

VOLKSWAGEN CONFERENCE FOR ITS MANAGERS ON  
SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ANC VISION OF  
A NEW DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA  
AND WHAT MUST BE DONE BY ALL IN THE EASTERN  
CAPE TO ACHIEVE THIS. AN ADDRESS BY GOVAN  
MBEKI ON 23 AUGUST 1990  
MISTER CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN  
WE WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO  
EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION OF VOLKSWAGEN INVITA-  
TION TO ADDRESS THIS MEETING OF ITS MANAGERS  
ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGES THAT; NE 80  
FERVENTLY HOPE WILL EMERGE FROM THE DISCUSSIONS  
THAT ARE CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE IN OUR COUNTRY.  
IN THE COURSE OF THIS PAPER WE HOPE TO COVER NOT  
ONLY THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY BUT ALSO  
HOW IT AFFECTS US IN THE EASTERN CAPE. IN DOING SO  
WE ARE IMMEDIATELY CONFRONTED WITH PROBLEMS WHICH  
REQUIRE SOLUTIONS TO OUR LOCAL COMMUNITY ISSUES.

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PAGE THREE

AMONG HIS DUTIES HAS TO PRESIDE ON MEETINGS OF  
THE ADVISORY BOARD AND TO ALLOCATE SCARCE HOUSING  
- A TASK WHICH HE CARRIED OUT IN A MANNER THAT WAS  
NOT UNINFLUENCED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF GOVERNMENT  
NATIVE POLICY AS THOSE OF US WHO WERE OPPOSED TO  
SUCH POLICY WERE MADE TO REALISE THE ERROR OF  
THEIR WAYS AS THEY NEVER FOUND A HOUSE TO LIVE IN.  
OTHER THAN THE MANAGER WITH HIS TEAM OF LOCATION  
SUPERINTENDENTS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NON EUROPEAN  
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AFTER WHOM THE OLDEST COLOURED  
TOWNSHIP IS NAMED WAS THE OTHER LINK. THE MUNICIPAL  
COUNCIL WHICH CONSISTED OF ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THOSE WHO LIVED IN THE INNER CITY WAS SUPPOSED TO  
ADMINISTER TO BOTH THE INNER AND PERIPHERY EVEN  
THOUGH IT DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE  
LATTER. HE DID NOT SEE THE DREADFUL SLUM CONDITIONS  
NOR DID HE SEEM TO WANT TO DO SO - THE SLUM CONDITIONS  
THAT EXISTED IN KORSTEN AND ACROSS STANFORD ROAD  
M/OPPOSITE ...

PAGE FOUR

OPPOSITE THE LIVINGSTONE HOSPITALaAND WHEN  
REPORTS WERE SUBMITTED THE GOVERNMENT SAW THE  
SOLUTION IN REMOVING THE PEOPLE FROM THERE TO  
KWAZAKHELE; IT DID NOT SEE THE CONDITIONS IN  
THE RED LOCATION IN NEW BRIGHTON WHICH UNHAPPILY  
EXIST TO THIS DAY AS DOES SOWETO - BY - THE SEA  
AND IN MANY OTHER SIMILAR CONDITIONS WHERE 7 MILLION  
PEOPLE LIVE IN CONDITIONS OF(%BJECT POVERTY UNDER IHE/  
VERY SCANT SHELTER. THE PEOPLE IN THE INNER CITY  
AND THOSE IN THE PERIPHERY LIVE IN TWO DIFFERENT  
WORLDS WITH THE DEMAKATING BOUNDARY DRAWN ALONG RACE  
AND COLOUR LINES.

IN AN APPEAL IN 1911 TO UNITE THE VARIOUS AFRICAN  
ETHNIC GROUPS WHO HAD FORMED VARIOUS ORGANISATIONS  
IN THE PRE-UNION COLONIAL AREAS - PIXLEY SEME  
SAID :- ,

#1 CL (7 (1,41. (/5127 37."?

"THE DEMON OF RA\$19NAtTSM. THE  
ABERRATIONS OF THE XHOSA - FINGO

...S/FEUD ...

