such “struggle masculinity” towards one that she calls “post-struggle masculinity”. According to her, the latter is a product of the new South Africa and is

embodied by post-apartheid ANC leaders, with their special concern for gender equality and human rights.

In this sense, Xaba differs from Elaine Unterhalter (2000), who considers that struggle masculinity is still embodied by post-apartheid leaders. Unterhalter has come to such a conclusion after analysing several autobiographical writings of the anti-apartheid struggle, with an important percentage of them having been published in its aftermath. This last aspect is key to understanding Unterhalter's ideas, as it allows her to unveil the prevalence of a particular discourse of heroism among ANC leaders.

This debate between Xaba (2001) and Unterhalter (2000) will be further developed in the next section. Because both scholars focus on post-apartheid masculinity, the discourse analysis will mainly revolve around their contributions. But what can be concluded at this stage is that there is a clear consensus among all these scholars regarding the significance of how black men were denied their manhood during apartheid. Despite the fact that only Natasha Erlank (2003) and Raymond Suttner (2005) do actually make direct reference to it in their works, it can be argued that Thokozani Xaba (2001) and Elaine Unterhalter (2000) do also develop their analyses according to this initial premise. All this confirms the validity of the arguments advanced in the previous section.

Furthermore, they all agree that there was a certain need for black men to assert that they were men; notwithstanding, each of them has come up with particular findings. The different notions and concepts that arise from their works help illustrate the evolution of ANC masculinity throughout apartheid: from one initially more worried about a forced "childlike status" towards more struggle-related others.

3.3 - MASCULINIST RHETORICS IN POST-APARTHEID NATION-BUILDING

The present section employs the qualitative method of discourse analysis to explore, in three speeches that Nelson Mandela pronounced during his first year of post-apartheid presidency (1994-1999), the existence of discursive structures typifying masculinity and femininity and their correspondence with the notions and concepts advanced throughout the previous section and compiled towards the end of it. The speeches in question are outlined hereunder in chronological order:

- his address in Cape Town the 9th May 1994 on the occasion of his inauguration as State President;
- his State of the Nation address in Cape Town the 24th May 1994;
- and his closing address at the 49th Conference of the African National Congress the 22nd December 1994

These speeches have been collected from two different online sources: the first two are available in the South African Government information website; the remaining one in the Nelson Mandela Foundation website. The main concern when selecting them has always been to avoid any biased choice, which would have certainly undermined the reliability and validity of this section's findings. That is the reason why the speeches are as general as possible; furthermore, they tend to have a significant length. In this respect, it has to be noted that findings have almost entirely arisen from their initial parts. This is principally due to the fact that in nationalist speeches initial parts tend to be devoted to drawing persuasive and alluring representations of history, as well as connections between the present moment and significant past events.

3.3.1 - Embodying the new South Africa

At the beginning of his 1994 State of the Nation address (see Annex 6.2), Nelson Mandela quoted a poem written by an Afrikaner woman, Ingrid Jonker. Beyond the symbolism of choosing an Afrikaner to embody the whole nation's unity, there is also the recognition of the efforts "her and other like her" underwent during apartheid. But paradoxically, the poem itself, what it depicts, ultimately reinforces masculinity, as it highlights black men's forced "childlike status" under apartheid and the process of transitioning to manhood through the struggle. Concrete verses of the poem have been transcribed hereunder, as it is believed they will help the reader understand the subsequent explanation:

"The child is not dead

[...]

The child is not dead

not at Langa nor at Nyanga

nor at Orlando nor at Sharpeville

nor at the police post at Philippi

[...]

The child grown to a man treks on through all Africa
the child grown to a giant journeys over the whole world”

The poem’s motif is the assertion of the fact that “the child is not dead” (despite apartheid); and it is throughout the last strophe, which is suffused with heroic and epic hints, that one witnesses the strength and potential of that “child [now] grown to a man”. In this regard, it is fundamental to note here that in many African anti-colonial writings the death of a child is a medium for articulating metaphors of “the nation” (Chrisman, 1997, p.58). More concretely, “the dead child becomes [...] an expression of the social and cultural impossibility of that nation” (Chrisman, 1997, p.59). But in this instance - that is, within the specific context it was quoted -, the poem discursively reinforces black men’s position as embodiments of the new South Africa and authorial voices of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Mandela did also portray nation-building as the “historic mission of the ANC” when he retraced, at the beginning of his closing address at the 49th Conference of the ANC (see Annex 6.3), the difficulties faced in previous conferences, as well as the latter’s achievements. He even included, at certain moments of his address, anecdotes aimed at both illustrating his personal evolution throughout the anti-apartheid struggle and stressing the richness of comradeship and the thrill of debate or discussion. In relation to this, Elaine Unterhalter has argued that “heroic masculinity entails giving oneself to the struggle and reforming oneself in that process” (2000, p.165). Hence, Mandela’s account of both the ANC’s and his work “for the nation” suggests that (masculine) heroic evocations of the past political struggle had a prominent rhetorical place in post-apartheid nationalist discourses.

3.3.2 - Heroic masculinity and the marking of history

The initial parts of Mandela’s address in Cape Town on the occasion of his inauguration as State President (see Annex 6.1) do also exemplify this last question. The address acquired an heroic tone from the very beginning, with Mandela proclaiming that “perhaps it was history that ordained that it be [t]here, at the Cape of Good Hope, that [they] should lay the foundation stone of [their] new nation”. Such a self-conscious location in history and commitment to the nation have been identified by Elaine Unterhalter (2000) as traits of heroic masculinity. As she points out, “the social construction of heroic masculinity

entails that manhood is proved by locating oneself in history, identifying the significance of history and working for a vision of a better future” (2000, p.173).

