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Apartheid and Anti-Apartheid in Western Europe

Edited by Knud Andresen
Sebastian Justke · Detlef Siegfried



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Knud Andresen • Sebastian Justke
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Editors

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CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Knud Andresen, Sebastian Justke, and Detlef Siegfried	
Part I Moral and Economy	23
Between Goodwill and Sanctions: Swedish and German Corporations in South Africa and the Politics of Codes of Conduct	25
Knud Andresen	
Perceptions of Petroleum: The British Anti-apartheid Campaign Against Shell	49
Jakob Skovgaard	
Shopping Against Apartheid: Consumer Activism and the History of AA Enterprises (1986–1991)	71
Benjamin Möckel	

Part II Apartheid in Culture and Media	91
The Comic Representation of Apartheid on British Television in the Late 1960s	93
Tal Zalmanovich	
‘This Peculiar Fact of Living History’: Invoking Apartheid in Black British Writing	113
Andrea Thorpe	
Anti-apartheid and the Politicisation of Pop Music: Controversies Around the Mandela Concert in 1988	139
Detlef Siegfried	
Dutch Dialogues with Afrikaners: The Netherlands and the Cultural Boycott Against the Apartheid Regime in the 1980s	163
Vincent Jurg and Vincent Kuitenbrouwer	
Part III Transnational Entanglements in Politics and Churches	185
Conflicting Solidarities: The French Anti-apartheid Movement and the Liberation Struggle in South Africa, Circa 1960–1991	187
Namara Burki	
Re-centring the Apartheid Discourse: Strategic Changes in South African Propaganda in West Germany	205
Andreas Kahrs	
Overcoming Apartheid Through Partnership? ‘Glocal’ Relationships Among Christians in West Germany, South Africa and Namibia: 1970s–1990s	229
Sebastian Justke	
Index	259

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Artists Against Apartheid
AAB	Anti-Apartheid Bewegung (West Germany)
AABN	Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland
AAE	AA Enterprises
AAM	Anti-Apartheid Movement (Great Britain)
AFASPA	Association française d'amitié et de solidarité avec les peuples d'Afrique
ANC	African National Congress
ASEA	Allmänna Svenska Elektriska Aktiebolaget
ATO	Alternative Trading Organisation
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BDI	Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie (Federation of German Industries)
BMU	British Musicians' Union
BMW	Bayrische Motoren Werke
BOA	Boycott Outspan Aktie (Dutch Boycott Outspan Action)
BPM	Black Parents Movement
CAO	Campagne anti-Outspan
CASA	Culture in Another South Africa
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CCSA	Christian Concern for Southern Africa
CDU	Christlich-Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union, West Germany)

COCIAA	Comité d'organisation de campagnes d'information sur l'Afrique australe
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union (Christian Social Union, West Germany)
DGAP	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations)
DM	Deutsche Mark
DOI	Department of Information
DSAG	Deutsch-Südafrikanische Gesellschaft (German-South African Society)
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EKD	Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (Evangelical Church in Germany)
ELC	Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa (Rhenish Mission)
ELOC	Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church
ELTSA	End Loans to Southern Africa
EMW	Evangelisches Missionswerk (Association of Protestant Churches and Missions in Germany)
EPC	European Political Co-operation
FAA	Foreign Affairs Association
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic Party, West Germany)
FEANF	Fédération des étudiants d'Afrique noire en France
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GLC	Greater London Council
ICCR	The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility
IDAF	International Defence and Aid Fund
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IKON	Interkerkelijk Omroep Nederland
JAAA	Joint Action Against Apartheid
KZA	Komitê Zuidelijk Afrika
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MAA	Mouvement anti-apartheid
MRAP	Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NP	National Party

NRC	Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant
NUS	National Union of Students
NZAV	Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PCF	Parti communiste français
PCR	Programme to Combat Racism
PEN	Poets, Essayists and Novelists
RNCA	Rencontre nationale contre l'apartheid
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAF	South Africa Foundation
SKF	Svenska Kullagerfabriken
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
UDF	United Democratic Front
UEM	United Evangelical Mission
UN	United Nations
UNEF	Union nationale des étudiants de France
VW	Volkswagen
WCC	World Council of Churches
WISC	West Indian Standing Committee



