CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The first chapter elaborates a brief background of the problem which is started by explaining the beginning of the case which triggered the raise of the conflict in South Africa and examines a brief delineation of democracy and reconciliation that happened in the post Apartheid era (Nelson Mandela's period). Then it follows by the Research Question which limits the analysis, and theoretical framework, hypothesis, range of research, method of research, and the system of writing which covers the whole content of the thesis.

A. Problem Background

South Africa is a country that is located in the southern tip of Africa continent. By its amount of population based on the latest census from the Statistics of South Africa in 2011 reaching to 51.770.560 people and total land territory which is more or less reach 1,2-million square kilometers, this country is given with a plenteous of natural resources in the land.[1]

Especially for the production of mines, it brings South Africa to become the world leader in producing gold, diamonds, as well as platinum.[2] Yet, those kinds of attainment are constantly unable to cover along history of

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[1] SAinfo Reporter, June 28th 2012, "*South Africa's geography*", retrieved from: http://www.southafrica.info/about/geography/geography.htm#.VBhI9PmSy5g. Accessed on September16th, 2014.

[2] *The History of Apartheid in South Africa*, Standford, retrieved from: http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html. Accessed on September 17th, 2014.

South Africa as one of the state violence in the past. Due to the plenteous or the abundance of natural resources in South Africa, it triggered a lot of colonies coming to occupy the land.

In the past, the Republic of South Africa was a country where its national government had been ever rejected and denied because of its 'apartheid' politics. In the very beginning of the history of South Africa, the Cape of Good Hope or Cape colony was founded by Jan Van Riebeeck and 90 other men who came with him as the Dutch land cruisers under the instruction of the Dutch East Asia company which later even more well-known as Afrikaner or Boer arrived at Table Bay to build a fort in the year of 1652.[3]

Nevertheless, the troops from Britain also objected with this country, particularly after the discovery of the overabundance of the natural resources, especially diamonds which later took over the Cape from the Dutch in 1795. This thing caused colonization that involved both of the Afrikaner and also the Britain which made them as a part of historical actor throughout the story of South Africa. This kind of colonization continued until the year of 1940s when there was a party which was established by Afrikaner called as National Party which eventually existed and gained the majority places in the parliament. It was such a strategy which was done by National Party in order to make the Afrikaner or Dutch people could easily became controlled the

[3]SAinfo Reporter, "*A Short History of South Africa*", retrieved from: http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/history.htm#.VBk44_mSy5j. Accessed on September 17th, 2014.

state as a whole. The celebration of the National Party can be seen by the establishment of the basic principle of apartheid politics that was legalized in the year of 1948.

Literally, the word 'apartheid' means *separation*, which in the context of South Africa's politics, the term of apartheid is interpreted as a discriminative political system based on the racial differences which at that time, the Dutch divided the society into three races that were white people (the Afrikaner or Boer descendant), black people (the majority society in South Africa), colored people (the descendant of China or India), and Asian.[4]The principle of apartheid was also aimed at being the best way to start the economy and social system that were dominated by the white people or Afrikaner which tended to lead to great race discrimination.

The actual examples of race discrimination were portrayed in many policies that were applied for South African people in the apartheid politics, like in the case that happened after declaration of the special election in 1961 which turned South Africa out to be Republic. Moreover, this election referred to requirement that only involved the white African. Then the program in apartheid era that had been planned since 1960 named 'grand apartheid' started to be held. In this political program, white people applied the territory isolation and the repressive action for the blacks. So, the black Africans or non-white Africans were isolated to the cloistered area.

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[4] Victory Pradithama; *Menggali Keadilan untuk Masa Lalu: Belajar dari Afrika Selatan,* retrieved from: http://ejournal.umm.ac.id/index.php/jshi/article/view/1135. Accesed on October 16th, 2014.

Another case happened in the context of right for black Africans in giving opinion. In 1955, the right to publish the news, the right to announce, or even the right to give an opinion always belonged to the white African.[5] It happened because at that time, the owner of magazines publisher was the supremacist National Party who absolutely used their power and their profit as the owner to control mind of the societies by influencing them through the news that they heard surround them. Because of that domination, some incident happened around 1950s and 1960s, for example in case of bus driver or labor strike which was triggered by the dissatisfaction of South African toward the governmental policies who separated the use of transportation for the whites and blacks. Moreover, the biggest massacre also happened in Sharpeville which at last killed almost 70 black South Africans and many of the rest of the societies were injured due to the polices. Yet, this accident would never be published openly to the public because propaganda and manipulation to influence, control, and dominate would always existed as long as the supremacist National Party owned the media.[6] These several violence and conflicts showed and brought a political fluctuation toward the state. The oppression was held as far as the end of 19th century.

