

Fighting Years

*Black Resistance and the
Struggle for a New South Africa*

Steven Mufson

BEACON PRESS • BOSTON

Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Preface	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
Introduction	1
Fast-Forward: Banquets and Bullets	6
<i>Part One: Running Red Lights</i>	
1 The Day That Never Ended	13
2 Take Up the Black Man's Burden	27
3 The Politics of Refusal	46
4 The Forgotten Well	62
<i>Part Two: The Fourth Front</i>	
5 Violence	79
6 Dual Power	104
7 Black Mamba Rising: Black Trade Unions	134
8 A Culture of Revolt	159
9 Black, Green, and Gold: The African National Congress	189
10 The Best and the Brightest	227
11 A Lot of Talk	238
<i>Part Three: The Government Strikes Back</i>	
12 Crackdown and Breakdown	259
13 WHAM!	273
14 The Black Face of Apartheid	286
15 A Half-Extinguished Fire	311
16 The Funeral	328
Epilogue: Mandela Unbound	330
Fact Sheet on South Africa	335
Notes	337
Bibliography	349
Index	353

List of Illustrations

Frontispiece: Map of South Africa

Illustrations follow page 212

- 1 UDF poster
- 2 Albertina Sisulu
- 3 Patrick Lekota
- 4 "Necklace" victim
- 5 Desmond Tutu, July 1985
- 6 Death of a comrade
- 7 "War" in Alexandra township
- 8 Tear gas, Crosstown
- 9 Mineworkers
- 10 Workers' hostel, Soweto
- 11 Thabo Mbeki
- 12 Joe Slovo
- 13 Alfred Qabula
- 14 The "Berlin Wall," Port Elizabeth, June 1986
- 15 Simon Shoksana
- 16 Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi
- 17 P. W. Botha, June 1987
- 18 Johannesburg, August 1987
- 19 Bus station, Durban, June 1988