Shortly after the above mentioned statement, Mandela asserted that “it was on the sandy plains of [that] peninsula that the first battles of the epic wars of resistance were fought”. Afterwards, he also made reference to Robben Island. In a certain way, one could argue that his words reinforced a particular construction of struggle masculinity (Xaba, 2001); notwithstanding, it seems more precise to understand the statement and restatement of this history of resistance as being closer to features of heroic masculinity. In this regard, the main difference between struggle masculinity and heroic masculinity relates to the symbolic place conferred to the body in “the making of a man”. In constructions of struggle masculinity, the body becomes the living proof, the repository, of markings of violence coming from both domination - emasculation - and resistance to it - recall the examples taken from Raymond Suttner’s work: rites of passage or circumcision; imprisonment. By contrast, “heroic men do not mark bodies, but instead make their mark on historical time” (Unterhalter, 2000, p.173). Coming back to the statement that is being discussed in this paragraph, one can conclude that Mandela “[made] his mark on historical time” by equating the challenges at hand to those of early South African warriors.

To sum up, one can argue that the discursive logics that were initially mobilized for nation-building purposes were predominantly aimed at constructing heroic masculinity. This does not mean that there were no women involved in nation-building, but that they instead passed unnoticed due to the male authorial voice of that time. Mandela did certainly affirm and reaffirm his government’s commitment to gender equality; notwithstanding, his reiterative masculinist portrayals of both the anti-apartheid struggle and the nation-building process undermined women simultaneously. It is for this reason that the present research is skeptical on Thokozani Xaba’s concept of “post-struggle masculinity” as formulated in tandem with that of “struggle masculinity”. In this respect, it is believed here that such a reduction of reality to rigid models of masculinity that are either positive or negative is counterproductive for the analysis of complex processes of identity formation.

4 - CONCLUSIONS

The findings arising from the case study provide for various answers to the initial hypothesis in the form of three main conclusions. In the first place, Sections 1 and 2 have permitted the advancement of the fact that the apartheid emphasized black men's emasculation through particular politics of racialisation and spatial and sexual segregation. Such an understanding of the effects of apartheid on black men's subjectivity has been principally developed according to men's studies and through the analysis of the logics of othering embedded in particular relationships between masculinities. Moreover, the discussion of secondary sources in Section 2 of the case study has confirmed, through an inductive process of reasoning, the validity of such an understanding because it has shed light on the existence of constructions of masculinity in the ANC's responses and resistances to apartheid that were aimed at overcoming a forced childlike status - that is, emasculation - and reasserting black men's virility.

In the second place, Section 3 of the case study has proven, through the use of the qualitative method of discourse analysis, that the discursive logics that were initially mobilized for nation-building purposes were predominantly aimed at constructing heroic masculinity. Hence, it is possible to conclude that the post-apartheid nation-building process was a masculinized pursuit. In this respect, one could have also reached the same conclusion after acknowledging the apparent absence of women in the political arena that such male-centered discourses and endeavours - both throughout the anti-apartheid struggle and the years of nation-building - lead to.

In the third place, it has to be mentioned that the relationship between emasculation and the need to counterbalance it that is advanced in the hypothesis did in fact not determine the nature of the nation-building process. On the contrary, such a correlation becomes valid in the context of resistance to apartheid, as constructions of masculinity at that time appear, as mentioned before, more aimed at overcoming emasculation and reasserting black men's virility. Conversely, constructions of masculinity in the nation-building process seemed to rather focus on reinforcing the ANC's position as both chief representative of the anti-apartheid struggle and embodiment of the new South Africa.

Consequently, and in the light of these three main conclusions, it can be stated that the initial hypothesis has been partially validated.

4.1 - Contributions to the field of study

It is also hoped that this research work has been able to contribute to the various fields of study from which it finds its *raison d'être*. Firstly, this research may contribute to illuminating interesting aspects of the gendered dimensions of both domination and resistance to it. In this regard, the conceptualization of apartheid as a driver of black men's emasculation may expose both the effects of power on dominated's subjectivity and the symbolic nature of resistance to it. In so far as this research work has resorted to the theory of intersectionality to analyse a more macro phenomenon as well as constructions and performances of masculinity, it may also contribute to developing a less explored application of and approach to it. In this respect, one should bear in mind that the theory of intersectionality has been predominantly used in sociology for acknowledging women's realities - especially those concerning black and chicana women. Finally, a third way in which the present research may be of utility for other scholars has to do with the methods it uses: the discussion of secondary sources in Section 2 of the case study may function as a more specialized literature review concerning the formation and enactment of masculinity in the ANC's responses and resistances to apartheid; moreover, the discourse analysis in the following Section, although being limited in terms of scope, has still shed light on some of the conditions under which post-apartheid masculinity was constructed.

4.2 - Future areas of research

The aforementioned conclusions pave the way for future research on various aspects linked to the present work; interestingly, their outlining may in turn be helpful for better understanding this inquiry in itself. At a chronological level, it is clear that a more comprehensive examination of constructions of masculinity during the whole nation-building process would certainly provide for new and valuable insights regarding the different questions addressed in this research. Furthermore, and at a thematic level, it would be interesting to investigate whether similar patterns of behaviour were displayed by women or, in any case, how the latter performed gender under apartheid and throughout the anti-apartheid struggle. Finally, the last way in which the present work may open up new possibilities for research is by extrapolating its approach to other countries in order to then explore similarities and differences with the South African case.

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6 - ANNEXES: SPEECHES BY NELSON MANDELA

6.1 - Address on the occasion of his inauguration as State President, 9 May 1994

Mr Master of Ceremonies, your Excellencies, members of the Diplomatic Corps, my Fellow South Africans:

Today we are entering a new era for our country and its people. Today we celebrate not the victory of a party, but a victory for all the people of South Africa.

Our country has arrived at a decision. Among all the parties that contested the elections, the overwhelming majority of South Africans have mandated the African National Congress to lead our country into the future. The South Africa we have struggled for, in which all our people, be they African, Coloured, Indian or White, regard themselves as citizens of one nation is at hand.

Perhaps it was history that ordained that it be here, at the Cape of Good Hope, that we should lay the foundation stone of our new nation. For it was here at this Cape, over three centuries ago, that there began the fateful convergence of the peoples of Africa, Europe and Asia on these shores.

It was to this peninsula that the patriots, among them many princes and scholars, of Indonesia were dragged in chains. It was on the sandy plains of this peninsula that the first battles of the epic wars of resistance were fought.

