THE MIGRATION FLOWS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS IMPACTS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA (1960-2000)

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Introduction

The end of World War II instituted a new geopolitical structure in international relations, changing the dynamics of these relations in Southern Africa, both by the change of European countries in relation to the countries of the region, and by the acceleration of the liberation processes of the African peoples. This scenario contributed to a change in the migratory processes of this period, still presenting impacts on the current migratory dynamics in South Africa (RSA).

This research aims to investigate the migratory processes that occurred during the long road to freedom of the African peoples, from the1960s to the early 2000s. Therefore, we investigate the influence of the Cold War bipolar dispute and the reflexes that the peripheral capitalist development of South Africa had for the migration processes of the country. Currently, the state stands out as political and economic leadership in the region and is the destination of many migratory contingents. However, part of this prestige has bases linked to the Apartheid regime, whose "separate development" implied a framework of social inequality, persisting to this day in the country.

The period between the 1960s and 2000s, in Southern Africa, is marked by the presence of anti-colonial liberation movements (formed by parties, unions, religious groups and others) which, in some cases, formed support networks and shelter to resistance groups and migrants from the region (Braga, 2011). This scenario characterized the coming of age of Afri-

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can nationalism and Africanist sentiment, often exposed by the Black[3] and pan-African[4] movements (Visentini; Ribeiro, 2013). The liberation-seeking environment, combined with the acute sense of African nationalism contributed to the strengthening of the Africanist sentiment, whose effects have also enhanced the reception of African immigrants and refugees within their own continent.

The 1960s was marked by the emergence of several independent processes. In Southern Africa, this period marked a series of violent conflicts, many of which lasted until the 1990s (Schütz, 2014). It is observed that many of these independences resulted in new political compositions, with old oppressive and racist practices, motivating armed guerrillas in many Southern African countries (Chanaiwa, 2010).

Still, the 1960s symbolize a radical change in international politics, influenced by the post-World War II environment. In this regard, the signing of the Bretton Woods Agreement (1944), the UN Charter (1945), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights/UDHR (UN 1948) and the rise of the bipolar dispute between the US and the USSR (both anti-colonial) are noteworthy. To the countries of the global periphery, the bipolarity brought profound geopolitical effects, after all, disputes for the balance of international power shifted from the center to the periphery. Thus, the Local Wars, which multiplied over the forty years of the Cold War, became the epicenter of US and USSR disputes.

This political moment was marked by the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), a movement that emerged at the Belgrade Conference (1961), influenced by the debate started in Bandung (1955), where a coalition between third-world countries was created. Therefore, in 1961 the principles discussed in Bandung were institutionalized, seeking the independence of these countries, the non-violation of the rights of oppressed peoples (such as the opposition to Apartheid), the balance of markets between nations, and peripheral economic and industrial development (Pereira; Medeiros, 2015).

The debate on third-world economic development, in addition to generating the creation of the NAM, also led to the creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the G-77, in 1964. Thus, there is the inclusion of the uneven development agenda

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3 Feeling of blackness is linked to the black movement, the one that aimed to place greater emphasis on the culture of black movement. To learn more, it is suggested to read *Post Colonial Studies: The key concepts*, Ashcroft, Bill *et al.* (2000).

4 For pan-Africanism means the movement that seeks to unify Africa for the sake of their own interests. To learn more, the above reading is suggested.

that, coupled with the issue of the deteriorating terms of trade, has become part of discussions in international organizations (Pereira; Medeiros, 2015).

Aiming at the best development of this research, and to achieve its respective objectives, this work is structured in three sessions. The first evaluates, on a regional basis, the "separate development" in the context of Apartheid and its effects on migration flows in South Africa. In the second part, through the prism of migration to South Africa, the black liberation movements are analyzed, prioritizing the African perspective towards the struggle against English and Portuguese neocolonialism. In the third session, from the South African perspective, the systemic changes that the end of the Cold War represented to Southern Africa and their possible impacts on the region's migratory flow towards South Africa are analyzed.