PAGE FIVE

FEUDjTHE ANIMOSITY THAT  
EXISL4BETWEEN THE ZULU'S  
AND THE TONGA S. BETWEEN  
BASUTHU AND EVERY OTHER  
NATIVE MUST BE BURIED AND  
FORGOTTEN ... WE ARE ONE  
PEOPLE".

WHEN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WAS ESTABLISHED  
IN 1912 IT PURSUED ITS NON-RACIAL POLICIES IN THE  
FACE OF SOME OF THE MOST BLATANTLY RACIST POLICIES  
OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THIS COUNTRY. IT NEVER AT  
ANY TIME ALLOWED ITSELF TO ADOPT RACIAL POLICIES  
AND TO CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE WHITES AS SUCH. IN ALL  
THE YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE IT HAS FOUGHT AGAINST  
RACISM WHETHER SUCH IDEAS WERE PROMOTED AND SPREAD  
BY WHITES OR AFRICANS. DURING THE 1950's THE ANC  
TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS  
6/ALLIANCE ...

PAGE SIX

ALLIANCE SUCH AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS,  
COLOURED PEOPM S CONGRESS, AND THE CONGRESS OF  
DEMOCRATS CONVENED IN 1955 THE CONGRESS OF THE  
PEOPLE WHERE THE FREEDOM CHARTER WAS ADOPTED. IT  
THEN WAS APPROVED AND ADOPTED BY THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS AT A SPECIAL CONFERENCE AS ITS  
BASIC POLICY DOCUMENT WHICH STILL TO THIS DAY  
GUIDES ITS POLICIES. IN ITS PRE-AMBLE THE  
FREEDOM CHARTER STATES IN UNMISTAKABLE TERMS :-  
"WE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA,  
DECLARE FOR ALL OUR COUNTRY AND  
THE WORLD TO KNOW; THAT SOUTH  
AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE  
IN IT, BLACK AND WHITE. AND THAT  
NO GOVERNMENT CAN JUSTLY CLAIM  
AUTHORITY UNLESS IT IS BASED ON  
THE WILL OF ALL THE PEOPLE;  
7/THAT OUR ...

PAGE SEVEN

THAT OUR PEOPLE HAVE BEEN  
ROBBED OF THEIR BIRTH RIGHT  
TO LAND. LIBERTY AND PEACE  
BY A FORM OF GOVERNMENT FOUNDED  
ON INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY;  
THAT OUR COUNTRY WILL NEVER BE  
PROSPEROUS OR FREE UNTIL ALL OUR  
PEOPLE LIVE IN BROTHERHOOD. ENJOYING  
EQUAL RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES; THAT  
ONLY A DEMOCRATIC STATE, BASED ON THE  
WILL OF ALL THE PEOPLE CAN SECURE TO  
ALL THEIR BIRTH RIGHT WITHOUT DISTINCTION  
OF COLOUR; RACE. SEX OR BELIEF".  
THE FREEDOM CHARTER THEN PROCEEDS TO STATE :-  
"WE PLEDGE OURSELVES TO STRIVE  
TOGETHER, SPARING NEITHER STRENGTH  
NOR COURAGE, UNTIL THE DEMOCRATIC  
8/CHANGES ...

PAGE EIGHT

CHANGES HERE SET OUT HAVE  
BEEN WON".

IN KEEPING WITH THE PRINCIPLES THUS ENUNCIATED  
IN THE FREEDOM CHARTER. THE AFRICAN NATIONAL  
CONGRESS HAS THROUGH THE YEARS PURSUED POLICIES,  
IN WORD AND DEED, AIMED AT ACHIEVING THOSE  
OBJECTIVES. IT WENT FURTHER AND 1SEEEEE ITS  
MEMBERSHIP OPENV IN 1969 TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF  
SOUTH AFRICA IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE OR COLOUR.  
IT CALLED UPON ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA  
TO STRIVE TO SET UP. AS OPPOSED TO THE POLICIES  
OF APARTHEID. A UNITED, NON-RACIAL, DEMOCRATIC  
SOUTH AFRICA.

FROM 1912 WHEN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WAS  
FORMED IT ALWAYS SOUGHT TO MEET WITH THE GOVERN-  
MENT TO TALK ABOUT FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS  
9/THAT FACE ...