Apartheid politics which later ruled under the government of Botha was held worse. The constitutions which were based on apartheid were applied to Southern African, legalized the race separation, the development of

[5] Larry Diamond, 1994, Revolusi Demokrasi, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, chapter 8; *Perjuangan untuk Kebebasan Berpendapat di Afrika Selatan,* p; 219-235

[6] *Ibid*

the rights and its limitation in case of living settlement boundaries. That condition which at last made the name of apartheid sounded more like an ideology of the white people, not simply known as a constitution. However, the actions that were done in apartheid era aimed at making the white South African people or Afrikaner to control the wealth and accelerate the industrialization in South Africa that was expected to earn a higher and deeper profit from the state. As long as the minority of Afrikaner enjoyed the highest standard living on the whole South Africa, it meant the majority of the black South Africans would suffer because of the worst standard living in their own territory. Furthermore, as long as the white South African exploited and manipulated all the government sectors in South Africa at that time, the black South Africans would just experience the disadvantages in every level including income, education, house, and the hope for a better living.

Yet, the savageness of apartheid system in South Africa did not happen all along. The blacks South African did not mean to be the one who gave up and accepted bad effects from apartheid system. Therefore, the efforts had been done by several revolutionists who wanted the freedom and seek their real and full right as a citizen of the Republic of South Africa. Africa National Congress was one of anti-apartheid parties that established and made an effort to erase the injustice of apartheid's politics. A man named Nelson Mandela came up with his friends in doing many actions which had purposes to encourage the South Africa societies to stand for justice, to stop the human right abuses, and proved that South Africa was their land and belonged to

them. However, this action led Nelson Mandela and his friends to be imprisoned.

Nevertheless, the efforts of those people were not granted for nothing. The sense of belonging was created, the spirit of freedom was built inside South African people and it brought a lot of rejection to the system of apartheid's politics from many parties. It was even expanded and spread off until the rejection also came from the international society which showed their support to stop the efforts of the Afrikaner in applying the principle of Apartheid. Furthermore, it was true that in Apartheid era, conflicts happened everywhere, whether it came from the whole society (man, woman, elderly, young people, police, farmer, and so on) who fought for justice, or from the several origin elites of South African.

In 1990, the government of National Party which already changed to be under the President of F.W. de Klerk, a man who was younger and more pragmatic than Botha seemed brought a better changes to the condition of South Africa. Reconciliation happened which was seen from several actions that were done by de Klerk such as unbanning the Africa National Congress and erasing of the regime of apartheid step by step. Also a wiser action came when he finally decided to release Nelson Mandela and his friends after twenty seven years imprisoned.

In 1994, the first general election without any discrimination was held. The African National Congress won a majority vote of 62,6 per cent.[7] Nelson Mandela was elected as the first black South African president. In post apartheid of South Africa, the existence of the blacks were recognized as the people who lived with an equal right as the white in term of the right in political participation that was reflected by the involvement of blacks in giving a vote in the general election. Yet, the high number of unemployment people was still high and thousands of the societies in South Africa were still lived under the poverty. These kinds of conditions made the current government in the post of Apartheid needed to struggle with many changes and struggled with the condition of huge political changes, economy, social, culture, and so on. Yet, the reconciliation in South Africa at that time could be defined as a condition that referred to a reverse condition that had been ever faced in the era of apartheid. It was remarked by the negotiation held by de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. Therefore, several new conditions occurred. There was no racial segregation anymore, the equality for all of South African was established, and also the right of the people was given back to the people. All those plot of a brief story of South Africa clearly portrayed that big changes happened, from conflicting societies to reconciled societies.

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[7](http://electionresources.org/za/ accessed June 23th, 2013

B. Research Question

From the understanding of problem's background, the research question is **"How did reconciliation occur between the white and the black South African in the post Apartheid era (Nelson Mandela's period)?"**

C. Theoretical Framework

To answer the question, this thesis will use several concepts and one theory: *first,* concept of Reconciliation and Democracy, *second,* concept of Hurting Mutual Stalemates by William Zartman*,* and the *third*, the theory of Consociationalism Democracy or Power Sharing by (developed) Arend Lijphart.

