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When 'push came {

By Fatima Meer, Professor of
Sociology, Natal University

THE 1970s laid the basis for our liberation from apartheid, the 1980s released a process towards that liberation. For all the violence that marked the decade, the worst in this century, the 1980s leave us with expectation and hope for the future and the credit for this goes to the township youth who wreaked revenge on a society responsible for their unbearable deprivation and their parents' intolerable humiliation. They made the townships ungovernable through their own initiative long before any reported counsel for them to do so.

Violence

The White polity entered the 1980s still hopeful of repressing and dominating the disenfranchised, but it had run out of ideas and those on which it had survived, had become unworkable, so it resorted to greater repression.

Despite the shooting of Soweto's children and its heart-rending impact on the world, despite an immediate drying up of capital inflow and an escalation in talks about sanctions, the government extended police powers by giving them a virtual carte blanche to detain, torture and shoot, in the interest of 'State security'.

More to the left, please . . . more to the left!

The country was muzzled in repeated states of emergency in the second half of the decade, and gripped in a tornado of harrowing violence. The police invented the Trojan Horse, the youth, the necklace and within months 392 people were burnt to death in flaming tyres. Vigilantes, Askaris, 'Teams and police hit squads contorted us into murderers and psychopaths.

The Umkhonto, which had directed its attacks on government installations, turned to civilian targets, provoked by the indiscriminate SADF raids into neighbouring countries that wreaked more fatalities on civilians and refugees than on ANC cadres.

The young and tender Andrew Zondo with a tempera-

ment more for healing than taking up arms, exploded a bomb at a White holiday resort killing five people, among them two children. Smitten with remorse, he virtually gave himself up and told the court that if he could make amends by giving a piece of his flesh, he would gladly do so. He was hanged with two other Umkhonto insurgents, adding to the total that gives South Africa the highest hanging rate in the world. Towards the end of the decade, 80 political offenders were on death row.

But the violence took its greatest toll in Natal as it plunged into bloody confrontations between factions which, while identified as Inkatha-UDF/Cosatu, proliferated in a plethora of interest groups pursuing resources and power where none existed.

The 1970s had closed with official meetings between the ANC and Inkatha and an unofficial understanding that the one reflected the other: the 1980s opened with hostile verbal exchanges between them and when the UDF was born in the political space created by the tricameral elections and Victoria Mxenge was assassinated, the rhetoric converted into violence. Inkatha attempted to control school resisting children and work resisting adults, and in the process intensified its image as an anti-revolutionary force. Today the conflict rages unabated and escalating, its ideological foundations if ever present at all, lost in the spiral of personalised vendetta.

The Economy

The 1980s belong above all to the township youth who shook the confidence of the capitalist world in the Nationalist Government. All it took to dry up the apartheid ego and send the Nats reeling towards reform and negotiation, was the calling in of loans by a few major interna-

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tional banks, and the halting of new ones. No doubts were left that sanctions indeed did work. The Government confirmed it, the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr de Kock diagnosed the drain in the capital account as South Africa's Achilles Heel, and a shocked Minister of Finance said that the impact of sanctions had struck the apartheid economy far sooner and more brutally than had been expected.

And the prime sufferers of that brutality were not the Blacks as the anti-sanctions lobby had predicted, but Whites. The Blacks did not miss what they had never experienced; the Whites for the first time began missing

what they had been accustomed to, as the cost of the good life spiralled.

Meanwhile President PW Botha tried his old trick and stated that depletions in the capital account would hurt the Blacks most because it would deprive them of R9,5 billion earmarked for their upliftment, and that it would set back his reform initiatives by 10 to 15 years. Who cared for his reforms; Blacks were preparing to make

their own. The Alternate Sector

The power of the disenfranchised during the 80s was not

confined to stepping up resistance. The disenfranchised, excluded from formal structures and short-changed in those provided, created their own 'alternative' structures. The 80s saw an expansion of self-help community and educational organisations, many of them significantly encouraged by foreign funding. Where in other countries, such funding went to Governments, in South Africa, it was directed to peoples organisations, to help them develop themselves.

The most significant development in the sector was, however, in the self-funded 'informal', 'alternate' economy of the underclass which grew in the 1980s, to account for 25 percent of African earnings. Excluded from jobs, deprived of land, licences and trading rights, the 1980s saw a vigorous growth of women pavement traders, unlicensed taxi-owners and backyard entrepreneurs of every description. And keeping pace with this informal growth of the Africa 'business class' was the formal expansion of the African bourgeoisie: vibrant, bright, getting-on people, in the media, on university staffs, the professions, in entertainment, in management and a wide range of consultancies. The African taxi business mushroomed into a staggering R2,5 billion enterprise, employing 300 000 peo-

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By Diane Coetzer

THE Durban and Districts branch of the Black Consciousness Movement has called for black people not to be â\200\234anyoneâ\200\231s negotiating chipsâ\200\235 but to come together to fight for their own liberation in 1990.