Introduction

Knud Andresen, Sebastian Justke, and Detlef Siegfried

On June 11, 1988, more than 70,000 people crowded into London's Wembley Stadium to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday with famous musicians, such as Simple Minds, Miriam Makeba, Meat Loaf and Dire Straits, and famous actors such as Daryl Hannah and Richard Attenborough. Around 600 million people worldwide, over 10 per cent of the world's population at the time, watched the concert on television. 'A Tribute to Nelson Mandela' was the media climax of the worldwide condemnation of apartheid, which seems to have been dominant also in Western Europe. The concert cannot be understood just in terms of the

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worldwide anti-apartheid movement, which contributed to the long process of overcoming institutionalized racism in South Africa. It was also a result of developments within Western Europe, and understanding its relationship with South Africa provides a broader perspective on European history, that is, as part of global history.

In this collection, we examine how Western European societies reacted to the apartheid conflict in South Africa and how these reactions influenced political and social transformations in Western Europe itself. Håkan Thörn has pointed out that the debate over apartheid was an ‘anti-apartheid debate’ in that it primarily focused on the extent to which societies should work to abolish apartheid and the means they should take, in particular whether they should boycott South Africa economically, politically and culturally, or use these relations to support a process of reform. It is fitting that supporters of South Africa rarely openly defended the racist core of apartheid.

In Western Europe, Thörn’s argument applies above all to the period after the late 1960s, for attitudes towards South Africa were predominately sympathetic from the introduction of apartheid in 1948 until the early 1960s (though this sympathy did not immediately disappear in the period that followed). How did the change from a positive view of South Africa’s racism to a critical and negative one come about? Did all social groups share this attitude, as Thörn believes? Did politicians, business-people, Church leaders, cultural workers, media professionals and activists respond similarly or differently to the apartheid regime? To what extent did they advocate for the retention or abolition of apartheid; what strategies did they use to enforce their preference and what were their underlying motives? What processes of structural transformation in societies contributed to the change in their image of apartheid, and what were their historical points of reference and legitimization strategies? How did countries’ self-images, differences in their political cultures and the understanding of apartheid as a global conflict over the legitimacy of racist exclusion influence the debate? What role did the conflict over apartheid play in domestic political disputes, for example, between liberals and conservatives? What tensions arose within anti-apartheid movements? Were they more about South Africa or activists’ own countries or societies? To what extent were reaction to apartheid—in politics, business, churches, anti-apartheid movements and cultural work—shaped by self-serving?

At first glance, one notices two causes of the change in Western European attitudes towards apartheid. One was the increasing importance

of human rights in international politics, in the discussion of which South Africa became a permanent subject after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960.¹ The other was the ‘shock of the global’,² the increasing impact of global developments on Western European nations since the beginning of the 1970s. As the world became more integrated, people paid more attention to social injustice farther from home; thus, South Africa’s racist disenfranchisement of its non-white population received more attention. We take a multi-perspectival approach to explaining these influences of the changes in attitudes towards and reactions to apartheid that combines the political with other socially relevant factors and actors. We also trace transnational and transcontinental interdependencies between South African and Western European societies, for we believe that they were part of the explanation of these changes, and they place Western European history within global history. Thus, the volume is a contribution to the history of Western Europe, the history of South Africa and the history of the relationship between the Global North and the Global South.