When we look out across Table Bay, the horizon is dominated by Robben Island, whose infamy as a dungeon built to stifle the spirit of freedom is as old as colonialism in South Africa. For three centuries that island was seen as a place to which outcasts can be banished. The names of those who were incarcerated on Robben Island is a roll call of resistance fighters and democrats spanning over three centuries. If indeed this is a Cape of Good Hope, that hope owes much to the spirit of that legion of fighters and others of their calibre.

We have fought for a democratic constitution since the 1880s. Ours has been a quest for a constitution freely adopted by the people of South Africa, reflecting their wishes and their aspirations. The

struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community or gender among South Africans. In honouring those who fought to see this day arrive, we honour the best sons and daughters of all our people. We can count amongst them Africans, Coloureds, Whites, Indians, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Jews - all of them united by a common vision of a better life for the people of this country.

It was that vision that inspired us in 1923 when we adopted the first ever Bill of Rights in this country. That same vision spurred us to put forward the African Claims in 1946. It is also the founding principle of the Freedom Charter we adopted as policy in 1955, which in its very first lines, places before South Africa an inclusive basis for citizenship.

In the 1980s the African National Congress was still setting the pace, being the first major political formation in South Africa to commit itself firmly to a Bill of Rights, which we published in November 1990. These milestones give concrete expression to what South Africa can become. They speak of a constitutional, democratic, political order in which, regardless of colour, gender, religion, political opinion or sexual orientation, the law will provide for the equal protection of all citizens.

They project a democracy in which the government, whomever that government may be, will be bound by a higher set of rules, embodied in a constitution, and will not be able to govern the country as it pleases.

Democracy is based on the majority principle. This is especially true in a country such as ours where the vast majority have been systematically denied their rights. At the same time, democracy also requires that the rights of political and other minorities be safeguarded.

In the political order we have established there will be regular, open and free elections, at all levels of government - central, provincial and municipal. There shall also be a social order which respects

completely the culture, language and religious rights of all sections of our society and the fundamental rights of the individual.

The task at hand will not be easy. But you have mandated us to change South Africa from a country in which the majority lived with little hope, to one in which they can live and work with dignity, with a sense of self-esteem and confidence in the future. The cornerstone of building a better life of opportunity, freedom and prosperity is the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

This needs unity of purpose. It needs action. It requires us all to work together to bring an end to division, an end to suspicion and build a nation united in our diversity.

The people of South Africa have spoken in these elections. They want change! And change is what they will get. Our plan is to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all South Africans. We will tackle the widespread poverty so pervasive among the majority of our people. By encouraging investors and the democratic state to support job creating projects in which manufacturing will play a central role we will try to change our country from a net exporter of raw material to one that exports finished products through beneficiation.

The government will devise policies that encourage and reward productive enterprise among the disadvantaged communities - African, Coloured and Indian. By easing credit conditions we can assist them to make inroads into the productive and manufacturing spheres and break out of the small-scale distribution to which they are presently confined.

To raise our country and its people from the morass of racism and apartheid will require determination and effort. As a government, the ANC will create a legal framework that will assist, rather than impede, the awesome task of reconstruction and development of our battered society.

While we are and shall remain fully committed to the spirit of a government of national unity, we are determined to initiate and bring about the change that our mandate from the people demands.

We place our vision of a new constitutional order for South Africa on the table not as conquerors, prescribing to the conquered. We speak as fellow citizens to heal the wounds of the past with the intent of constructing a new order based on justice for all.

This is the challenge that faces all South Africans today, and it is one to which I am certain we will all rise.

6.2 - State of the Nation Address, 24 May 1994

Madame Speaker and Deputy Speaker, President of the Senate and Deputy President, Deputy Presidents, Chief Justice, distinguished members of the National Assembly and the Senate, Provincial Premiers, Commanders of the Security Forces, members of the Diplomatic Corps, esteemed guests, comrades, ladies and gentlemen.

The time will come when our nation will honour the memory of all the sons, the daughters, the mothers, the fathers, the youth and the children who, by their thoughts and deeds, gave us the right to assert with pride that we are South Africans, that we are Africans and that we are citizens of the world.

The certainties that come with age tell me that among these we shall find an Afrikaner woman who transcended a particular experience and became a South African, an African and a citizen of the world.

Her name is Ingrid Jonker.

She was both a poet and a South African. She was both an Afrikaner and an African. She was both an artist and a human being.

In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted with death, she asserted the beauty of life.

In the dark days when all seemed hopeless in our country, when many refused to hear her resonant voice, she took her own life.

To her and others like her, we owe a debt to life itself. To her and others like her, we owe a commitment to the poor, the oppressed, the wretched and the despised.

In the aftermath of the massacre at the anti-pass demonstration in Sharpeville she wrote that:

*"The child is not dead
the child lifts his fists against his mother
who shouts Africa!..."*

*The child is not dead
not at Langa nor at Nyanga
nor at Orlando nor at Sharpeville*

*nor at the police post at Philippi
where he lies with a bullet through his brain...*

*the child is present at all assemblies and
law-giving
the child peers through the windows of houses
and into the hearts of mothers
this child who only wanted to play in the sun at
Nyanga
is everywhere*

*the child grown to a man treks on through all
Africa
the child grown to a giant journeys
over the whole world
without a pass!"*

And in this glorious vision, she instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child.

It is these things that we must achieve to give meaning to our presence in this chamber and to give purpose to our occupancy of the seat of government.

And so we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

The government I have the honour to lead and I dare say the masses who elected us to serve in this role are inspired by the single vision of creating a people-centred society.

Accordingly, the purpose that will drive this government shall be the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment, the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom.

The acid test of the legitimacy of the programmes we elaborate, the government institutions we create, the legislation we adopt must be whether they serve these objectives.

Our single most important challenge is therefore to help establish a social order in which the freedom

of the individual will truly mean the freedom of the individual.

We must construct that people-centred society of freedom in such a manner that it guarantees the political and the human rights of all our citizens.

As an affirmation of the government's commitment to an entrenched human rights culture, we shall immediately take steps to inform the Secretary General of the United Nations that we will subscribe to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We shall take steps to ensure that we accede to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Social and Economic Rights and other human rights instruments of the United Nations.

