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From Apartheid to Democracy: A Historical Analysis of Local Struggles in Phomolong Township, Free State: 1985-2005.

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Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in History at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2013

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Victoria Mapaseka Kunene who lost a painful struggle against breast cancer in 2008. I know you would be beaming with love and pride if you were still alive.

DECLARATION

I, Phindile Sibongile Kunene, declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted before in part, or full, for any other degree or examination in any other university.

---------- day of ----------, 2013

Phindile Sibongile Kunene

ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the evolution of local struggles in Phomolong Township in the northern Free State from 1985-2005. The service delivery protests that took place in Phomolong in 2005 are used as a prism through which to understand the history and context of local struggles that place the role and functions of the local state at the centre. The historical approach pursued in this research has made it possible to identify and review the common threads running through the three periods in Phomolong's history. These three periods are the 1980s under apartheid, the transitional period in the early 1990s and the period starting in 2000s which marked a complete break with the past system of local government. The continuities and discontinuities in these three periods reveal complex dynamics about the process of change and struggle that defines South Africa's local government edifice. Although this study avoids making generalisations about the extent to which the research findings contained herein can be applied to other localities exhibiting similar characteristics as Phomolong, it does nonetheless hope to lay the foundation from which future researchers can build.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC : African National Congress

ANCYL : African National Congress Youth League

COGTA : Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs

COSAS : Congress of South African Trade Unions

DET : Department of Education and Training

DLG : Developmental Local Government

EYC : Eagles Youth Clubs

IMA : Interim Measures Act

LGNF : Local Government Negotiating Forum

LGTA : Local Government Transition Act

NEC : National Executive Committee

NEUSA : National Education Union of South Africa

PAC : Pan Africanist Congress

PCA : Phomolong Civic Association

PEC : Provincial Executive Committee

PYCO : Phomolong Youth Congress

REC : Regional Executive Committee

SACP : South African Communist Party

SADF : South African Defence Force

SAP : South African Police

SRC : Student Representative Council

TLC : Transitional Local Council

TRC : Truth and Reconciliation Commission