In a New Year message issued on behalf of the organisation by chairman Mr Imraan Moosa, the BCM said while the government of State President De Klerk was speaking the language of â\200\234peace, justice, dialogue, minority rights guarantees and reconciliation,â\200\235 the whole atmosphere â\200\234of unfreedom has never been more suffocatingâ\200\235.

Sham

Against this background South Africa appeared to be heading for the same kind of â\200\230sham independenceâ\200\235 foisted upon Namibia where external agreements â\200\224 such as United Nations Resolution 435 â\200\224 ensure that even with a SWAPO government in Windhoek, â\200\234Namibia remains a colony of South Africa and the Westâ\200\235.

According to the BCM, in South Africa this was manifested in the â\200\234negotiated settlementâ\200\235 which was â\200\234actively being promoted among those engaged in the liberation struggleâ\200\235 and which had its

that has been built up on international support and foreign aid.

Future

Examples which showed
to what extent our future
is being decided by others
include the Harare Decla-
ration adopted by the Or-
ganisation of African Unity
(OAU) Ad Hoc Committee
on Southern Africa on Au-

P,

gust 21 1989, read with the
Lusaka Manifesto which
was adopted by the OAU
heads of state during Sep-
tember 1969.

While the efforts of the
international community

in aiding our struggle are
appreciated, we must in-
sist that we are our own

liberators, said the BCM.

While good leadership
is necessary, leadership
must at all times be ac-
countable to the people.
And any leadership that
fails to see in the face of
the violence in Natal
that the unity of the Black
people is priority number
one is not leadership at all.

As we move towards
the 21st Century, we must
insist that we are nobody's
negotiating chips. We have
a great deal of work to do
in building a world which
is truly free and we will
do it.

roots in the dependency

December 27 1989

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It's like being in SA, says archbishop

Tutu criticises Israel
in 'peace p

By Carina le Grange

The way the Israeli government treated the Palestinians was similar to the way the South African Government treated blacks, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Jerusalem on Christmas Day.

Archbishop Tutu, accompanied by Bishop Michael Nuttall and a multiracial delegation from the Anglican church, was in Jerusalem at the invitation of the President-Bishop of Jerusalem and the Middle East, Bishop Samir Kafity.

He said his team had been struck by the similarities between the situation in the occupied territories and that in South Africa.

'In the methods of resistance used by the Palestinians, and in the ways the Israeli government

Freedom

hold it.

perience an extraordinary sense of being at home.'

He also said he had noted that he had been accused of being a selective advocate of justice, and rejected this.

'In the past year, I have condemned injustice with equal vehemence in visits to Zaire, the Sudan, Ethiopia and Panama.

'I also condemn any Arab country which may be breaking the oil embargo against South Africa as strongly as I condemn Israel's reported military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa.'

He said: 'As strongly as I

identify with the striving of peoples for freedom, I deplore just as strongly the use of violence |
â\200\224 whether it is the violence of those seeking to change the status quo or those seeking to up-

deals with resistance, we ex-

â\200\224) brothers and sisters, the |
Jews, have a right to an |}

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â\200\234It is neccessary though, to-go |
beyond the vigorous denuncia- |
tion of violence. {

â\200\234We must go further by insist- ;
ing on the removal of the condi-
tions which are conducive tof
violence.â\200\235 {

Archbishop Tutu said the visit |
had been planned as a pilgrim-
age of prayer and peace. %
Â® The Starâ\200\231s Foreign News Ser-
vice reports that Archbishop |
Tutu drew tumultuous applause .
when he told a Palestinian
crowd in Beit Sahour in the Oc-
cupied West Bank on Monday:
â\200\234Victory in your struggle for
sovereign nationhood is assured
because God is on your side.â\200\235

Thousands of Palestinians
climbed trees and stood on each
otherâ\200\231s shoulders in an effort to
catch a glimpse of the Archbish-
op who told them:

â\200\234We support the struggle of
the Palestinian people for na-
tionhood. We say also that your

i

independent state.â\200\235
Archbishop Tutu said:

â\200\234Peace is coming to this
land because it is Godâ\200\231s

;vill, and nobody can stop
Lâ\200\231!V : 2 ,â\200\231

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ilgrimageâ\200\231

| Hundreds of heavily

armed Israeli troops stood by watchfully as the largely Arab crowd roared PLO slogans and waved olive branches.