Our definition of the freedom of the individual must be instructed by the fundamental objective to restore the human dignity of each and every South African.

This requires that we speak not only of political freedoms.

My government's commitment to create a people-centred society of liberty binds us to the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation, freedom from ignorance, freedom from suppression and freedom from fear.

These freedoms are fundamental to the guarantee of human dignity. They will therefore constitute part of the centrepiece of what this government will seek to achieve, the focal point on which our attention will be continuously focused.

The things we have said constitute the true meaning, the justification and the purpose of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, without which it would lose all legitimacy.

When we elaborated this Programme we were inspired by the hope that all South Africans of goodwill could join together to provide a better life for all. We were pleased that other political organisations announced similar aims.

Today, I am happy to announce that the Cabinet of the Government of National Unity has reached consensus not only on the broad objective of the creation of the people-centred society of which I

have spoken, but also on many elements of a plan broadly based on that Programme for Reconstruction and Development.

Let me indicate some of the more important agreements. Annually, in the combined budgets of the central government and the provinces, we will provide for an increasing amount of funding for the plan.

This will start with an appropriation of R2,5 billion in the 1994/95 budget that will be presented next month. This should rise to more than R10 billion by the fifth year of the life of this government.

Government will also use its own allocation of funds to the Reconstruction and Development Plan to exert maximum leverage in marshalling funds from within South Africa and abroad.

In this regard, I am pleased to report that we have been holding consultations with some of the principal business leaders of our country.

Consequently, we are assured that the business sector can and will make a significant contribution towards the structuring and management of such reconstruction and development funds, towards the effective identification and implementation of projects and by supporting the financing of the socio-economic development effort.

I am also pleased to report that many of our friends abroad have already made commitments to assist us to generate the reconstruction and development funds we need.

We thank them most sincerely for their positive attitude which arises not from the objectives of charity but from the desire to express solidarity with the new society we seek to build.

We accept the duty of coordinating the management of the total resources that will be generated, without seeking to prescribe to other contributors or undermining the continued role of non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations.

The initial R2,5 billion will be found from savings and the redirection of spending, as included in the preliminary 1994/95 budget proposals presented to Cabinet.

I would like to thank the departments of state for their cooperation in carrying out this adjustment to their planning, at short notice.

As we allocate larger amounts in future, we shall require further adjustments by departments, partly to correct the bias in the spending patterns which are a legacy of the past.

The longer period shall allow such changes to be properly planned. But they will still make great demands on the managerial capacity and spirit of cooperation of the Cabinet and the whole civil service.

We are confident that, motivated by the desire to serve the people, the public service will discharge its responsibilities with diligence, sensitivity and enthusiasm, among other things paying attention to the important goal of increasing efficiency and productivity.

My government is equally committed to ensure that we use this longer period properly fully to bring into the decision-making processes organs of civil society.

This will include the trade union movement and civic organisations, so that at no time should the government become isolated from the people. At the same time, steps will be taken to build the capacity of communities to manage their own affairs.

Precisely because we are committed to ensuring sustainable growth and development leading to a better life for all, we will continue existing programmes of fiscal rehabilitation.

We are therefore determined to make every effort to contain real general government consumption at present levels and to manage the budget deficit with a view to its continuous reduction.

Similarly, we agree that a permanently higher general level of taxation is to be avoided.

To achieve these important objectives will require consistent discipline on the part of both the central and the provincial governments.

Furthermore, this disciplined approach will ensure that we integrate the objectives of our Reconstruction and Development Plan within government expenditure and not treat them as incidental to the tasks of government, marginalised

to the status of mere additions to the level of expenditure.

There are major areas of desperate need in our society.

As a signal of its seriousness to address these, the government will, within the next 100 days, implement various projects under the direct supervision of the President. Let me briefly mention these.

Children under the age of six and pregnant mothers will receive free medical care in every state hospital and clinic where such need exists. Similarly, a nutritional feeding scheme will be implemented in every primary school where such need is established. A concrete process of consultation between the major stakeholders in this area will be organised immediately.

A programme is already being implemented to electrify 350 000 homes during the current financial year.

A campaign will be launched at every level of government, a public works programme designed and all efforts made to involve the private sector, organised labour, the civics and other community organisations to rebuild our townships, restore services in rural and urban areas, while addressing the issue of job creation and training, especially for our unemployed youth.

Many details of the overall reconstruction and development plan remain to be discussed, agreed and put in place. But I believe that the broad outline I have given and the immediate initiatives I have mentioned, will allow you to share my joy at the progress already made by the Government of National Unity with regard to this important matter.

We shall carry out this plan within the context of a policy aimed at building a strong and growing economy which will benefit all our people.

I would like to deal with a few matters in this regard.

In support of sustainable economic growth and the macro-economic objective of the Government, it will remain the primary objective of monetary policy to promote and maintain overall financial stability.

The Reserve Bank has the important function of protecting the value of our currency and striving for relative price stability at all times.

We are pleased that Dr Chris Stals will continue to serve as Governor of the Reserve Bank.

The battle to reduce the rate of inflation will continue. The realisation of many of our objectives for a fair and equal treatment of all our people will not be possible unless we succeed in avoiding high inflation in the economy.

We also face a major challenge in re-entering the global economy, while stable prices are vital to the restructuring of our industries and dealing with the critical issue of job-creation.

We are blessed with a heritage of a sophisticated financial sector. Our financial markets are well-placed to play an important part in the allocation of scarce funds to give effect to our economic development programme.

It is also necessary that we think in new ways, to meet the challenges of reconstruction and development.

We therefore welcome recent developments that provide for the creation of community banks. We would also like to encourage the greater participation of established financial institutions in the important area of black economic empowerment and support for the development of small and medium business.

The latter two areas of economic activity will receive the greatest attention of the Government because of their importance in deracialising and democratising the economy and creating the jobs which our people need.

We pay attention to the important matter of consumer protection to shield the ordinary people of our country from unscrupulous business practices.

We must also be clear that we must pay increased attention to tourism. The jobs and foreign currency which tourism generates will strongly influence our economy.

The active and imaginative intervention of all stake holders in this area of our national life must take advantage of the excellent atmosphere created

by our peaceful transition to democracy to make tourism a major positive force in the future.