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HHAHN SVM 31990818 GHNVH 3H1 HSHVDEH GNV 511 HiIM  
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3H1 SHVHA HAIJ lSV1 3H1 JO HSHHOD 3H1 NI 'AHLNHOD  
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11 338 01 3M13 G3HOM/3LIHM GNV N3V38 - AHLNHOD SIH1  
NI 33d03d 3H1 30 ALIHOFVN 3H1 lVHi 3A3133H Oi 3N13  
G3HOM 3M '338V11A3NI 38 331M 13133N03 GNV 331818  
AHLNHOD SIHi 30 33d03d 3H1 A8 H313V iHBHOS lON 38V  
S3AiiD3F80 3S3Hi SV SNOW SV 'G3HHSSV 3H NVD 331130?  
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3H1 13w SVH GNVH 3N0 3H1 NO lNENNHHAOB 3H1 BHHHM  
GHHDVHH N338 MON SVH HBVLS 3H1 SSEHBNOD WVNOILVN  
NVDIHAV 3H1 GNV iNENNHEAOB AihVd lSITVNOIiVN  
3H1 NHHMLEH SNWVl 3H1 N0 SdHlS lNVlISEH 3H1 NOHd  
'HlMOHB DINONODE ON GNV ALITIHVLS ON '33V3d  
ON 38 01003 HHHHl N3H1 11V 01 100 HDVEH lON GIG  
AilHHdSOHd HDHS SV SNOW SV HSHVDEH AULNHOD SIHl JO  
3ld03d 3H1 11V 80d AllHHdSOHd d0 NOIlVHHD 3H1 GNV  
HiMOHB DINONODH 3H1 NI GHLSEHHLNI ATdHHG 383M 3M  
HSHVDHH SBNIHl HSHHL GIG 3M 'GIBHlHVdV ON3  
Oi BWBBHHLs 3H1 NI GHATOANI ATLDHHIG 38 0100M  
3ld03d 3H1 d0 SHSSVN 3H1 lVHi OS AHLNHOD 3H1  
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Oi SNHid SSHNISHH WVNOILVN - ilTHH 3H1 80d  
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NEIAEI'EI 39Vd

PAGE TWELVE

DEMANDS OF THE ANC FOR THE CREATION OF &%  
CLIMATEgQHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD TAKE  
PLACE AND)ON THE OTHER/THE ANC HAS SUSPENDED  
THE ARMED STRUGGLE. IN THE LIGHT OF THESE  
DEVELOPMENTS IT IS TO BE EXPECTED THAT ALL THE  
PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE GOING TO COME OUT NOT  
ONLY IN SUPPORT OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN  
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ANC BUT ARE GOING TO 60  
ALL OUT TO GET THE PEOPLE IN THOSE AREAS WHERE  
THEIR INFLUENCE CAN BE FELT T0 PERSUADE THEM TO  
SEE THESE EFFORTS AS THE ONLY WAY TO ENSURE A  
. FUTURE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY.  
ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT us ngmqmgya  
HERE IN THE EASTERN CAPE AS COMMUNITIES PERHAPS,QX(JQVHZ%ML A  
WE ARE PLACED IN A POSITION TO ADDRESS SOME OF  
THESE QUESTIONS IN so FAR AS THEY AFFECT THE  
AREA IN WHICH WE OPERATE IN THIS CONNECTION.

PAGE THIRTEEN

I THINK THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY HAS A SPECIAL ROLE TO PLAY. WHILE AGREEMENTS HAD BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE TWO MAJOR POLITICAL FORCES IN THE COUNTRY ON BUILDING A UNITED, NON-RACIAL DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA THERE ARE STRONG ELEMENTS WHO DO NOT SHARE THIS VIEW. FOR INSTANCE THE RIGHT - WING PARTIES SUCH AS THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY. THE BOERESTAAAT PARTY AND THE AWB HOLD VIEWS THAT ARE DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO THE IDEA OF ONE SOUTH AFRICA IN WHICH ALL ITS PEOPLES HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES. THERE ARE SIZEABLE POCKETS OF PEOPLE HERE IN THE PORT ELIZABET AND Uitenhage AREA WHO SHARE THAT VIEW. THE WORK FORCE ON THE FACTORY FLOOR CONSISTS OF PEOPLE WHO HOLD THESE DIFFERENT IRRECONCILABLE VIEWS. THE FACT THAT THESE DIFFERENCES OCCUR AS THEY DO IN THIS AREA ALONG COLOUR LINE EXACERBATES THE SITUATION.