The separate development of South African Apartheid and the instrumentalization of migratory work

South Africa became a republic in 1961. However, the new political administration did not break with the Apartheid regime, which lasted until 1994 (Pereira, 2010). Before then, in 1948, the South African government approved a series of segregationist laws, which placed the white population of South Africa in advantage to other (African, Indian and other people of non-European origin). This segregation by skin color also reflected on migratory flows to the country, such as the use of the Immigrants Regulation Act (1913), which had a xenophobic and racist character, where the government determined that only white people had the freedom to migrate and made it difficult for black people to come (and leave) the country. In addition, this law was a facilitating instrument for cheap labor in mines and agriculture (Almeida, 2015).

In 1960, with the letter "Called to the Nation", written by the Pan-African Congress (PAC) (1959), a group of black protesters gathered in protest against the Pass Laws[5] and for the increase of the minimum wage. However, the government, armed with firearms and tear gas suppressed the demonstration. This event, known as the Sharpeville Massacre, culminated in the deaths of 72 people and 186 other injuries, representing one of the symbols of Apartheid violence (Chanaiwa, 2010).

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5 Laws that forced blacks from South Africa to carry a booklet in which they reported where they lived, where they could go, who employed them and the tribal group to which they belonged (Mandela 2012).

From this date, the South African government blamed the ANC (African National Congress) and the PAC by the tragedy in Sharpeville, prohibiting the activity of these and other organizations opposing the regime. Until then, the African liberation demonstrations had a pacifist character, however, the establishment of violent state oppression and the prohibition of liberation movements, propelled the emergence of armed branches of resistance. Thus, in 1961, the PAC formed Poqo ("Pure" or "Alone" in Xhosa) while the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, founded the Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) ("Spear of the Nation") (Braga, 2011). MK's founding year is also recognized as the founding year of the Department of Immigration, a government sector dedicated to encouraging the migration of white people to South Africa, while repelling the arrival of black immigrants, except for their work in mines (Almeida, 2015). In 1962, the RSA abandoned the Commonwealth agreement to strengthen the South African "separate development" project (Chanaiwa, 2010).

Due to Apartheid policies, in 1962, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) adopted resolution number 1761, which suggested some boycott measures (economic, administrative and diplomatic) to the RSA in order to weaken the regime (UN 1962). At this time, the UNGA consisted of 110 States, of which more than thirty were Africans. After the first great wave of independence in Africa, African issues became more visible and representative in international organizations.

Wolpe (1972) presents migratory work as a key part of the South African capitalist arrangement, defined as "separate development". The author claims that this type of migration served as an important tool for the functioning of this system, whose dynamics were based on oppression of blacks – immigrants and natives – and the accumulation of capital in the country. Such a system was fed due to the labor supply presented by the RSA and the lack of employment in the southern region of the continent, which resulted in immigrants coming from the localities to the RSA. Thus, despite the irregular situation in most cases, it is understood that the cheap labor provided

by immigrants[6], ensured the strengthening of South African capital, which in turn changed the balance between domestic production and distribution, as well as undermining neighboring countries, especially affecting their agricultural production. The racial issue involved in this regime had major effects on the country's economy, as labor and movement control laws guaranteed cheap labor for South Africa's rapid economic growth (Wolpe, 1972).

During Apartheid, the urbanization process in South Africa accelerated, a phenomenon that contributed to the increase of migratory flow to the country. Parallel to the issue of immigrants destined for the mine workforce, labor supply in the industrial sector also had the same segregationist characteristics. Thus, Wolpe (1972) notes that many South African industries were set up around homelands (spaces that limited black housing in the country), facilitating the access to industry by black people. The involvement of such workers with the urban environment contributed to the strengthening of their political awareness, where, even in the face of oppression, the identification and relationship with the liberation movements was narrowed.

In the 1960s, RSA's economic growth placed the country among the top ten economies in the world. Thus, the South African economic and industrial development made the country the main economic hub of Southern Africa, establishing a kind of gravitational force on the neighbors. In 1969, the country signed a customs union agreement between Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, creating ties of dependence on neighboring economies to South Africa (Pereira, 2007).

