

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	x
<i>Prologue: Apartheid as a Dark Side of Modernity</i>	xiii
Introduction: Anti-Apartheid, the Media and 'New Social Movements' – Beyond Eurocentrism	1
The long journey	1
Across borders	2
The globalization of politics	4
Anti-apartheid and human rights	5
Anti-apartheid and new social movements	7
Social movements and the mediatization of politics	15
Border thinking	18
Notes on material and method	20
 <b>Part I Anti-Apartheid in Global Context</b>	
1 Narratives of Transnational Anti-Apartheid Activism	29
Introduction: transnational activists and historical experiences	29
The activist public official	31
The activist priest	33
The exile activist	36
The movement organizer	40
The movement intellectual	43
Conclusion: transnational activism and its contexts	45
2 The Globalization of the Anti-Apartheid Movement	48
Introduction: transnational collective action and globalization	48
Transnationalism and its tensions: liberation movements, solidarity networks and 'the struggle within the struggle'	49
ANC, PAC and the armed struggle	50
Sanctions, boycotts and constructive engagement	60
Black Consciousness Movement, the IUEF and 'Operation Daisy'	66

	Naming the movement	68
	Political globalization from above	70
	Conclusion: anti-apartheid as globalization from below	72
3	National Politics in a Global Context: Anti-Apartheid in Britain and Sweden	73
	Introduction: national politics in a global context	73
	The legacy of the Empire	75
	Nationalism as internationalism	76
	The state and other enemies	80
	Ambivalent relations: the state as friend and foe	84
	The 'image of respectability' versus the 'consensus culture' of the People's Home	86
	Conflicting agendas	90
	The worker's movement and the legacies of socialism/communism	93
	Dealing with diversity	95
	Conclusion: radical or respectable?	97
4	The Struggle over Information and Interpretation	99
	Introduction: the importance of media and information	99
	Apartheid media strategies	101
	Media activism and information networks	105
	Approaching established media	110
	Commitment and journalism: in between movement and media	111
	The movement as a stage – protest simulacra and the turn to cultural politics	117
	Conclusion: technology and solidarity	122

## Part II Public Debates on Apartheid/ Anti-Apartheid in Britain and Sweden 1960–90

5	Beginnings: Sharpeville and the Boycott Debates	127
	Introduction: the role of Sharpeville as a media event	127
	Boycott News	128
	Boycott debates	130
	Sharpeville in the news: 'learning the lesson the hard way'	134
	'To civilize the African'	137
	Conclusion: framing the struggle	140

6	Sports as Politics: The Battle of Båstad and 'Stop the 70s Tour'	142
	Introduction: student activism and sports as politics	142
	May 1968: the Battle in Båstad	143
	Stop the 70s Tour	147
	The quest for order	151
	Conclusion: direct action versus 'law and order'	156
7	'A New Black Militancy' – Before and after the Soweto Uprising	158
	Introduction: Tutu's 'nightmarish fear'	158
	'A new black militancy'	161
	Soweto in the media: 'It's no good firing over their heads'	163
	'An insupportable tyranny'	168
	Conclusion: increasing polarization	170
8	Sharpeville Revisited and the Release of Nelson Mandela	174
	The 'total strategy' and the rise of the UDF	174
	'Take your bloody money and go'	177
	Langa in the press: 'an uncanny resemblance of Sharpeville'	180
	'Which black opposition?'	183
	The release of Mandela	185
	Conclusion: the beginning of the end	189
	Conclusion: Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society	192
	Not an easy affair	192
	Organizing and mobilizing transnational anti-apartheid	195
	Mediated interaction and information politics	196
	Mobility – travel and exile	199
	An imagined community of solidarity activists	200
	The emergence of a global civil society	203
	The meaning(s) of solidarity	207
	Epilogue: The Legacy of Anti-Apartheid	212
	Notes	215
	References	230
	Interviews	240
	Index	242