We look forward to the private sector as a whole playing a central role in achieving the significantly high and sustainable rates of economic growth.

We are convinced that the growth prospects of this sector will be enhanced by the measures of fiscal discipline contained in our approach to the Reconstruction and Development Programme and by the continued steady course of monetary policy.

As growth proceeds, more domestic savings will progressively become available to finance increased investment at reasonable rates of interest.

The Government is also acutely conscious of the fact that we should work firstly to return the capital account of the balance of payments to equilibrium and, in due course, to ensure a net inflow of resources, consistent with the experience of other countries that enjoy more rapid growth rates.

The present situation of a dual currency and the existence of an exchange control apparatus is a direct result of the conflict in which our country was embroiled in the past.

As the situation returns to normal, these arrangements will be subjected to critical scrutiny. It should be possible to match the steady growth of confidence at home and abroad with other confidence enhancing modifications to everybody's benefit.

The Government will also address all other matters that relate to the creation of an attractive investment climate for both domestic and foreign investors, conscious of the fact that we have to compete with the rest of the world in terms of attracting, in particular, foreign direct investment.

I am pleased that we have already started to address the important question of our trade policy, guided by our GATT commitments and the determination systematically to open the economy to global competition in a carefully managed process.

Soon we will also begin trade negotiations with, among others, the European Union, the United States, our partners in the Southern African Customs Unions and our neighbours in the Southern African Development Community to

provide a stable and mutually beneficial framework for our international economic relations.

We will also be looking very closely at the question of enhancing South-South cooperation in general as part of the effort to expand our economic links with the rest of the world.

Consistent with our objective of creating a people-centred society and effectively addressing the critical questions of growth, reconstruction and development, we will, together with organised labour and the private sector, pay special attention to the issue of human resource development.

Both the public and the private sectors will be encouraged to regard labour as a resource and not a cost. Education and training must therefore be looked at very closely to ensure that we empower the workers, raise productivity levels and meet the skills needs of a modern economy.

Important work will have to be done in and significant resources devoted to the areas of science and technology, including research and development.

Government is also convinced that organised labour is an important partner whose cooperation is crucial for the reconstruction and development of our country.

That partnership requires, among other things, that our labour law be reformed so that it is in line with international standards, apartheid vestiges are removed and a more harmonious labour relations dispensation is created, on the basis of tripartite cooperation between government, labour and capital.

The Government is determined forcefully to confront the scourge of unemployment, not by way of handouts but by the creation of work opportunities.

The Government will also deal sensitively with the issue of population movements into the country, to protect our workers, to guard against the exploitation of vulnerable workers and to ensure friendly relations with all countries and peoples.

The Government is also taking urgent measures to deal firmly with drug trafficking, some of which is carried out by foreign nationals who are resident in the country.

We must end racism in the workplace as part of our common offensive against racism in general. No more should words like Kaffirs, Hottentots, Coolies, Boy, Girl and Baas be part of our vocabulary.

I also trust that the matter of paying the workers for the public holidays proclaimed in order to ensure their participation in the elections and the inauguration ceremonies will now be resolved as a result of recent consultations.

This would be a welcome demonstration by the private sector of its involvement in the beautiful future we are all trying to build.

We have devoted time to a discussion of economic questions because they are fundamental to the realisation of the fundamental objectives of the reconstruction and development programme.

Below I mention some of the work in which the relevant governments are already involved to translate these objectives into reality.

The Government will take steps to ensure the provision of clean water on the basis of the principle of water security for all and the introduction of proper sanitation sensitive to the protection of the environment.

We are determined to address the dire housing shortage in a vigorous manner, acting together with the private sector and the communities in need of shelter.

Health also remains a fundamental building block of the humane society we are determined to create through the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

We must address the needs of the aged and disabled, uplift disadvantaged sectors such as the women and the youth, and improve the lives of our people in the rural communities and the informal settlements.

We must invest substantial amounts in education and training and meet our commitment to introduce free and compulsory education for a period of at least 9 years. Everywhere we must reinductate the culture of learning and of teaching and make it possible for this culture to thrive.

We must combat such social pathologies as widespread poverty, the breakdown of family life,

crime, alcohol and drug abuse, the abuse of children, women and the elderly and the painful reality of street children. We are giving urgent attention to the long waiting lists for the payment of social grants which have developed in some areas, owing to lack of funds.

I am especially pleased that we have a ministry dedicated to the issue of the environment. Its work must impact on many aspects of national activity and address the question of the well-being of society as a whole and the preservation of a healthy environmental future even for a generation not yet born.

As we began this address, we borrowed the words of Ingrid Jonker to focus on the plight of the children of our country.

I would now like to say that the Government will, as a matter of urgency, attend to the tragic and complex question of children and juveniles in detention and prison.

The basic principle from which we will proceed from now on is that we must rescue the children of the nation and ensure that the system of criminal justice must be the very last resort in the case of juvenile offenders.

I have therefore issued instructions to the Departments concerned, as a matter of urgency, to work out the necessary guidelines which will enable us to empty our prisons of children and to place them in suitable alternative care. This is in addition to an amnesty for various categories serving prisoners as will be effected in terms of what I said in my Inauguration Address two week ago.

In this context, I also need to make the point that the Government will also not delay unduly with regard to attending to the vexed and unresolved issue of an amnesty for criminal activities carried out in furtherance of political objectives.

We will attend to this matter in a balanced and dignified way. The nation must come to terms with its past in a spirit of openness and forgiveness and proceed to build the future on the basis of repairing and healing.

The burden of the past lies heavily on all of us, including those responsible for inflicting injury and those who suffered.

Following the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, we will prepare the legislation which will seek to free the wrongdoers from fear of retribution and blackmail, while acknowledging the injury of those who have been harmed so that the individual wrongs, injuries, fears and hopes affecting individuals are identified and attended to.

In the meantime, summoning the full authority of the position to represent, we call on all concerned not to take any steps that might, in any way, impede or compromise the processes of reconciliation which the impending legislation will address.