If at the regional level the country was asserting itself with its neighbors, internally, the homelands faced the lack of various services and resources, widening the misery within the richest country in Africa (Pereira, 2007). In social terms, from the brief industrial growth of the country a scenario emerged of economic inequality and demographic transformation, where, while the spaces destined for whites presented greater economic

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6 Most immigrant workers were employed in mines, facing conditions of insecurity to their own health. Many black immigrants were placed in worse working circumstances than whites, because the second group did not accept to occupy the same workspace as the first, refusing to be in such conditions. Thus, the racism imposed by both the government and that manifested by the white society of South Africa meant that blacks were exposed to greater risks and, consequently, were the greatest victims of mine work (a profession that posed many people's health risks, even culminating in deaths). When exposed to work in the mines, workers were affected by diseases caused by contact with dust, such as tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases. Because of this, the South African government repatriated many of the immigrants, who received payments and medicines for such disability. However, the return of these immigrants has resulted in the epidemic spread of tuberculosis in places without medical assistance in the country (Darch 1981).

(and population) growth, the black population was instrumentalized to support this model (Braga, 2011).

In this context, the RSA became the subject of some international sanctions and, to circumvent them, the government aimed at self-sufficiency on the largest possible number of areas (highlighting the military development aiming to support the regime), enforcing the "separate development". However, even in the face of external isolation, the South African economy still depended on international trade, which represented around 50% of South African GDP in the period (Pereira, 2010).

Unlike the government's isolation of white economic development in the country, militants against Apartheid sought external alliances, creating international support networks and also settling outside the territory of South Africa. In this movement, they sought technical, financial, and especially military assistance. Thus, the MK's rapprochement with the USSR and China[7] stands out, from which they obtained political support and military training (Shubin, 2008).

If the 1960s presented an economic leap for South Africa, the same cannot be said for the 1970s and 1980s, characterized by economic decline of Apartheid, contributing to the collapse of the regime (Pereira, 2010). For the international system, the 1970s were marked by the gold standard crisis, breaking with the era of economic growth that had prevailed since the end of World War II. Against this background, the USSR sought to strengthen its global positioning by supporting third-world movements by increasing military, technical and, in some cases, financial assistance to various liberation movements (Oslow, 2013).

The sum of internal and regional challenges led Apartheid to economic stagnation, mainly due to the high production costs in the industry, for the maintenance of the system and the military spending that plagued the country. Economic problems, manifested in the 1970s, coupled with social issues at the domestic, regional and international levels, prompted the debate on the reform of the Apartheid regime. This period reflects the inability of the South African government to manipulate events in the region, especially regarding the impacts of the Carnation Revolution (1974), which led to the fall of the Salazar regime in Portugal. The end of the regime would strengthen the rise of Marxist groups fighting for the liberation of Angola and Mozambique (Visentini, 2016).

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7 At first, because of Sino-Soviet rivalries, Beijing opted for a rapprochement with the PAC, to the detriment of the (Soviet-backed) ANC. However, throughout the 1960s, China came closer to the ANC, which sent members for training in Beijing and Nanjing.

The strengthening of these revolutionary groups, also against Apartheid, implied a more aggressive South African stance towards their opponents. Thus, it is observed that the RSA began to support counterrevolutionary armed movements at the regional level. During this period, the alliances of the South African government with the movements of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), both in Angola, and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) are noteworthy. Both groups presented themselves as anti-socialists and thus received international anti-Soviet support. If in the 1960s South Africa had good relations with its neighboring countries, in the 1970s, regional geopolitics was changed. In addition to the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, changes in interactions between Washington and Moscow amplified the conflictive trend in the region (Braga, 2011).

In addition to allying itself with armed movements from other countries in the region, the RSA intervened directly in foreign territories, such as in Namibia, where the South African government disregarded the UN's suggestions to vacate the country and no longer administer it. In the territory of Angola, South Africa began to invest heavily in military apparatuses, as it no longer received US military support, aiming to combat resistance groups that received direct support from the USSR and Cuba (Vichinsk, 1987). Such interventions generated budgetary imbalances in South Africa and, in addition, the limitations and the wear of the South African troops put in check its state power, after the regime failed to weaken socialism in the region and exhaust the liberation movements (Pereira, 2007).

Regionally, Apartheid's economic and military shortcomings were recognized, mobilizing the South African civil society to intensify the resistance against the regime. However, in response, the government also intensified domestic violence in the face of anti-Apartheid demonstrations. From 1976 a new wave of revolt spread among several centers of black South African society. This period became known as the "Soweto Uprising" (Braga, 2011).