Later, during a Christmas Day service in East Jerusalem, Archbishop Tutu called on the Israelis to negotiate with those whom the Palestinians themselves regard as their authentic representatives. Another apparent reference to the PLO. :

In Bethlehem, Arabs poured into the streets to greet the Archbishop's convoy, giving the victory sign and calling out their welcome.

Archbishop Tutu yesterday defended his criticism of Israel's treat-

ment of Palestinians and claimed that former Is-

raeli leaders have engaged in terrorism, reports Sapa-AP. g

Minister of Religion | Zevulun Hammer told | the Nobel Peace Prize winner that he showed a simple lack of understanding of the problems of the Middle East.

Israelis were highly critical of Archbishop Tutu's pilgrimage, and the South African human rights activist said an Israeli shouted black Nazi pig at him during one rally.

He said despite the in-

sults, he hoped his visit

would increase understanding between Arabs and Jews.

a family (

â\200\230CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Nelson
Mandela spent his 28th
and probably last
Christmas in prison,
opening presents and

sharing a quiet dinner

with six family mem-

bers.

Mandelaâ\200\231s'wifeâ\200\230 Win-
their daughter

nie,
Zindzi, her three child-

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ren, and another rela-

tive visited â\200\230Mandela

for six hours.
The family brought a
cake with icing in the

green, gold and black y
colours of the African

National Congress, the
- guerrilla

outlawed
movement
| heads.

Mandela

The family gave Man-

dela shirts from a
Johannesburg tailor
who made suits for

seven of Mandelaâ\200\231s

ANC colleagues re-
leased from prison in
October.

â\200\234He would have
loved to spend Christ-

| mas at home with us,â\200\235

- said Mrs Mandela, who
had tears in her eyes
when she spoke to jour-
â\200\230nalists afterward.

â\200\234He would have
loved to go today, but
his release is not in his
hands. L

â\200\234He regrets to advise
that he has no new
information what-
soever about his re-
lease,â\200\235 she added.

â\200\234As far as he knows,
there have been no fur-
ther developments that
point to his immediate
release.â\200\235 ;

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| 8randchi ren, = ages
nine, six and less than

| one'vear, that their

| eâ\200\224â\200\224 -

Mrs WINNIE MANDELA . .
i ; ath
grandfather could not

leave, with them was
â\200\234particularly painfulâ\200\235.

Mandelaâ\200\231s seven ANC

- colleagues who were

released earlier this
year had Christmas.
dinneratthe J ohannes-

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ome.â\200\235â\200\231

burg home of Helen Jo-

M a:%fÃ©â\200\235 %â\200\231Ã©}gĩ¬\201bra\fles

rls,tqĩ¬\201as |

- â\200\234He would have loved to be

seph. ;

Mrs Joseph, one of
Mandelaâ\200\231s co-defen-
dants at the 1956-61
treason trial, visited
â\200\230Mandela on Thursday.
It was their first meet-
â\200\234H o â\200\224 -
512 M yehrs. - Sk

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HE 30-year-old conflict be-

"Between the ANC and PAC,
and now between their re-

spective internal allies, has
assumed a new importance as SA
moves a little closer towards a
political settlement.

Recent statements from the ANC
and the PAC suggest that even a
short-term tactical alliance remains
as distant as ever. The non-participa-
tion of the newly formed Pan Afri-
canist Movement (PAM) in the
MDM-dominated Conference for a
Democratic Future (CDF) is a clear
reflection of the same divisions.

* The divisions survived the banning

of the ANC and PAC in 1960, and
extend from national to grassroots
level. The Africanist breakaway
from the ANC to form the PAC in
1959 has led, in the present era, to the
formation of a variety of separate â\200\224
and often competing â\200\224 bodies repre-
senting the two respective tradi-
tions. -

The PAC tradition finds its most
prominent internal support today in
about two-thirds to three-quarters of
the trade union federation Nactu,
with the remainder of Nactu being
loyal to the black consciousness (BC)
ideology. The strength of the PAM is

as yet untested.

Other less visible Africanist
groups include Azanian National
Youth Unity, the Pan Africanist Stu-
dentsâ\200\231 Organisation, and the African
Womenâ\200\231s Orgaquisition.

Their better-known MDM, ANC-

aligned counterparts include the
major union federation, Cosatu, and
the UDF â\200\224 together comprising the
bulk of the MDM. Affiliated to the
UDF are such organisations as the
SA National Studentsâ\200\231 Congress, SA
Youth Congress and the Federation
of SA Women.