1. Concept of Reconciliation and Democracy

Reconciliation is a term that is mostly used in defining the way to prevent the conflict. According to the Hand Book, *"Reconciliation is both goal and process or is an over-aching process which include the search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing, and so on"*[8] which means, reconciliation involves some purposes or goals as achieving truth, justice, forgiveness, and also healing that can not be separated from its process which involves the actors inside, the offenders and the victims. So, in the condition of reconciliation, the conflicting parties, both the offenders and the victims have to create peace coexistence, live along side by side, lay aside the hatred or

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[8] Reconciliation After Violent Conflict. (2003). *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*. Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

traumatic feeling and promote the cooperation to be established between them rather than continuing the conflict.

While in the book of Democracy and the Global Order, "democracy seems to bestow an aura of legitimacy on the political modern life that consists of laws, rules, and policies which will be appear justified when the states are democratic".[9]

Seeing the development and growth conditions that happened in some aspects such as economy, education, social, and politics after democratization, many countries were starting assumed and adulated democracy as the best alternative forms of government. Yet in fact, democracy did not cover the whole of good things for the state. Many societies and regimes of all kind in the world claimed to be democracies, but some of great majority people or thinkers would definitely criticize some principles in the democracy because actually democracy is also a remarkable difficult form of government to be created and sustained. So, it could not be denied that there are some countries experiencing the failure while maintaining and sustaining the democracy as a form of government.

According to Robert A. Dahl, democracy cannot be defined as one conclude meaning in every different condition. Yet, he explaines on how

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[9] David Held (1995) *Democracy and the Global Order* , United Kingdom, p. 3

democracy can be categorized. Dahl describes that democracy can give several chance for the people to:[10]

a. Effectively participate,

b. Equality in giving vote and opinion,

c. Get clear understanding,

d. Held a final monitoring toward the agenda,

e. Adult scope which required all adult people become a constant or, permanent citizen and get their full right of citizenship.

From the understanding of characteristic of Democracy by Robert A Dahl. If we heard about democracy, the first thing that tends to come to some people's mind is the word 'freedom' or for most people, the word democracy is closely related to freedom. Democracy is known as a form of government which gives the freedom to all societies that leads to the development of one state, then the people are free to express their opinion, are able to participate in the politics, also are pleased in choosing their belief, and many others. In a glance, the people might think that democracy is the best form of government.

Therefore, there is a correlation between democracy and reconciliation. Both of them are interdependent each other. Democracy sometimes becomes the best way to solve the conflict. Moreover reconciliation becomes a tool to address the conflicting parties in making a way to find that solution.

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[10] Robert A.Dahl (2001) Perihal Demokrasi: *menjelajahi teori dan praktek demokrasi secara singkat*, Indonesia, p.52-53

South Africa who applied the system of democracy in 1990 showed a good example of democracy. Even Dahl ever stated that the challenging event of the state was when the state faced the transition to democracy. Nevertheless, South Africa could even make and create a good and stable democracy after the transition from the apartheid regime which in the end brought an equality for its societies, ended the racial conflicts, and gave the full right of the citizenship back.

2. Democracy Consociatiationalism

To give more understanding toward the problem, the writer uses the theory of Consociational Democracy to analyze the pattern of reconciliation in South Africa which is viewed from the elite side. According to Arend Lijphart:

> *"Theory of Democracy Consociationalism or power sharing stated that basically, a fragile society is actually could be controlled democratically with condition that its elite groups need to be cooperate and unite each other"*.[11]

His idea at that time is supported by the dominant perception and paradigm that rose in the 50s and 60s which states that democracy can only be applied in a homogeneous societies. Therefore, Arend Lijphart opposes an idea to prove that democracy also can be created in the plural societies by the politics of accomodation which can come from the arrangement of the

[11]Bambang W. Nugroho & Ahmad H. Rais, 2012. "*Theory Talks, Perbincangan Pakar Sedunia tentang Teori Hubungan Internasional Abad Ke-21*". Yogyakarta, hal.32

behavior of the elites. In this theory, Arend Lijphart applies his theory to some countries that he thought would be relevant, such as Dutch.

Dutch is one country which in the past was full of social cleavage. Nevertheless Dutch is now a country which has a good and stable democracy. Before, the Dutch was divided into four pillars that were Catholics, Protestant, Liberal, and Socialist which usually created many tensions in several issues (social issue, universal suffrage issue, and school issue).[12] Those issues caused several conflicts that often times were triggered by the four groups. However, Dutch in the end had a good and stable democracy because of the basic sense of nationalism among the members of all blocs. Here, the existence of those senses of nationalism could be created by the leader of the groups. For this reason, Arend Lijphart proposed a theory that the conflicting parties could muffled by pointing the leader of each groups to become the representatives of each group and did power sharing. Nowadays, the system of power sharing in Dutch parliament is a way to stop the conflict among those four blocs.