The economic decline scenario and intensification of civil demonstrations, presented during the 1970s, strengthened in the next decade. In 1983, the United Democratic Front (UDF) was created to increase resistance to Apartheid by mobilizing fronts across the country, prompting the government to declare a state of emergency. Internationally, the 1980s marked the fall in the price of gold in the international market, intensifying the economic crisis that plagued South Africa, where unemployment was rising and reaching the white population of the country, already demonstrating against

the regime. In addition, the 1980s marked the independence of Southern Rhodesia (1980), renamed Zimbabwe (Braga, 2011).

Despite the economic situation that undermined the South African society, the South African government maintained its interventionist policies and assisted some armed groups acting in neighboring countries such as Zimbabwe and Botswana, also encouraging military coups (or attempts) in the region, seeking to dissolve the sovereignty of the other states. Moreover, to destabilize the countries facing Apartheid, the RSA government housed military groups that acted against Frontline States (FLS)[8], financing and providing other types of support to different groups (Pereira, 2007).

In 1988, Apartheid soldiers were defeated by the Popular Liberation Forces of Angola (FAPLA) in the Cuito Cuanavale region, a crucial point for the end of the South African-Angola ceasefire and South African military interventionism in Angola and Namibia, resulting later in the independence of Namibia (1990) (Horing, 2015). A year after the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, F. W. de Klerk takes over the presidency of South Africa, beginning the last Apartheid government in the country.

By taking power, De Klerk begins to loosen the segregation[9] regime. In 1990, Nelson Mandela was released after 28 years in prison. After Mandela's release, the dissolution of the Apartheid regime and the transition to the democratic regime intensified. This transition period was characterized by various political conflicts and even the death of important political leaders of the country. The moment of transition escalated the black-white conflict in South Africa, a delicate period that could culminate in an avalanche of events detrimental to the desired end of Apartheid (Branco, 2003).

During the transitional period (1990-1994) the Aliens Control Act 1991 was passed, which would govern the entry of foreigners into South Africa (Aliens Control Act, 1991). Faced with such legislation, an immigrant coming to South Africa would have to be evaluated by an Immigrant Council, made up of whites who would judge possible cases of residence in the country. It is noted, then, that this law, one of Apartheid's latest manifestations, was created on a segregationist basis and served to limit the access of black

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8 Frontline States is a group formed in 1970 by countries in the Southern Africa region to work with anti-Apartheid policies. The FLS was formed by Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

9 Still in 1989 the government legalized all previously banned anti-Apartheid parties and organizations, in addition to releasing seven political prisoners and invalidating some segregationist laws.

immigrants to the country (Aliens Control Act, 1991). Observing the Aliens Control Act (1991), Almeida (2015) analyzes that:

> The residence requests in South Africa always passed through the Board of immigrants, making the decisions extremely subjective. In other words, the migrant would have to be assimilated by this Council, that is, by the white population. Therefore, the entry of black people in the country was restricted, however, as migrant workers they were often accepted (Almeida 2015, 223).

Still in the context of migrations to South Africa that occurred in the 1990s, it is identified that the country remained the main destination for labor migrations in all of sub-Saharan Africa. It is estimated that in 1992, the sum of the immigrant workforce found in South African mines amounted to approximately 166 thousand, while the agricultural sector employed about 100 thousand immigrants. In addition, it is noted that the low economic strength of neighboring countries such as Lesotho and Swaziland strengthened a relationship of economic dependence towards the South African state (Acosta, 2011).

In November 1993, the negotiations that led to the official end of Apartheid[10] ended. In April 1994 historic elections were held, when blacks, mestizos, Indians and whites voted for the South African presidency, electing Nelson Mandela (by the ANC) as the country's first black president, for the 1994-1998 term. Mandela took on the mission of repositioning South Africa in the regional and international context, and began to dismantle the segregationist barriers in his country, already facing new structural challenges left by the previous regime (Branco, 2003).