WESTERN EUROPE AND APARTHEID: A PART OF WESTERN EUROPE’S GLOBAL HISTORY

If we look at Western Europe, it is noticeable that scholarship on anti-apartheid and the relation towards South Africa has thus far been very much British- and Scandinavian-oriented, largely because attention followed the money and the politics, but there are important and overlooked stories that we want to draw attention to. What is more, in the context of apartheid and the Cold War, ‘Western Europe’ meant something—in particular, democracy, free enterprise and anti-communism, at least in some tellings. This means that our book redresses the strong emphasis on Britain and reminds us of the very complex stories emanating from the German Federal Republic, France, the Netherlands, partly in comparison with Sweden or the United Kingdom. Having said this, it is worth noting that there are still areas of Western Europe which seem to have had little direct interest in apartheid: Italy, Spain and Greece, for instance. In fact, we don’t know very much about their relation to South Africa as well as on anti-apartheid movements in these countries. This shows once again that ‘Western Europe’ is a complicated concept that suggests more homogeneity than it actually contains. How exactly the different parts of Europe west of the ‘Iron Curtain’ differed in their relationship to South Africa can

be described more precisely only once these research gaps have been approached.

Why is the history of Western European perceptions of and reactions to apartheid part of the global history of Western Europe? In this volume, we take Western Europe to comprise the countries that were not under Soviet hegemony until 1990 and whose societies had capitalistic economies and democratic representative governments since the 1970s at the latest. It differs from Eastern Europe in that it experienced a social change after 1945 whose key descriptors are 'prosperity', 'growth of the service sector', 'educational advancement' and 'democratization'. Its solidarity with South Africa's liberation movements also had different dynamics than in Eastern Europe, where support for the liberation struggle was the policy of dictatorial governments, and free media, which could communicate political controversy, did not exist. In Western Europe, discourses and practices pertaining to global issues were reflected in the complex interactions of social agents more directly than under state socialism, in which society was controlled from above.

A political and social tension can be observed in the countries of Western Europe in the second half of the twentieth century. It was a result of, on the one hand, colonial and racist attitudes and perceptions and, on the other hand, a gradual, and by no means contradiction-free, sensitization to those countries' colonial pasts, contemporary racist exclusions and living conditions in the Global South. Studying how they dealt with apartheid makes it possible to explore their transformation at the time by focusing on their discussions of their colonial pasts and the global constellations that resulted. We strive not for a renewed Eurocentrism but, on the contrary, for an understanding of European history in a global context. To consider transnational connections and entanglements is to view the world globally, with dependencies and differences in power but no epistemological hierarchies.³ In studying Western Europe, this means criticizing its 'civilizing mission', which after the Second World War again became an important intellectual foil to the idea of 'development'.⁴

A fundamental characteristic of South Africa, compared to other formerly colonized countries, was the historical presence of a large group of white settlers whose nationalism incorporated the guiding idea of a European cultural mission. In their dealings with South Africa, Western European societies had to take into account, along with its racism, their historical connections to the country, which stemmed from their colonial

pasts. In their debates over apartheid, they also contested their own racist exclusions, which had long traditions.

In light of Afrikaners' and other white South Africans' continual references to Christian and European values, was South Africa's apartheid a reflection of the dark side of Western Europe?⁵ There were overlaps, for until the early 1970s modern apartheid was politically connectable to Western European racism.⁶ This racial discourse, which perpetuated but also transformed Western Europe's conception of its superiority, should be understood as a part of global history.

Håkan Thörn's thesis of the emergence of 'global civil society' described a positive transnational effect of the international apartheid debate, and that thesis has resonated with many scholars. On the basis of his study of the Swedish and British anti-apartheid movements, their interdependencies and their interactions with the UN, Thörn identified the 'globalization of politics', which changed societies of the Global North through their consequent perceptions of the world far beyond the northern hemisphere and social movements.⁷ The recent volume that Anna Konieczna and Rob Skinner edited on the global anti-apartheid movement makes its character as a human rights movement clear, but they also emphasize that in its early years the anti-apartheid-movement 'embodied a new form of liberal humanitarianism, adapting older forms of moral politics for a post-colonial world'. They suggest that a 'global history of anti-apartheid might, therefore, begin with an analysis of the ways in which activists imagined themselves as players in a global movement'.⁸ We follow their suggestion here but expand it from anti-apartheid movements to all social agency who were involved with South Africa in whatever way. Were multinational companies or churches also considered global players in an interwoven world? There is evidence that neither were guided by internationalist ideas, unlike the anti-apartheid movements and the governments of Eastern Europe.⁹

