

Political and socio-economic struggles in post-apartheid South Africa

A Dream
of Azania

NTOKOZO MTHEMBU

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A Dream of Azania¹: Political and socio-economic struggles in post-apartheid South Africa

¹ *Azania is a revolutionary and anti-colonialist name that refers to a totally liberated state of land in South Africa. The majority of African patriots prefer this name to the colonial settlers' name of 'South Africa'. (Pheko, 1992:113). The name also refers to 'who Jehovah hears' (from *The Original African Heritage Study Bible – King James Version* [1996: 29] James C. Winston Publishers: Nashville).

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Azanian²

² In a literal sense, Azania means ‘who Jehovah hears’, and also refers to Azaniah, the father of Jeshua, who preached the covenant of separation from the laws of people of the land unto the law of Jah after they were subjugated to oppressive laws and unrighteous laws. (Nehemiah 9:36-38; 10: 1-29). It depicts the ancients. Azanian/Nubian people (of whom the Afrikan people in southern Aethiopia/Afrika form part) who were and still found in Nile River regions.

PREFACE

This book attempts to look at how South Africa is affected by the changes that started forming in the 1990s. For the purpose of enabling a clearer understanding of the impact caused by these developments, Ethekewini municipality experiences in KwaZulu-Natal and some national issues will be utilised, including the outcome of different research projects conducted within the Ethekewini Municipality which have already appeared in various publications, including electronic ones.

This data is compiled from a combination of different research projects that were conducted mainly after the post-1994 South African national elections took place to usher in a 'new' democratic state, and in 2006. Armed with improved and added information on these projects, readers will be able to obtain a better understanding of the various issues described in this book, which has been formulated to argue and assist in formulating strategies in addressing the long-standing issues of land and poverty, especially amongst the African people.

The book critically scrutinises the highly celebrated ‘new’ democratic state political settlement by looking at the changes and impact it has had on the daily livelihoods of Africans in post-apartheid South Africa. The study draws qualitative information from different communities based on the manner in which they are categorised in South Africa (informal, rural, semi-urban, urban-township, workplace). This approach has been adopted to facilitate researchers to categorise data in a manner which encourages the exposure of causes. (Neuman 2000: 433).

We need not forget that ethical issues discussed by contributors vary, as they identify different issues at different times. (Strydom, 2002:63). According to de Vos, ethics mean preferences that influence behaviour in human relations. (2002:63). Ethical codes serve as standards and the basis on which each researcher should evaluate their conduct, as well as helping researchers not to obtain data at the expense of human beings. (Strydom, 2002:63; Resnik, 1998:14). It is noted that some of the data will be repetitive for the sake of clarifying certain processes within a particular society, and to attempt to show linkages in all issues that are under discussion.

The critical theory has been widely utilised in this book as it aspires to “identify the unresolved tensions in the existing social reality and thereby cause a change in consciousness”. (Snyman, 1997: 222). Lukacs argues that the history of capitalist civilisation offers us the opportunity for the first time to learn about reification (to portraying something abstract as a material or concrete thing) from the inside out, as working people are subjected to being treated as though they are merely goods for sale, and alienated from social processes, which leads to a conscious awareness of dehumanisation. (Snyman, 1997: 222). Critical theory is needed because it is “guided by an analysis of the historical process that has an interest in the future”: (Snyman, 1997: 223).

The first chapter therefore introduces a discussion on the effect of the political settlement that has been celebrated as a shin-

ing model of what should be followed. It also attempts to explain how the process of globalisation alters the economy in fundamental ways through the creation of common political, economic, and social systems. (Venter *et al*, 2004). It does this by looking at various topics, such as the socio-political problem-solving approach that has been adopted to resolve historical problems such as land, and the strategies and interventions utilised by the successive regimes in meeting challenges posed by the oppressed Black majority. Lastly, challenges faced by the previously disadvantaged (and still disadvantaged) community in securing their daily livelihood are also examined.

In order to have a clear understanding of how these communities secure their daily livelihood, the reader is introduced to the five areas in which members of the target group are generally found: formal townships, rural, informal settlements, semi-urban areas and job seekers in the streets or relevant places in the city.

A clearer understanding of the immensity of the problem being discussed leads to an overview in the second chapter of the impact of socio-economic changes on the livelihoods of the targeted group in the post-1994 elections. This careful scrutiny divides the chapter into two main sub-chapters which focus on employment and working conditions, and the current educational system. For the purpose of this book we specifically researched what can be called stationary employment sites, such as the port, which does not mean that there have not been changes in other sites such as factories. We also investigated the various strategies adopted or applied by wealthy employers in the security industry to determine who benefits from these, and looked at the viability of the current wage labour system and trade unions in the highly commercialised globalised economy. Lastly, an attempt was made to assess the relevance of the education system to the target group.