Although the Mandela administration signified a new era for South Africa, the country's policy still featured former pro-Apartheid actors with power to influence public policymaking. In this scenario, guided by the dispute between groups against and for the former regime, an Amendment to the Aliens Control Act and the South African Citizenship Act 88 were approved in 1995. From these, an foreigner was defined as any and all person not of South African citizenship. Beginning with Law 88, South African justice interpreted that anyone who did not prove their regular status in the country would be subject to deportation (South African Citizenship Act, 1995). Also, during the Mandela government the new South African Constitution (1996)

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10 The agreement to end Apartheid in South Africa, an African problem solved by African means, resulted in the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to De Klerk and Mandela (White 2003)

was ratified, advancing the defense of the UDHR for all people in South Africa (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). In addition, 1996 represents the date of ratification of the Geneva Convention (1951) on the right of refugees, the same as the date of the African Unity Convention (1969) on refugees (Almeida, 2015).

In 1998, the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa ratified the Refugees Act, in accordance with the Geneva Convention (1951), which defined the issue of refugees and their rights. In addition to the Geneva Convention, the Refugee Act 1998 was also influenced by the Convention of the Organization of African Unity governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969). Thus, in contrast to the 1991 Act and its amendments, the South African government advanced towards international refugee standards (Refugees Act 1998) and a more favorable position on the cause of migration.

After Mandela, Thabo Mbeki (ANC) assumed the presidency of the country in 1999. During this period, South Africa struggled to combat the social, political and demographic inheritances left by the Apartheid regime. It is understood that, despite enjoying the greater economic and industrial development of the region, the country also exposed old and new obstacles to be addressed, such as the spread of HIV and tuberculosis, which compromised much of South African society (Branco, 2003).

Migratory movements in Southern Africa and their relations with African liberation movements: a regional perspective

The previous session provided an analysis of migratory flows in South Africa under Apartheid regime, at which time the country was constituted by segregationist bases and aimed at its "separate development". To deepen the understanding of the migratory flow from Southern Africa to South Africa, the present session is intended to analyze Southern Africa in the light of African liberation movements in the region, especially regarding migrations to South Africa, during the 1960s to the early 2000s. Previously, British rule was characterized by distinct means of domination of African territories, legitimized as an extension of the metropolis. The British sought to dominate African territories through economic and military alliances and the use of force. As a counterpoint to the English presence in the region, there is the strengthening of African liberation movements, which favored the creation

of new countries of autonomous governments, but the economy was still linked to the former metropolis (Ribeiro; Visentini, 2013).

Even giving administrative legitimacy of self-government to the new African states, it is understood that British neo-colonialism maintained its traditional alliances that favored local and British elites. Thus, the English neo-colonialism appropriated its former colonies, aiming at the maintenance of the natural resource exploitation systems with the African countries. An example of this is that the former English colonies in Africa, by becoming independent, joined the economic dynamics of the Commonwealth (1931), maintaining English rule in the region. Moreover, it is clear that the strengthening of post-Cold War economic capitalism intensified the idea that the region would serve as a consumer market for English financial success (Pereira, 2010).

Internationally, South African Apartheid resulted in the alienation of South Africa under the regional arrangement. The rupture in relations that this country had with England impacted with the English support in the independence process of some states of the region. In this sense, one observes London's relationship with the territories of the High Commission, as the extension of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland was called. The strengthening of Apartheid during the 1960s threatened the geopolitical and economic interests of the English crown in Southern Africa. Thus, in 1966, with the support of England, Basutoland (Lesotho) and Bechuanaland (Botswana) became independent. For the population seeking to escape the South African regime, the independence of these neighboring countries presented itself as a place of refuge, especially after the Soweto revolt, which intensified armed confrontations in the country (Chanaiwa, 2010).

Still on independence in Southern Africa, supported by the English, there is the independence of Swaziland (1968), gained in the form of an English protectorate following a constitutional conference organized in England (Darch, 1981). The moderate independence of Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, the BSL-states, guaranteed sovereignty under English influence in these territories, which would culminate in closer trade relations between the BSL-states, leading them to a customs union agreement signed in 1969 (Pereira, 2007). Such a rapprochement would contribute to the advancement of labor migration policies from the BSL-states to South Africa. These countries served as suppliers of migratory labor to the RSA, along with Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Darch, 1981).

The dissolution process of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1963) occurs alongside the independence of Zambia (former Northern

Rhodesia), in 1964, which took place under the strengthening of popular mobilization, influenced by the African nationalist movements of the time (Visentini, 2012). With the end of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the political and economic elites of Southern Rhodesia diverged with English proposals, resulting in a referendum on the country's independence, making Southern Rhodesia independent of England in 1964. The new South Rhodesian government was responsible for developing a segregation regime similar to that of South Africa, which oppressed black liberation movements and implemented laws that limited the living space of the black population in the country (Chanaiwa, 2010).