The problem of politically motivated violence is still with us. We depend on our country's security forces to deal with this problem using all resources at their disposal. In this, and in their efforts to deal especially with criminal violence, they have our personal support and confidence.

We have also directed that all relevant ministries should engage the structures set up in terms of the National Peace Accord so that these can be invigorated to pursue their noble mission in the context of the changed circumstances in our country.

The Government will otherwise not spare any effort in ensuring that our security forces enjoy the standing they deserve of being accepted by all our people, the defenders of our sovereignty, our democratic system, the guarantors of a just peace within the country and the safety and security of all citizens and their property.

Let me also take this opportunity to reiterate our assurance to the rest of the public service that the Government is firmly committed to the protection of the rights of all members of this service.

We are also determined to work with the organisations of the service to ensure that we have the democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, honest and accountable corps of public servants which members of the Public Service themselves desire.

In this context, we must also make the observation that the Government will not waver from the principle of achieving parity in remuneration and conditions of service among all workers in the public sector.

The youth of our country are the valued possession of the nation. Without them there can be no future.

Their needs are immense and urgent. They are at the centre of our reconstruction and development plan.

To address them, acting with the youth themselves, the Government will engage the representative organisations of the youth and other formations, among other things to look at the siting of a broad-based National Commission on Youth Development among the structures of Government.

Building on this base, the Government and the Commission would then work together to ensure that the nurturing of our youth stands at the centre of our reconstruction and development, without being consigned to a meaningless ghetto of public life.

Similar considerations must attach to the equally important question of the emancipation of the women of our country.

It is vitally important that all structures of Government, including the President himself, should understand this fully that freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.

All of us must take this on board that the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme will not have been realised unless we see in visible and practical terms that the condition of the women of our country has radically changed for the better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society.

In addition to the establishment of the statutory Gender Commission provided for in the Constitution, the Government will, together with the representatives of the women themselves, look at the establishment of organs of Government to ensure that all levels of the public sector, from top to bottom, integrate the central issue of the emancipation of women in their programmes and daily activities.

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, the dream of Ingrid Jonker will come to fruition. The child grown to a

man will trek through all Africa. The child grown on a journey will journey over the whole world - without a pass!

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, our new flag will be hoisted in an historic ceremony at the OAU Headquarters in Addis Ababa, with the OAU having already agreed to accept us as its latest member.

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, the UN Security Council will meet to lift the last remaining sanctions against South Africa and to position the world organisation to relate to our country as an honoured, responsible and peace-loving citizen.

As such, the Government is involved in discussion to determine what our contribution could be to the search for peace in Angola and Rwanda, to the reinforcement of the peace process in Mozambique, to the establishment of a new world order of mutually beneficial cooperation, justice, prosperity and peace for ourselves and for the nations of the world.

Yesterday the Cabinet also decided to apply for our country to join the Commonwealth. This important community of nations is waiting to receive us with open arms.

We have learnt the lesson that our blemishes speak of what all humanity should not do. We understand this fully that our glories point to the heights of what human genius can achieve.

In our dreams we have a vision of all our country playing in our sports fields and enjoying deserved and enriching recreation in our theatres, galleries, beaches, mountains, plains and game parks, in conditions of peace, security and comfort.

Our road to that glorious future lies through collective hard work to accomplish the objective of creating a people-centred society through the implementation of the vision contained in our reconstruction and development plan.

Let us all get down to work.

6.3 - Closing address at the 49th National Conference of the ANC, 22 December 1994

Comrades, the ANC has held many national conferences in its history. One of these was the 1949 Conference, which was held here in Bloemfontein. That Conference was the closing of a chapter and the beginning of a new one. The Conference produced what later became known as the 1949 Programme of Action. That Programme was the brainchild of the ANC Youth League. We called that body a youth league, even though some of its leaders were forty years and above. It was a strategic plan which, by the standards of those days, was most comprehensive. The Programme changed the character and outlook of the ANC. It called upon our people to resign from all apartheid institutions, like the Natives Representative Council which was established in 1936 for Africans; the Bunga, which was supposed to be the law-making body of the Transkei; and the District Councils Advisory Boards. The Conference called upon our people to resign from all these. It urged the employment of weapons of struggle, like general strikes, stay-at-homes, boycotts, protest demonstrations, defiance campaigns. It sought to transform the organisation from one which drew its leadership from the elite to one whose leadership represented all sections of our people.

The 1952 Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, in which 8,500 people defied certain laws, were arrested and sent to jail, that was the result of the implementation of that 1949 Programme of Action. As you would imagine, a programme of this nature led to heated debates in the 1949 Conference of the ANC, because some of the leaders of those days were never prepared for mass action, to say nothing of arrest and imprisonment. There was a great deal of controversy, heated discussions and even insults. It was in that conference that Dr Xuma, who had led the ANC for several years, was toppled. I think after so many years I must now confess what we actually did. As the Youth League, we asked Dr Xuma whether he was prepared to start mass campaigns and be prepared to go to jail. He said:

"You'll have to get another president to do that, not me." We then approached Professor Z K Matthews and asked him to stand. He said: "Please excuse me, I'm lecturing at Fort Hare."

Then we wanted somebody of status. We couldn't find one in the ANC. And then we went to a rival organisation, which was also having its conference here in Bloemfontein, and got Dr Moroka, who was the Treasurer General of the All African Convention, a rival of the ANC; we asked him if he was prepared to stand as President of the ANC. And we asked him further, whether he would be prepared to launch mass action in this country and go to jail if necessary. He said yes. Then we wrote out and gave him a ticket, a membership card. And he came to the Conference, and that is how he was elected President General of the ANC. Nevertheless, that Conference was one of conflict and tension.

Then there was also the 1955 Congress of the People, attended, like this Conference, by 3,000 delegates. They came from a wide range of organisations: political, labour, religious, cultural, sports bodies, and they came together and passed and adopted the Freedom Charter. Thereafter, the ANC held its own conference, in order to adopt the Charter. Again, there were tensions and conflicts - serious differences. It was after the ANC had adopted the Freedom Charter that a group of dissidents who had charged that this was a Marxist document, emerged at that conference, and subsequently broke away and formed the PAC.