In addition to its globalism, European and national features also shaped Western Europe's apartheid debates. Roeland Muskens has argued against Thörn that the Netherlands' anti-apartheid movement was characterized above all by its concern with domestic politics and operated primarily within a national framework.¹⁰ Though it would go too far to assume this Western Europe in general, there clearly were domestic political components in the practices of apartheid critics, and supporters, in other countries as well. For example, politicians' debates over apartheid were part of domestic political disputes between progressives and conservatives, who

saw South Africa as an anti-communist ally and defender of the free market. According to Saul Dubow, 'This, too, is why apartheid had global ramifications: anti-apartheid activists in countries like the United States and Britain were, by opposing apartheid, engaged in fighting domestic political battles against the political right as well.'¹¹ Another conspicuous feature of Western European anti-apartheid movements was the dominance of white citizens. Despite the participation of ANC members in exile, the proportion of people of colour in the movements was low.

Two central issues in Western European debates over apartheid were whether or not to interfere in South Africa's internal affairs, and, if so, then should it take the form of increased political, economic and cultural pressure or the total isolation of the apartheid regime. The European Community promoted 'critical dialogue' in the 1970s.¹² However, Western European societies could come to no consensus on how to proceed, and their opinions were often contradictory. For example, Great Britain, West Germany and France opposed what they saw as the UN's overly strict sanctions policy, while Sweden had long pressed for sanctions and instituted a national ban on business investments in South Africa in 1979. However, the closer political and economic cooperation in Western Europe that began the 1970s blurred the differences in countries' South Africa policies. And with the advent of economic alliances, such as the European Community (EC) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), and cooperation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), intra-European conflicts eased. Starting in 1971, the EC tried to develop the European Political Co-operation (EPC) and with it a common foreign policy for Africa. South Africa was the dominant issue in the EPC. In 1977, the foreign ministers of the EC's member states decided on the Code of Conduct for European companies with subsidiaries in South Africa, the first such joint initiative beyond mere declarations of intent.¹³ The contradictions in foreign policies for South Africa that nevertheless persisted reflected the multitude and diversity of Western European political actors involved with apartheid and managing relations with South Africa. But it is not only about foreign politics. Western European perceptions of and reactions to apartheid, in the context of global history, can also be understood as part of a complex history of relations rooted in a period well before apartheid began.

SOUTH AFRICA AND WESTERN EUROPE: OUTLINES OF A HISTORY OF PERCEPTIONS AND RELATIONS AFTER 1945

The countries of Western Europe studied in this volume, namely Sweden, West Germany, the Netherlands, France and Great Britain, had long maintained close relations with South Africa. These relations resulted from their histories of colonialism—parts of South Africa were under Dutch and British rule between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, and Namibia was a German colony until the end of World War I—and European emigration to Southern Africa.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Europeans tended to view the white settlers positively, which was partly the result of intra-European conflicts. Continental Europeans viewed the Afrikaans-speaking population positively because of a widespread anti-British attitude, especially during the Second South African War of 1899–1902.¹⁴ For example, Nazi Germany worked closely with extreme right-wing Afrikaners.¹⁵ After World War II, Western Europeans perceived South Africa positively, though predominantly in colonial terms, considering its white population the bearers of European civilization who would maintain order there. Before the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, criticism of apartheid in Western Europe was sporadic.¹⁶ Afterwards, perceptions became more critical.