14/ ...

PAGE FOURTEEN

IN MY VIEW BUSINESS AND ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO ARE IN MANAGERIAL POSITION ARE MOST EMINENTLY SUITED TO PROMOTE AMONGST THE WORKERS A TOLERANT RELATIONSHIP. IT IS MY VIEW THAT AFTER THE BARGAINING FOR WAGE AND WORKING CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR THE MANAGEMENT AND COSATU TO ENTER INTO A DISCUSSION ON HOW BEST TO BRING ABOUT SUCH A RELATIONSHIP. SECONDLY, THE RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THIS AREA IS VERY HIGH ESPECIALLY AMONGST THE AFRICANS. ONE SEES ON A WORKDAY SUCH LARGE NUMBERS OF ABLE BODIED YOUNG PEOPLE AS TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WERE A PUBLIC HOLIDAY. THE EXPLANATION

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THAT ONE HEARS FROM SOME OF THE BUSINESSKIS THAT BUSINESSMEN ARE HESITANT TO INVEST IN THIS AREA BECAUSE OF THE HIGH LEVEL OF POLITLgATION OF THE AFRICAN WORK FORCE.

15/ ...

PAGE FIFTEEN

IT SEEMS TO ME AN OVER SIMPLIFICATION. PUTTING  
ASIDE THE FACT THAT LARGE SECTIONS OF WORKERS  
HAVE NOT BEEN TRAINED TO DO SKILLED WORK AND  
ARE THEREFORE NOT SUITABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT IN  
AN INCREASINGLY CAPITAL INTENSIVE ECONOMY, THE  
MAIN REASON IN MY VIEW IS TO BE TRACEABLE TO  
GOVERNMENT IDEOLOGICAL POLICIES WHICH ENCOURAGED  
THE LOCATION OF INDUSTRY IN THE BORDER AREAS.  
WE WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT THE BUSINESS  
COMMUNITY WOULD BE THE BEST SUITED TO INDUCE  
INVESTORS TO TAKE AN INTEREST IN THIS AREA.  
THIRDLY, ONE OF THE MOST PROBLEMATIC AREAS IS  
EDUCATION. WHILE THIS IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM  
OF IMMENSE DIMENSIONS WHICH WOULD REQUIRE  
DETERMINATION AND COURAGE ON THE PART OF THE  
GOVERNMENT, WEJBUSINESSMEN AND THE COMMUNITY -  
16/ ...

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'STOOHDS HSOHl dO NOILD  
-08183G 3H1 0383030 HDIHM AlINnNNOD 3H1 SI 11 AI SV  
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3H1 iVHl SHHBHV 11 '18 - h86I d0 lSEHNn 3H1  
BNIHHG GHAOHL SHG 383M HDIHM STOOHDS 3H1 0110838 01  
BNISHAHH SI lNHNHHHAOB 3H1 'SNOOHSSV13 dn 10d  
01 SGNHd lNEIDiddnS HGIAOHd lON 8300 lNHNHHHAOB  
3H1 HSHVDEH 33VdS NOOHSSVWD d0 HBVLHOHS 3H1  
SI SHIVddV JO BlVlS SIHl HOJ NOSVEH 3H1 'TBAHW  
MDIHLVN 3H1 lV lNBGniS 3H1 803 38 NOILISOd 3H1  
LSHN 3380M HDHN MOH - WHAHT TOOHDs AHVNIHd 3H1 lV  
NHHGTIHD 80d BWHVLIHS iON SI NHISAS ldiHS 318000  
3H1 'NOONHHldV 3H1 NI HHHiONV GNV BNINHON 3H1 NI  
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TOOHDS HSIH lV NHHGTIHD SdHlSHOOG 800 lV  
HHHH 'NOILISOd 3H1 HiVHOIWHNV OI AVWd OI  
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NHHLYIS 39Vd