The present Conference is remarkably different from those two conferences I have referred to. For one thing, this Conference has confounded the prophets of doom who predicted that the leadership would be roasted by delegates - by you - for neglecting the concerns of its constituency and concentrating on reconciliation. They said that the leadership would be attacked for the way they had mismanaged the affairs of Umkhonto we Sizwe. They told the country that there would be fierce battles for positions, and that some leaders would be toppled. Contrary to such predictions, delegates here during these last five days have shown an unprecedented degree of unity.

One of the dreams of every national organiser, and indeed of every member of the ANC, is that from every conference, especially a national conference, the organisation should emerge from that conference more motivated, more united than ever

before. That is what we have achieved in this Conference. Four top officials were returned unopposed. The rest - that is, two of the officials - were elected with massive majorities, demonstrating the supreme confidence in the integrity and ability of such leaders.

Throughout these five days delegates realised and appreciated the historic mission of the African National Congress and that the organisation will discharge that mission only if delegates approach issues before conference with a high sense of responsibility and discipline. In this regard, the comprehensive report by the Secretary General, and the input by the then National Chairperson on strategy, set the tone for the success of this Conference. Like several conferences before, this one was also a mirror image of the new South Africa we are building, from both the ethnic factor as well as the gender question. I have not taken count of how many ladies have been appointed at this Conference, but I think that there are close to fifteen. And for the first time in our history, delegates discussed, not resistance, but reconstruction and development. No more did we discuss subjects like the suspension of the armed struggle, like negotiations, which were hot issues in the last National Conference. Our delegates were concerned with implementation of the RDP, bettering the lives of our people. The level of discussion was very high and the concerns of people on the ground - the building of a better life for all - formed an important part of the agenda. All commissions contributed to the success of the Conference, and gave excellent guidance to delegates during the discussions.

As has been pointed out here by many speakers, what is of immediate concern to us now are the forthcoming local government elections, which we must win at all costs. In many respects, these elections are far more important - far more crucial - than the national elections on the 27th of April. It is at the level of local government that we come into physical contact with the problems of the people. It is at that level that delivery in terms of the RDP has to take place. We cannot be general in fighting for local government elections. We have to move from the elevated, from the general tone of our work to specifics. At that level what the people want to hear is: How many jobs are you going to create within the next 12 months? How many houses are you going to build? How many clinics? How many

schools? How many boreholes are you going to make? You have to know the conditions in that particular area very thoroughly to make an impact on people at that level.

To succeed in this regard, there are certain measures that we have to take. We must explain, very carefully, why now we need these elections, barely two years after the national elections.

I was talking to Cde Sam Nujoma, the President of Namibia, the other day. And he told me that they had problems when they conducted the local elections two years ago. As they went around the country and asked people to prepare to vote, people said:

"Now what is the point about this, why must we have local elections?"

And SWAPO said: "No, in terms of the law, you rule yourselves here, and therefore the time has come for us to have a new government, a local government here." They said: "But we elected you only a few years ago to rule the whole country, including our area. Why must you now want another election?" They had to explain very carefully to convince the people that those elections are necessary. In these last national elections, the voters of Namibia performed excellently. But that is the result of a very systematic and vigorous campaign, from SWAPO, to explain the issues to the people on the ground in very simple terms. And that is what we are required to do. Success in local government elections will, among other things, require a broad and effective machinery. We will have to discard the sectarian tendencies of establishing structures which are confined only to members of the ANC. We can't win elections in that way. We have to have broad structures, in which we are going to involve influential community leaders in that area.

In all levels of the organisation - whether local, regional, provincial or national - we need new blood, fresh blood. One of the problems we have had as an organisation is the almost instinctive resistance to fresh blood. Some of us, unfortunately, feel threatened when we say let us have new, young people, well trained. In this developing situation, we cannot survive if we do not recharge our organisation by ensuring that we have fresh blood. People who are not burdened with many duties as members of our National

Executive are. Members of our National Executive, at least the outgoing National Executive, spend the whole day, starting from about 08h00, sometimes earlier, attending one meeting after the other, sometimes in Johannesburg, Pretoria and elsewhere. And by the time they go to bed, they are hopelessly tired and unproductive.

Well, on a serious note, one of the aspects of prison life I appreciated, in spite of the tragedy of being imprisoned, especially for a long term of years, in prison for many years, is the fact that one got the opportunity to sit down and think. We do not have that privilege here. To sit down and think at the end of the day and to assess your humble contribution as a member of a team, is an important part of organising and of carrying out your political duties. In fact, I have urged all the members of the National Executive, and I now repeat that appeal, that after this Conference they must all disappear and forget about problems, about political problems. They must go for a holiday. Then they will come back fresh and ready to lead.

Comrades are bound to differ on numerous issues that come before the Executive. Differences of opinion among comrades, honestly held and expressed in a disciplined manner within the structures of the organisation, should be encouraged rather than discouraged. They are healthy, they lead to vigorous debate and to an examination of problems from all angles. Unfortunately, some comrades do not always welcome opposition, even from their comrades and tend to sideline, and even slander, comrades who have independent views.

But when you do so, please do not make the mistake I made in the fifties. We went to a meeting of the National Executive and Chief Lutuli was President at the time. And Prof Z K Mathews, who had lectured to me at Fort Hare, was Deputy President. They went to a meeting called by the Institute of Race Relations. At that time it was all white. And when they came back we asked for a report. They said: "We went there in our private capacity. We have no obligation to report to you." We said: "No. You went there because of the positions you hold in the African National Congress." They said: "No, no, no, we went there in our private capacity; we're not going to report." We tried to pressurise them, then one comrade suggested that we should adjourn, and during the

adjournment they said: "Nelson, you must launch an attack on these old men. We are going to support you." Well, I was very young, and headstrong, and we went back to the meeting. I then pressed the Chief and the Prof to give us a report, immediately. They said: "You can do what you like, we are not reporting." Then, in my frustration, I said: "Well, then it's clear that you are inferior to whites. You are prepared to share secrets with whites which you are not prepared to share with us." So Prof Matthews says to me: "What do you know about Whites? I taught you at Fort Hare. You came from the countryside, you are a country bumpkin. You heard of whites from me, you had never even seen them before you came to Johannesburg." Whilst I was suffering from this acute embarrassment, Chief Lutuli made it worse. And he says: "Now, you say I am inferior to whites. Then I'm not fit to be a leader of the ANC. I tender my resignation." Now I never thought that he would resign. I thought that I could pull him down and he would remain in that position. But when he threatened to resign, those fellows who said they were going to support me started saying: "This man has gone too far. This man has gone too far." And I remained all alone. I had to retreat and apologise. Don't make that mistake.