Several causes of this change in perception in the second half of the twentieth century can be identified. Decolonization in the 1960s saw the emergence of many new states in Africa, which were increasingly arenas of the Cold War. Consequently, the foreign policies of France, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western European countries suffered conflicts of interest because the new African states condemned their support for South Africa. In his famous speech in the South African Parliament in February 1960, Britain's Conservative Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, highlighted the subsequent change of interest in foreign policy, which he described as the 'wind of change' in Africa, causing uncertainty in his own Conservative Party.¹⁷ However, Africa's new states did nothing to alter Western European racism. In West Germany, for example, the public viewed them with a mixture of racism and a sense of loss.¹⁸

In the 1960s, the UN, and particularly member states from the Global South, called on the world community to isolate South Africa in order to end apartheid.¹⁹ In 1966, it condemned apartheid as a crime against

humanity. And the US-American civil rights movement continued to address racism in the West's leading power, which sharpened criticism of racist practices of exclusion in other Western countries. As a result, perceptions of South Africa shifted, according to different time frames in different countries. From the 1970s onwards, public condemnation of South Africa's institutionalized discrimination against the majority of its population was widespread, catalysed by the regime's crackdown of the Soweto uprising in 1976 and its murder of Steve Biko in 1977.

In Western foreign policy, South Africa was a strategic outpost against Soviet influence in the region. However, recent research has undermined the thesis that Western governments saw the South African regime primarily in Cold War terms. Though anti-communism was an important concern of politicians in Western Europe and justified their *attentisme* towards South Africa, the Cold War was not the only, or even the most important, cause of the wave of decolonization in Southern Africa, which ultimately washed away the apartheid regime as the last bastion of the colonial system. Also important for the disruption of apartheid was the fact that the US-American civil rights movement had ended the era in which the world community accepted 'race' as a basis for institutionalized separation,²⁰ as the Eastern and Western blocs' movements in solidarity with the liberation movements in Southern Africa made abundantly clear. Thus, as Sue Onslow argues, the fate of apartheid was 'associated with, but not defined by, the Cold War confrontation and its demise'.²¹ Therefore, historians must pay greater attention to South Africa's internal developments and their effects on the rest of the world, without an understanding of which the changes in Western European perceptions and policies cannot be explained. This includes the policy for reforming apartheid that the South African government introduced as an 'anti-anti-apartheid' strategy at the end of the 1970s in reaction to the international and internal anti-apartheid movements.²² The reform program was in fact an attempt to modernize apartheid, and its real aim was to maintain the National Party's hold on power by creating a black middle class, which would presumably strengthen the moderate opposition at the expense of apartheid's radical opponents. But the dismantling of petty apartheid and the reform of labour laws, which permitted black labour unions, were received positively in Western Europe. As a result, the 'language of legitimation'²³ that the regime and its friends in Western Europe used in their propaganda there changed.²⁴ It was only because the regime instituted reforms in the apartheid system and included voices critical of it in its propaganda that Western European

supporters of the regime were heard in the 1980s. Thus, conservative and moderate supporters of South Africa were able to deflect demands for radical change and campaign for patience and continued engagement. However, with P.W. Botha's Rubicon speech in 1985 and his declaration of a state of emergency the following year the regime scared off its Western European supporters, who began to distance themselves from it.

Opposition to apartheid could mix with long-felt sympathy and other bonds. For example, some Dutch organizations felt obliged to remain engaged with South Africa because of their *stamverwantschap*—kinship—with the Afrikaans-speaking population. 'Although the word *stamverwantschap* increasingly became a politically incorrect anachronism, several groups of anti-apartheid activists in the Netherlands continued to consider the Afrikaners to be akin, and their motivations can be explained to some extent from a sense of shame.'²⁵ Since the 1970s, only extreme right-wing groups in Western Europe publicly supported the principle of racial segregation. However, these groups had little influence on the discourse of society as a whole.