While the Africanist grouping lays
as much verbal stress on the need for
grassroots organisation, it has so far
been much less successful than the
UDF in establishing it.

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ANC-PAC conflict

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ALAN FINE

Both the ANC and the PAC have their own guerrilla wings: Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo respectively.

Â»â\200\230. The BC tradition, very much a third force in so-called extra-parliamentary politics, is attempting to find a place in SA. Its ideology is

much closer to the Africanists than '

to the ANC grouping. But the efforts

of the Africanists to renew their organisational identity is driving BC '

supporters to tentatively co-operate with the MDM in such forums as the CDF.

<'An analysis suggests two basic causes of the continuing ANC/PAC conflict. Firstly, ideological differences remain over the concept of nationalism â\200\224 particularly the place of whites in SA. On top of this, the weaker PAC would find itself and its ideas swallowed by the ANC in the event of formal unity.

Although the PAC was not formed until 1959, the seeds of the ANC-PAC conflict go back some 45 years, to the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944. -

The ANC Youth Leagueâ\200\231s primary goal was to revitalise the relatively conservative ANC, which one activist at the time described as â\200\234mentally ensnared to a dying order of

pseudo-liberalism and conservatism,

appeasement and compromises.â\200\235 *

A 1949 Youth League programme of action called for civil disobedience, strikes and boycotts activities at which the ANC became more adept in the next decade as the Old Guard began to be eased out of the organisation. They were replaced by younger militants, including many members of the present-generation ANC leadership, and those who were to lead the PAC breakaway in 1959. But the Youth League also became the forum for a new and controversial debate over the nature of Afri-

. can nationalism. Its members in-

cluded such people as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Robert Motlale, Anton Lembede and AP

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The most extreme position, ex-

pressed in 1948, argued that Africa

was, has been and still is the black man's continent. The Europeans ...

dispossessed by force of arms the rightful owners of the land.

The far-reaching implication of this view was that whites should, therefore, be forced to relinquish the land they had stolen.

" League there was, politically, no

though the PAC and the PAM deny

they uphold a policy of driving

whites into the sea after liberation.

Rather, they say, once apartheid has been destroyed race would become irrelevant and immigrant minorities would be allowed to stay and become Africans if their loyalty was to Africa. od1 i 7.1

Nevertheless, Africanists rejected co-operation with non-Africans in the struggle against apartheid. Thus the question of political alliances

- with whites, coloureds and Asians

assumed major importance.

For the Africanists in the Youth

such thing as a 'good' white. All non-Africans, they argued, occupied a different place in the social struc-

ture and had special interests to protect.

Strategically, the Africanists also took an earlier and more uncompromising line on participation in 'dum-

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The 'land question' remains crucial to Africanist thinking today, al-

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myâ\200\235 institutions such as the Native Representative Council â\200\224 a precursor to the PAMâ\200\231s refusal to participate in the CDF because of the presence of â\200\234collaboratorsâ\200\235 active in homeland structures.

During the 1950s, the multiracial Congress Alliance of the ANC, the SA Indian Congress (SAIC), the SA Coloured Peoplesâ\200\231 Organisation and the white Congress of Democrats â\200\224 mostly comprising members of the already banned SA Communist Party (SACP) â\200\224 strengthened.

The full Congress Alliance participated in the adoption of the Freedom Charter in June 1955. The alliance, and the Charterâ\200\231s preamble saying â\200\234SA belongs to all who live in it, black and white ... â\200\235, exacerbated the tensions between â\200\234orthodoxâ\200\235 and â\200\234progressiveâ\200\235 nationalists in the ANC. :

The â\200\234progressiveâ\200\235 form of nationalism, still upheld today by the ANC, was a broader concept.

In the 1950s, then ANC General Secretary Walter Sisulu wrote of â\200\234the wonderful example of political maturity and wisdomâ\200\235 of ANC supporters who rejected the â\200\234emotional mass appeal to destructive and exclusive nationalismâ\200\235. The ANC, he said, would continue to eschew such â\200\234black chauvinismâ\200\235.

The Africanists, on the other hand, accused the SAIC of being concerned only with the self-interests of the Indian â\200\234merchant classâ\200\235. :

" The PAC, whose current foreign affairs secretary is classified Asian, appears more amenable to defining

the term "African" to include other blacks.

Their campaign was also an anti-communist one, firstly because the SACP was seen as white- and Asian-dominated, and secondly because theories of class conflict were international and not based on race. Present-day Africanist ideology has taken a more socialist character, although a very vaguely defined one. -

- Despite the decidedly illiberal policies of the Africanists, their anti-communist theme won them tentative support from some in the Liberal Party. :