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3H1 NI dIHS V HDIHM NI iNEGIDNI/QNV SHLD;  
"AHHAVWS NOHA dn"  
: M008 SHONVA SIH NI N0lBNIHSVM i UHMOOH  
'SNOIiISOd HDHS 111i Oi EHHMHSTH GNV 3d08n3  
N085 3ld03d JO iNBNIInHDHH N0 GNHdHG lONNVD  
ANONODH NVDIHJV H1003 3H1 lVHi iDVd 3H1 33Vd  
GTHOHS 3M 'NOilVDHGH Oi NOilNHLLV AVd Oi HAVH  
111M SSHNISHH 'SNOilISOd WVIHEBVNVN dn EMVL  
Oi GEdOTHAHG 38 AVN lVHi WVIEHLVN NVNnH JO  
MOTJNI AGVHLS V 139 01 BNIOB SI SSENISHH dI  
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110838 V SV 38V SWVAVHHdn HDHS lVHl ALITVHH  
3H1 HDVd Oi iNVM lON 8300 lNHHNHHAOB 3H1  
NHHLNHAHS 39Vd

PAGE EIGHTEEN

MESSAGE FOR WATER. THE REPLY FROM THE LAND  
WAS :

"CAST THE BUCKET WHERE YOU  
ARE".

FOURTHLY. ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS  
THAT FACES US IN THE PORT ELIZABETH - UITENHAGE  
AREA IS THE SHORTAGE OF HOUSING. ACCORDING TO  
STUDIES OF THIS PROBLEM SOME 7 MILLION PEOPLE  
IN SOUTH AFRICA LIVE IN SHACKS. AS IT IS,  
ALMOST EVERY OPEN SPACE IN AREAS SUCH AS KWAZAKHELE.  
ZWIDE IS QUICKLY BEING FILLED WITH SHACKS. BUT FOR  
THE FACT THAT IT IS A REALITY IT IS HARDLY CONCEI-  
VABLE HOW PEOPLE COULD LIVE IN THE CONDITIONS AT  
SOWETO - BY - THE SEA, TO SAY NOTHING OF HOW SCHOOL  
CHILDREN LIVING IN THOSE CONDITIONS COULD BENEFIT  
BY EDUCATION.

19/ ...

PAGE NINETEEN

THIS IS ONE OF THE HEAVIEST PRICES. THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE AFRICANS IN PARTICULAR HAVE HAD TO PAY FOR THE FANTAGIES OF MEN WHO ARE REGARDED AS GREAT BY CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE WHITES IN THE COUNTRY. AFTER THE APARTHEID POLICIES WERE ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT NO FURTHER HOUSES WERE BUILT FOR AFRICAN OCCUPATION BECAUSE GOVERNMENT POLICY WAS THAT AFRICANS WERE "TEMPORARY SOJOURNERS" IN THE URBAN AREAS WHICH IN TERMS OF APARTHEID POLICIES WERE "WHITE AREAS". BY THE TIME HOWEVER. THAT THOSE APARTHEID POLICIES BECAME IMPRACTICABLE AND THE INFLUX CONTROL REGULATIONS WERE WITHDRAWN, THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING HAD GROWN INTO SUCH PROPORTIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO LONGER ABLE TO COPE. WHAT THEN COULD THE COMMUNITY AND BUSINESS IN THIS AREA DO TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM ?

20/ ...

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lSEBBHS Oi HSiM I 'EDNHWOIA 380W GNV 380W Oi  
BNIGGV SHHl HDIWod 380W GNV 380W lInHDHH Oi GNV  
ANHV 3Hl NI BNIHH 0l SI d0 NNIHl NVD lNHNNHHAOB  
3Hl NOILHWOS AWNO 3Hl 'VDIHJV Hl008 NI AVG 3Hl  
d0 83080 3Hl ENODHH SVH HDNHWOIA GNV HNIHD JO  
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AiNEMi 39Vd

PAGE TWENTY-ONE

THAT BUSINESS SHOULD CONSIDER SERIOUSLY WHAT  
ROLE IT CAN PLAY IN RESOLVING THESE PROBLEMS.

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