Therefore, Lijphart defines four characteristics of Consociational Democracy that are: grand coalition, mutual veto, proportionality, and segmental authority. The model of Consociational Democracy can be recognized by two main aspects:

a. First by a grand government coalition of political leader/ political culture

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[12] The Political Science Reviewer, *Consociational Democracy: The views of ArendLijphart and Collected Criticism*, page 143-148

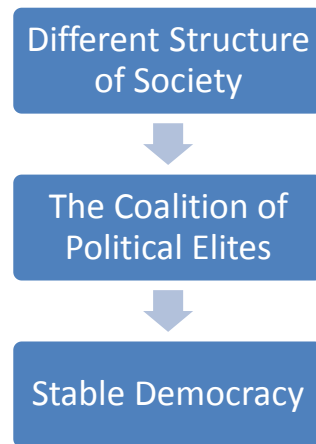b. Second by a significant plural society/ social structure

Figure 1. The pattern of Consociational Democracy[13]

From the picture above, the arrows are always pointed to the bottom, which means regardless the different structure of societies, it can unite the coalition from the political elite side which comes first from the elite to create a stable democracy. In the context of Consociationalism of Democracy, a heterogenous societies with a high degree of conflict is possible to create a good and stable democracy as stated by Lijphart that in one state, the society is a passive actor who will follow what their leader does, so when the leader decides to reconcile, then the society will follow the leader to reconcile. Then, according to Lijphart, it is important for the people to accept the elitist leadership because democracy is a system of government where the society can choose their own leader. This acceptance is marked as a belief of the society toward their leader to manage the plural society.[14]

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[13] *Ibid*

[14]*Ibid*

The similar case happened to the South Africa. Nelson Mandela mentioned that *"To make peace with an enemy, one must work with that enemy, and that enemy becomes ones partner"*[15].What Mandela did was to do reconciliation with F.W de Klerk as the leader of the Afrikaner who consolidated in the supremacist National Party to work together and made a better condition in South Africa. Triggered by a good democracy which could bring the freedom for the majority black Africans, Nelson Mandela as the leader from the black South African was willing to make a friend. Besides that, Mandela also did not commit any revenge to the Afrikaner in the context of the implication of Apartheid Politics only to stand the reconciliation between the white and the majority black South African. It was such an application of the power sharing that was done by the elites of the groups in creating and maintaining the peace between the conflict parties.

3. **Concept of The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments (HMS)**

William Zartman explains the condition when the particular disputes or conflict is decided to be reconciled. He sees the substance of the proposal for a solution as the key to resolve conflict which refers to the timing of peace initiatives itself. Zartman says that the parties will reconcile when the parties are ready to do so. Moreover, "the concept of a ripe moment centers on the parties perception of a Mutually Hurting Stalemate, optimally associated with

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[15] Nelson Mandela, Long Walk to Freedom (1st paperback ed., Back Bay Books 1995) (referring to Mandela's relationship with the last apartheid era president, F.W. de Klerk)

an impending, past or recently avoided catastrophe".[16] The concept is based on *"the notion that when the parties find themselves locked in the conflict from which they cannot escalate to victory and this deadlock is painful to both of them*[17]*"*.

While according to United States Institute of Peace, "Mutually Hurting Stalemate is a situation in which neither party thinks it can win a given conflict without incurring excessive loss, nor in which both are suffering from a continuation of fighting".[18] The conflict is predicted to have entered a period of ripeness. Therefore, the conflicting parties are somehow can rather to break down the conflict than continue the conflict. This kind of strategy is usually applied when both of the parties face a deadlock condition in which a bigger loss may happen if the conflicting parties continue the conflict.