We are grateful to the outgoing National Executive Committee for the excellent leadership they have given during the last three years. The masses of our people have, throughout the decades, fought very hard against racial oppression and many paid the highest price. We are all indebted to them. But few will deny that it was the outgoing NEC that skilfully led the entire country to an impressive victory, that has been hailed both inside and outside South Africa, as having committed a modern miracle. It was the outgoing National Executive Committee that achieved that impressive victory.

The Cabinet, the outgoing Cabinet, as well as the incoming Cabinet, consists of highly motivated, able and hard-working men and women who, as I have said, work 24 hours a day to discharge their duties. Members of the Cabinet have done so in order to honour the pledges we made in the run-up to the elections. We are fortunate to have such remarkable leaders in the government. They will guarantee, and I hope the present Executive as well, that the endemic corruption, waste and inefficiency that characterised the apartheid government will be tackled effectively in the weeks and months and

years that lie ahead. But it is, we must confess, something of an irony that, as a government dominated by the ANC, we should talk of fiscal discipline, the waste and the inefficiency of the apartheid regime when, in fact, there is no financial discipline in the African National Congress, when there is waste, where there is inefficiency. I am sorry a comrade objected to us presenting our Financial report, because it is proper, this is a public organisation, it is your organisation, you should know the facts in detail about how we have been incompetent in this regard. How we had no financial discipline. How a parasitic class in the African National Congress has emerged, where regions cannot raise funds themselves, they depend on the headquarters. If the regions have no money, where do they think their organisation, the headquarters, get the money? The late Treasurer General, Tom Nkobi, went around the world all alone. He did marvellously. Between February 1990 and June last year, he raised no less than \$66 million cash from Africa. In Asia, he raised no less than \$44 million. That was more than \$100 million. Before he died this year he had collected no less than \$25 million this year. And we have reduced the overdraft which the press is talking about. We are a poor organisation. We had enormous responsibilities. But we, under the leadership of the late Treasurer General, were able to raise that amount. What were the regions doing, because an organisation, if it is an organisation, must be able to finance itself.

I have told a story some time before. That story will be known to Cde Billy Nair. Dr Dadoo and Dr Naicker, then Presidents of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress respectively, after the passive resistance campaign launched by the Indian Community in this country, a rousing campaign in which almost every Indian family went to jail, they used a lot of money. They then decided to go to India to raise funds. And they met Gandhi. And they said: "Well, we have come to raise funds." And he said: "Have you got a following from the Indian Community?"

They said yes, and quoted figures. Ghandi said: "Now you go back to South Africa and raise your money from your following. Go back." And they never came back with a penny. The result is that that changed the attitude of the Indian Congress. They went to their own people and built massive

reserves, from which they were able to finance their activities.

We are far from that as an organisation. Every region pesters the head office for financial support. They don't know how to go round and raise money in their respective areas. As long as that situation exists, it is ironical for us in government to talk about monetary discipline, waste, inefficiency on the part of the apartheid regime. This is one of the matters which we must attend to.

There is another aspect which I want to raise. I have expressed my confidence in the outgoing National Executive Committee, I have that confidence in the incoming National Executive Committee. As I say, they are men and women of high integrity and outstanding ability and commitment. But we must never forget the saying that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. It has happened in many countries that a liberation movement comes into power and the freedom fighters of yesterday become members of the government. Sometimes without any idea of mischief, precisely because they are committed and hard working, they concentrate so much on their portfolios that they forget about the people who put them in power, and become a class, a separate entity unto themselves, who are not accountable to their membership, and who rely on law, that now I am a Cabinet Minister, the political organisation that put me in power can do nothing. One of the ways of preventing that temptation is for members of the Cabinet to go regularly to their areas, talk to the people. Go to the squatters or informal settlements, enter those rooms and see how people live, talk to them and also explain to them, on a regular basis, what the government is doing to give them feedback as to what the government is doing to address their needs. Such a disaster, I am confident, will not happen to these men and women. But it is not our good wishes that are going to avoid that disaster. It is an inbuilt system in your style of work that will prevent such disasters. I am confident that I lead a Cabinet that will endeavour to scrupulously avoid such pitfalls.

Lastly, I must congratulate the incoming National Executive. I am proud to lead such men and women of a high calibre. I also would like to thank all the members of the Preparatory Committee, the staff of the Secretary General, and all others who have helped for the remarkable work they have done to

make this Conference the success it is. Similar thanks go to the staff and workers of this University. It was a significant gesture for this University to allow a Conference of an organisation they once condemned as subversive, as treasonable, to hold a Conference here.

Unfortunately, the behaviour of some of our delegates during these last five days left much to be desired. This point was made by the now Deputy President of this organisation, Cde Thabo Mbeki. Some of the things they did cannot be repeated, cannot be explained here. It would be discourteous to the audience for us to spell them out. I had, yesterday, to contact the Acting Rector here, and to apologise for that disgraceful behaviour. Now, that is an indictment, not only against the organisation, even though we know, as the Deputy President said yesterday, that these are not members of the organisation. The Deputy President is more diplomatic than I am. What he was saying was that

these people who behaved in this manner are men who have been infiltrated into our organisation by the enemy to tarnish our image. It is the duty of every leader of the delegation to investigate this behaviour. They ought to have been more efficient and more strict than they were. They should have been able to account for the movement of all their delegates, and now that they have not done so I hope they'll go back to their areas and conduct a searching investigation, because people who behave in this way are not fit to be members of the ANC.

And my final word of thanks goes to the delegates, as I have said, for the high level of discussion they have shown. It was from all angles, an impressive performance. Please travel safely back to your areas, and I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Thank you.