Nevertheless, Southern Rhodesia would go to war against the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), in addition to arresting some of the revolutionary leaders. Thus, oppression in the country would potentiate a guerrilla conflict that would last until 1979. The racist regime would end the following year, when Robert Mugabe was elected to the presidency of Zimbabwe. The country would be governed by the founder of the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and also one of the protagonists in the fight against the segregationist regime in his country. This change also presents the time when the country was renamed Zimbabwe[11]. Due to its territorial proximity to the RSA, this state suffered constant armed aggression, which only ceased with the end of South African Apartheid regime (Visentini, 2013).

The political and administrative independence of the Southern African countries did not express the economic and social emancipation expected by the Africans who strengthened the claims for liberation of these peoples. Thus, Chanaiwa (2010) notes that the related liberation movements were characterized by the following points:

- The absolute rejection of imperialism, colonialism, racism and capitalism, as well as its inextricably linked with the principles of self-determination, pan-Africanism, non-alignment and the fundamental rights of the human person;
- Privileged relations with the urban proletariat, the peasant mass and progressive intellectuals, regarded as the revolutionary spearhead of the liberation process;

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11 Considering the oppressive environment of the government, the economic fragility to which the Zimbabwean black people were subjected and the insecurity that the 15 years of armed conflict presented, it can be considered that the flow of immigrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa is turning also access to the labor market (Wolpe 1972).

- The adoption of the theses of Marxist-Leninist scientific socialism in terms of production, distribution, consumption and social relations;
- Refusal to join in the framework of relations of dependence or subordination with other countries and the strengthening of solidarity with the other liberation movements and the other oppressed peoples of the world (Chanaiwa 2010, 319).

In Angola and Mozambique, liberation movements received international support from NAM, the Liberation Committee of the Organization of the African Union, China, the USSR and other global solidarity movements (Chanaiwa, 2010). On the other hand, the colonial elites of these countries, added to the support of the white elites of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, came from support from West Germany, the USA, France and England (Chanaiwa, 2010). In Southern Africa, the first victories of the anti-colonial guerrillas were achieved in the countries colonized by Portugal. The ideals of these movements not only influenced Africans, but also impacted the Portuguese population[12].

In 1974, the international system was facing a time of crisis due to the rise in the price of a barrel of oil. However, this period also marked the end of Salazar's fascism in Portugal in the so-called Carnation Revolution. The fall of the Salazar regime led to the signing of the Lusaka agreements, provisionally recognizing the independence of Angola and Mozambique, both proclaimed independent in 1975, with the support of nationally liberated armed and clandestine movements ideologically influenced by Marxism-Leninism (Acosta, 2011). The independence of these countries has resulted in key effects on the geopolitics of the region and the intensification of conflicts in Southern Africa. In Mozambique, the armed conflict began in 1964, when the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO)[13] decided to militarily combat the white oppression exercised by the Mozambican National Front (RENAMO), party that received support from the South African government, Malawi and Southern Rhodesia. As mentioned, the country's independence

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12 On the effects of colonial wars on the Portuguese population: "By the late 1960s, they (the wars) absorbed about half of their annual budget and, while conservative elements, the army staff, as well as the financial leaders were in favor of continuing the war, public opinion, in turn, had lost enthusiasm."(Chanaiwa 2010, 320).

13 FRELIMO (1962) was the result of the merger of the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO) (1960) with the African National Union of Mozambique (MANU) (1961). The movement consisted of rural and urban workers, businessmen and intellectuals as well. To learn more, it is suggested to read Chanaiwa (2010).

had been achieved in 1975 with the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique (Onslow, 2013).

Regarding the migratory flow from Mozambique to South Africa, it is identified that the Civil War in Mozambique would result in the flight of approximately 350 thousand Mozambicans to South Africa. However, the Mozambican refugees were denied their respective refuge requests. Only in 2000 did the South African government regularize the situation of these migrants by granting them residence permits (Crush, 2008). This flow was characterized by migratory work, where farm workers fled the armed conflict in Mozambique and set off for the RSA (Adepoju, 2008).