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[16]William Zartman, *The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments,* The Global Review of Ethnopolitics, Vol. 1, no. 1, September 2001, p. 1-3

[17] *Ibid*

[18]United States Institute of Peace (2011), *Mutually Hurting Stalemate* , Glossary of terms for conflict management and peace building, Retrieved from: http://glossary.usip.org/resource/mutually-hurting-stalemate Accessed on October 28th, 2014

Intensity

Conflict Escalation
De-escalation / Negotiation

Conflict Emergence
Dispute Settlement

Latent
Conflict
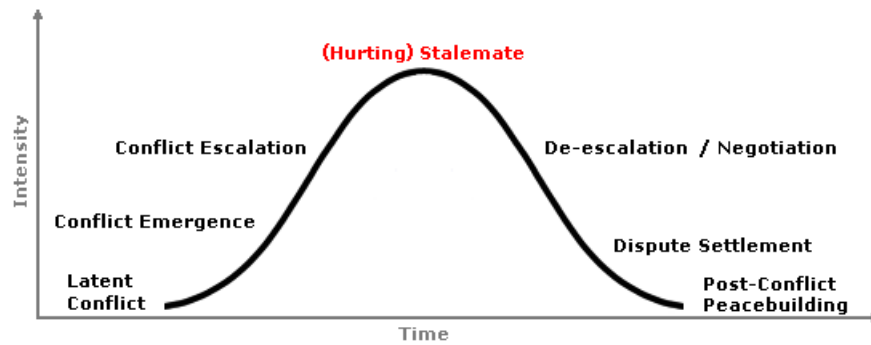Post-Conflict
Peacebuilding

Time

Figure 2. The Pattern of Hurting Mutual Stalemate[19]

As seen in the picture above, in the first stage of conflict there will be a latent conflict or the thing that may be triggering the existence of the conflict, in the next stage, the conflict starts to emerge. This emergence of the conflict may lead to the escalation of the conflict if the conflict faces its peak. After the stage of conflict emergence, there is a stage of escalation, this is the stage where the conflicting parties stay in a big distortion, whether they want to reconcile or not. This stage forces conflicting parties to realize that neither parties can win nor want to start the settlement. Because naturally, every party eventually will considers their own interests in deciding the choice to reconcile. Yet, if reconciliation brings equilibrium condition for both of parties, then the reconciliation will happen. Ripe moment which is called by Zartman will happen where the conflicting parties eventually face the deadlock situation.

In case of South Africa, this concept could be applied into the reason behind the reconciliation that happened between black people and white

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[19] Eric Brahm, (2002), *Hurting Stalemate Stage*, Beyond Intractability, Retrieved from: http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/stalemate Accessed on October 28th, 2014.

people from the society side. Because basically, when one conflict happened it means the parties did a mutual hurting. Then reconciliation would happen when the timing for reconciliation has come. Then ripe moment will become the time for a change or revolution to be held, when the conflicting parties (black and white) were tired to hurt each other, then it is demanded to be reconciled.

D. Hypothesis

According to problem background and theoretical framework, the following hypothesis can be put forward:

Political reconciliation between white and black South African in Post Apartheid could be reached because the government adopted Consociational Democracy that effectively accommodated the interest of both elite groups. While from the society side, political reconciliation was achieved through the awareness of blacks and white South African societies that the conflict had reach the deadlock where reconciliation became the best way to achieve their each goals.

E. Range of Research

In this research, the writer focuses more on the topic research, the writer limits the time that research was conduct. The writer wants to explain and to describe the role of democracy in encouraging the existence of reconciliation between the black Africans and the white people after several conflicts that happened in apartheid era. The discussion will be limited to the

era of Nelson Mandela (1990-1999). This period is important to be analyzed because the shifting condition of South Africa from apartheid to democracy happened in this period.

F. Method of Research

The research method that the writer uses in this thesis is library research which will be used to explain the problems and verify the hypothesis based on the empirical reality. The sources of information or references are collected in forms of books and newspapers. In addition, various data from internet will also be used since some information and data dealing with the topic are only available through the internet media such as e-book, journals, and other literature sources.

G. System of Writing

The discussion in this thesis is divided into five chapters: Chapter I contain the Introduction that includes problem background, research question, purpose of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, range of research, and system of writing.

Chapter II will discuss the rise and the downfall of apartheid system in South Africa. This chapter includes the story of South African misery under apartheid era, one of the examples of anti-Apartheid parties, and the downfall of Apartheid system.

Chapter III will discuss about the reconciliation strategy on societal level. This chapter explains a condition in the societal level and the application of the concept of hurting mutual stalemate as a strategy of the reconciliation in society.

Chapter IV analyzes the reconciliation strategy of South African elites. This chapter elaborates the background of Nelson Mandela's liberation that creates the new phase of South Africa which is initialized by the unification of the elites. This chapter will also discuss about the implication of consociational democracy theory in the case of South Africa.

Chapter V is the conclusion of the entire discussion in each chapter that has been described by the writer.