Western European businesses with subsidiaries in South Africa, which were attacked in their home countries, stressed that their involvement contributed to the peaceful elimination of apartheid. In 1977, the European Community, which consisted at that time of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland and Great Britain, tried to persuade such companies to follow its Code of Conduct for implementing non-racist practices in their South African affiliates. In the 1980s, public demands for divestment grew louder. However, most of the European Community's member states did not heed them. Sweden was the pioneer. It had already banned its companies from investing in their South African subsidiaries in 1979, and in 1986 it, and the other Scandinavian countries, decided on a total trade boycott of South Africa. Though the EC tightened some of its trade restrictions that year, its members continued to do business with South Africa. Differences were always about how to deal with human rights violations in other countries and went therefore beyond the South African example. The confidence of companies that their continuing commitment to their South African subsidiaries contributed to ending apartheid must be understood in part as a reaction to the divestment campaigns of their countries' anti-apartheid movements. As a result of these campaigns, companies felt exposed to the public's moral criticism, which also found its way into internal corporate discourses.²⁶ A general change of

perception in many multinational companies can be observed during the 1970s and 1980s, but it was the result not only of domestic public pressure but also of their involvement in South Africa's debate over reform.²⁷

Even among apartheid's opponents in Western Europe, a central question was whether apartheid could be ended through evolution or only by revolution.²⁸ For a long time, concern for the white population group of South Africa dominated this debate, for it was seen as a threatened minority whose interests needed to be protected from the black majority.²⁹ The notion that South Africa was the creation of the dark side of Europe played a part in this perception. Adrian Guelke has argued that the 'Janus-faced nature of Western society is reflected in the complexity of the relations that prevailed between the countries of North America and Western Europe and South Africa during the apartheid era'. Thus, the white population of South Africa was often seen as 'the black sheep of the family'.³⁰ The history of Western Europe's relations with South Africa was extremely ambivalent on this issue. Its foreign policies condemned institutionalized racism, but it also continued to maintain good relations with South Africa and to take its fears for South Africa's white population seriously.

The increased attention that Western Europe paid to South Africa in the 1960s called on it to acknowledge and question its own racism. This can be observed, for example, in literature, as with black British writers who called apartheid an 'important, but sometimes submerged and shifting, reference point' in their engagement with racism and with entertainment that addressed apartheid.³¹ The latter communicated the anti-apartheid message to a wider audience. Mass media consumption played an important role for many of the actors examined in this volume, especially anti-apartheid movements. For example, in Britain Anti-Apartheid Enterprises was a company associated with the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) that sold solidarity products from Southern Africa and through them raised the awareness of consumers outside of the AAM and similar groups.³² The transformation of protest through consumption and the media was exemplified by the Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute Concert in June 1988 mentioned at the start of this chapter. This 'fusion of politics and lifestyle' was essential to anti-apartheid activism in the 1980s.³³

In Western Europe's Christian churches, lifestyle issues were also important in congregations' discussions of how they should respond to apartheid, in which questions about how one should live were posed as questions about how one should understand faith. Just as Western

European societies had been undergoing change since the 1960s, their churches were also experiencing a profound transformation involving pluralization, individualization and democratization.³⁴ One cause was decolonization in Africa and Asia, where Western European missionaries had been active for centuries, and the emergence of independent churches that accompanied decolonization. The latter challenged the traditional relationship between church and mission and changed the ecumenical movement, which increasingly turned its attention to developments in the Global South and issues of global inequality.³⁵ The ecumenical movement gave special attention to apartheid and South Africa, which it saw as a country that mirrored the conflicts of the entire world. The World Council of Churches (WCC) set up the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) in 1969, and its special fund financially supported liberation movements in the Global South until the 1990s.³⁶ The resulting publicity went far beyond the religious sphere and began an intense controversy among Christians, which, in turn, initiated processes of politicization and polarization. For many Christians, the question of whether or not to condemn apartheid raised the question of whether or not it was appropriate for churches to interfere in politics, and the ensuing discussions revealed a plurality of understandings of faith. Against this background, Christians in South Africa and Western Europe experimented with new forms of transnational partnership that incorporated the changes in the ecumenical movement and provided counter-models to society under apartheid.³⁷

At first glance, the history of Western Europe's relationship with South Africa in the second half of the twentieth century seems like a story of increasing political and cultural alienation. However, that is too simple, for Western Europeans predominantly identified with South Africa's 'Europeans'. This was a fundamental perception throughout the relevant history that did not disappear, not even with the end of apartheid. Many Western Europeans felt close to the white South Africans and took their fear of losing power seriously. And ideologically, South Africa's claim that apartheid was a reasonable project in social engineering to solve political problems found a hearing in some parts of Western Europe societies.