The armed conflict between FRELIMO and RENAMO ended in 1992, with the peace agreement that would seal the end of the Civil War, through the abdication of Leninist-Marxist orientation in Mozambique, followed by the country's economic opening. The first multiparty elections took place in 1994, when Joaquim Chissano (FRELIMO) was elected, who ruled from 1986 until 2004 (Visentini, 2012). With the end of the Mozambican conflict, it is estimated that around 20% of the population migrating to South Africa would return to their home country, while the rest would remain in South African territory, stimulated by the post-Apartheid context (Crush, 2008). Regarding the liberation process in Angola (1961-2002), it is noted that the movements for the liberation of Angola are identified in three main groups: the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) (1954), the Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA) (1956) and the Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) (1966). In 1975, due to the Carnation Revolution (1974), a transitional government was recognized between Portugal and the three movements listed above. However, due to the lack of political and ideological cohesion, a Civil War was waged, enhancing the Cold War environment in Southern Africa[14] (Visentini, 2013).

The war in Angola has significant impacts on the region's geopolitics, as it is the richest and most strategic colony of Portugal in Africa, now represented by a rising socialist government. In addition to the regional issue, the conflict in Angola had the direct and indirect participation of international actors, presenting a space of armed conflict with different purposes and interests. As an example, analyzed the intensification of armed conflict

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14 Regarding external participation in the light of the Cold War in the conflict in Angola, the following table is identified: The FNLA received support from the US and Zaire, but from the 1970s onwards, China, North Korea and Romania also began to support the movement; while the MPLA was initially supported by China and the USSR, but also supported by Cuba, North Korea and some eastern European countries; while UNITA received support from China, South Africa, Portugal (see Portugal's participation in NATO). To learn more, check out Schmidt (2013).

between South Africa and the guerrillas of the MPLA, supported militarily by Cuba and the USSR (Schmidt, 2013).

The confrontation between South Africa and the MPLA also impacted the liberation movement in Namibia. In this context, the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) was the main armed arm in the pursuit of freedom for its people in the face of South African occupation. The South African government illegally occupied the country, using it in favor of Apartheid, forcing the local population to migrate to the mines in both countries. In view of this, SWAPO received support from the MPLA, as well as from Cuba and the USSR, in the fight against South Africans, which in turn received support from West Germany, the United States, France, England and Israel. However, with the strengthening of international mobilization against Apartheid, boycotts of the RSA were growing, leading to the country's isolation and loss of international support. In this scenario, in 1988, after the defeat of the South African army in Cuito Cuianavale, the Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola, resulting in the independence of Namibia (1990) (Schmidt, 2013). The conflict in Angola has resulted in the emergence of thousands of war refugees, as well as the increase in trafficking in women and children from that country. However, such a migratory flow did not target South Africa as a destination, as the country was not receptive to black migration (SIHMA, 2014).

In 1991, the ceasefire of the Angolan civil war was being negotiated, but that would only result in pauses in the conflict. Thus, under the UN Security Council, it led to the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) (1997-1999), created by Resolution 1.118 to promote peace and Angolan integrity. The end of this conflict would only occur in 2002, ending the period that represents Angola's most severe economic and social crisis (Visentini, 2012).

South Africa: the post-Cold War reflections and the end of Apartheid for migration flows

As seen throughout this research, many of the African peoples' achievements for freedom came through armed conflict, through guerrilla movements versus governments of severe oppression of the black population. On the issue of migratory movements, in addition to observing the increased flow of war refugees from Southern Africa, it is noted the flow of armed movements in

the border regions, where such groups were housed in neighboring territories, to assist in achieving the objectives of each group's armed struggle.

Even though the present paper is willing to analyze migratory movements from the southern region of Africa to South Africa, it is clear that understanding the political and economic issues in the regional and international contexts is of fundamental importance. In this way, the last session of this study is to examine the reflections of the post-Cold War environment, as well as the end of Apartheid and the last years of the war in Angola and their respective effects on migratory flows directed to the RSA.

As already mentioned, the end of the dollar-gold standard (1971) impact on the economy of Southern Africa, which depended on the exploration of gold. This led to the hiring of more migrants to the South African mines, resulting later in the 1978 Conference on Migration Work to Southern Africa (Darch, 1981). Given South Africa's sub-imperialist role in the region, despite the economic decline of the Apartheid regime, only after the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), and the sensitive decline of the USSR, did international pressure increase on the segregationist regime (Chanaiwa, 2010).

With the end of the War, marked by the perception of unipolarity and the spread of liberalizing globalization, the African continent lost strategic importance in the Great Powers foreign and security policy agenda. Thus, the countries of the region lost their bargaining power. Moreover, facing this situation, there was the dismantling of African issues, with the reduction of armed conflicts in the region, although the period is also marked by the growth of poverty and the advancement of epidemic diseases in Southern Africa, such as cholera, HIV, tuberculosis and other lethal diseases (Visentini, 2013). Thus, there was the African marginalization and the neglect of the central countries of the capitalist system towards the continent.

With regard to South Africa in the post-Cold War context, with the end of Apartheid and the election of Mandela, a new South Africa has emerged, focused on UDHR compliance policies and regional and global reintegration. Thus, the South African search for rapprochement with the regional actors in order to achieve an environment of cooperation and solidarity among its peoples, as well as the aim of the regional leadership role in international spaces as a consequence of the potential presented in the new South Africa (Otavio, 2015). In line with the political changes in Southern Africa and the end of Apartheid, South Africa has come to be seen as a new destination for migrants, noting the increase in the number of African immigrants in the country. The South African government estimates that about 160 refuge applicants came to the country during 1994 and 2004

On the other hand, the Aliens Control Act, signed in 1991, would only be radically changed in the following century, in the year 2002. As for legislation to refugees only in 1998 that it would approve the Refuge Act (Refugee Act, 2000[15]) which came into force in 2000, showing that, despite the contrast between old and new South Africa, migration laws and policies would take time to make significant progress (Crush, 2008).

Conclusions

The four decades spanning the period from the 1960s to the 2000s represent a stage of radical transformation for African States and societies. The end of much of the armed conflict and the liberation of the African peoples impacts on the region's progress. Still, this new page in African history brings with it the legacy of over 500 years of exploration (Chanaiwa, 2010). In this sense, it is understood that the new agenda of African countries deals with challenges inherited from the intense periods of white interventions on the continent.

By relating this important moment in African history, as presented in this research, focusing on migratory flows from Southern Africa to South Africa, it is pointed out that the majority of migratory work directed to the referent country. Thus, it is observed that such migration dynamics had impacts on the economy, society and health of South Africa and the region. With regard to the regional economy, it can be pointed out that the flight of workers (mostly rural) to South Africa, would serve as an instrument for the "separate development" of that country, which would later leave the region at a disadvantage facing the advancement of globalization.

Regarding the effects of this period on African society in the region, it should be noted that the post-Cold War had presented the restructuring of African society, given the structural damage left by the Cold War regional conflicts. Regarding the health issue related to the dynamics of migratory work, it is pointed out that the migrant population was left in situations of imminent risk to health, enhancing the expansion of diseases found in the environments to which such migrants were conditioned. In addition, it was visualized the presence of new international actors in the region, such as the approach of South Africa with China, the NAM and a new migratory flow from Southern Africa to that country. Also, it points to the rise of new

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15 To learn more about the Refugee Law (2000), it is suggested to consult the official website of the South African government.

problems for South Africa, such as high unemployment, the epidemics of HIV and tuberculosis, as well as the structural challenges left by the former segregationist regime.

Finally, this research considers that the South African regime oppressed blacks (nationals and migrants) not only for their skin color, but also for the economic class to which they belonged. More than that, Apartheid's logic obeyed an adjustment in the relationship with the country's labor force, contributed to the control of unemployment, wages and the allocation of the workforce. Clearly, the regime has imposed severe social deformations, whether due to the sense of inferiority imposed, as well as the sub-imperialist project that has affected the stability of the entire region. In this sense, it is concluded that the actions of the regime were the main catalyst of transformation that affected the demographics in Southern Africa.

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates the migratory processes that occurred from Southern Africa to South Africa from 1960 to the early 2000s. From this perspective, in the light of migratory flows, we investigate the influences of the Apartheid regime, the bipolar Cold War dispute, African liberation movements, the reflections of peripheral capitalist development in South Africa and the challenges that such events posed for the country.