WESTERN EUROPEAN RESPONSES TO APARTHEID: FIVE THESES

How can one characterize debates about apartheid's effects on the transformation of Western European societies more? That transformation was influenced by the beginning of a new wave of globalization. For example, the shift of production and tourism to the Global South; the transition from an industrial to a service society with the associated rise in education and erosion of traditional milieus, such as ethnic or working-class neighbourhoods; the explosive growth of consumption and popular media in an 'experience society' and the expansion of representative democracy and participatory methods—to name some of its most important determinants. It is impossible to answer fully this large question about the causal relations between complex phenomena. However, we begin our answer with five theses.

1. The apartheid debate benefitted from the politicization of everyday life and advanced it.

The politicization of everyday life to which the terms 'life politics' and 'lifestyle politics' refer has been described as a typical feature of an 'experience society' of the 1980s. As such, it was an important feature in the background of anti-apartheid activism, especially in the last decade of the apartheid regime, for individualization entailed different perceptions of and responses to the Global South.³⁸ The fact that meaning was no longer so strongly determined by collectives but by individuals did not mean that adherents of politicized lifestyle did not participate in collective activities; rather, they understood their participation as an expression of their individual lifestyle. Thus, boycotting, protesting and attending concerts could be forms of personal expression, and, so, part of a 'reflexive project of the self'.³⁹ In this way, the issue of the consumer society's 'transformation of human rights activism or its inclusion in popular culture' becomes relevant,⁴⁰ for participation in the anti-apartheid movement through the consumption of goods and media products manifested in everyday life a sensitivity to global problems. However, there were national differences. The extent to which one's attitude towards apartheid could be expressed in the practice of a reflexive self also depended on whether the anti-apartheid movement in one's nation included approaches to everyday life that differed from traditional politics. Consumer boycotts, anti-apartheid

merchandise, solidarity concerts and their television broadcasts richly interwove politics and lifestyle and shaped their global contours.

2. The apartheid debate increased the ethical thinking of businesses and their legitimacy.

Today's buzzword 'corporate social responsibility' (CSR) signals a company's ethical behaviour in virtue of globalization. The debate over apartheid was a catalyst in the process that led to this awareness. So, too, were the interventions of states and supranational organizations to regulate business, such as the EC's Code of Conduct in 1977, in response to the public's increasing criticism. But the efficiency of these measures was controversial. Often anti-apartheid movements opposed them, for they demanded companies' complete divestment from South Africa. Moreover, the practices of companies showed how narrow their ethical concerns were. For example, they eliminated the restrictions of 'klein' or 'petty' (such as segregated toilets) but did nothing about the blatant absence of blacks in skilled or management positions.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the debate over anti-racist codes of corporate conduct and their implementation sensitized companies to their ethical responsibilities.

3. The apartheid debate did not make 'race' or racism insignificant, but it did raise awareness of the problems with them and reinforce the legitimacy of anti-racist positions.

The overall picture only partially confirms Ulrich Beck's thesis about 'reflexive modernity'.⁴² Contrary to Beck's claim, Western European societies were prepared to only a limited extent to question self-critically the foundations of modernity. In addition, one should not conceptualize a society's sensitization to questions of ethnicity as a linear process. This is particularly true in the case of apartheid, whose elimination is often described as a triumph (of either the anti-apartheid movements or of vaguely specified 'Western values'). Though citizens' initiatives and social movements for the expansion of participatory representative democracy have been widely studied, it is still not clear what role they played in the incipient globalization of European societies, for example, the extent to which their approach, which often transcended national borders, was put into practice. In contemporary work on development policy and 'Third World movements',⁴³ scholars only cursorily consider the extent to which