The last chapter of the book endeavours to capture reflections about the daily experiences encountered and also visible in the

social sphere in the 'new' democratic South Africa. Examining the experiences of the targeted group reveals these scenarios as well as the concerns of those who find their world under threat. Lastly, this chapter closes by looking at the daily realities of the current 'new' struggles, and whether there is any way in which the targeted can overcome the continuous and vicious colonisation, and the resulting ravages of poverty. This book is therefore intended to raise awareness about the means adopted to resolve problems created by Western colonisation, which is still rearing its ugly head. In closing, it is also meant to pose a challenge to our development consultants, researchers, community leaders, academics, governments, students and indigenous populace to wake up and work towards justice and a better, safer, loving, peaceful and healthy living environment for the oppressed and the human race in general.

CHAPTER I

The Effects of the Sell-Out Political Settlement on Socio-Political Conditions

Socio-Political Problem Solving Approach in South Africa and the Third World is Skewed.

Introduction

In opening the book, the first topic under the spotlight is the manner applied to resolve problems affecting the majority of Africans in South Africa. There is an attempt to understand the logic adopted by so-called progressive individuals, organisations and government in accepting this model over another, as well as the reasons for doing so, and why the system adopted is hated by the poor majority and loved by the wealthy.

Different Types of Problem-Solving Solution Approaches

A clearer understanding means scrutinising why those regarded as 'empowered' have made decisions that have proven harmful for humanity in general. Several issues need to be scrutinised when unravelling the dilemma facing the indigenous people of this country.

Perhaps they failed or deliberately ignored the conventional logic of solving the problem. This method simply refers to a point where, in addressing a problem in any situation, you start by identifying the problem that is threatening your survival or anything else that is not right. This is followed by coming up with an alternative means of problem-solving in an attempt to avoid further damage¹ and address underlying grievances

The conventional problem-solving approach in South Africa, or so-called Third World countries in particular, is not applied because the colonised, the dispossessed, are told to, "Shut up, everything is or will be fine, you are 'free' in a democratic country or continent". On the other hand the majority of dispossessed people remain landless, forced to speak the language of the unemployed, or demand jobs that pay much less than the so-called living wage². These problems are generally accompanied by working conditions which keep them in perpetual bondage. This is the opposite of what the majority of the oppressed expected as they organised themselves into trade unions or political organisations with a view to building a political system rooted in community participation. (Good, 2003:14).

This does not just apply to the workplace, but also occurs in all echelons of civil society, and even in the mindset of individuals, particularly among the elite and wealthy. This is confirmed by various factors that manifest themselves as problems in our communities. For example, some of our communities, especially the African ones, have been preaching, fighting, kicking and struggling against the injustices of the oppressive and alienating colonialist capitalist system³. But what is very interesting is that the same old oppressive system and its processes that was, and still is, marked by the shedding of the blood of the colonised, is still operating in full force. Its followers, especially the elite, continue to deceive oppressed people by telling them that they must focus their energy on fighting for the so-called better houses or low-cost housing⁴. In other words, they have to battle for crumbs and to pay 'reasonable' rates.

The Land Question

The oppressed are expected to meet these Western capitalists' demands, while their stolen land remains the property of the thieves. Furthermore, what is said about the whole saga is that the most respected and sober individuals or leaders have bought into what I call the 'blindfolded' approach. This ignores and refuses to admit that Africans were unjustly treated or robbed, and that there is a need to come up with the means to address the wrongs done to them. This is apparent today in various segments in our communities. For example, the townships are not destroyed and they are said to be 'developed' through means such as the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu programs. I contend that this is still the same old dirty trick used by colonisers, because how can you upgrade a place that was designed specifically for colonised slaves and not for decent living standards? If some of us dispute this fact then they must visit Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK⁵), and see for themselves. Furthermore, this is visible, particularly in the politics of social movements today, as they are generally unsure about their direction or destiny. But even more visible is a series of marches, with participants wearing T-shirts with slogans and voicing their dissatisfaction against the rulers of the day. Capitalism is the order of the day.

On the other hand, the majority of the colonised people either languish in prisons,⁶ or are paupers in the streets of the main cities of 'Western glories', or are landless. Furthermore, the colonised continue to be told that everybody is equal and they can 'buy' back stolen land as part of the redistribution program from the inheritors of stolen wealth through the so-called primitive accumulation system, who are given the licence to sell land at will while protected through 'property rights'.⁷ There is no place under the sun on this mighty Earth where you have ever heard of the colonised surrendering their share to the 'fathers' of primitive accumulation. It is very foolish of the inheritors of the spoils of colonisation to think

that Africans in general will simply forget that their land was stolen. There is no way that Africans can just forget that Western and some Eastern colonisers have expropriated land differently in Africa. The following table accounts for only a few countries and excludes data concerning Eastern expropriation.

Table 1: Statistics of land expropriated in some African countries

Estimated	Percentage	Country
Less than	2%	Tanzania
.. ..	5%	Zambia
.. ..	7%	Botswana
About	47%	Namibia
..	50%	Zimbabwe
..	50%	Swaziland
More than	95%	South Africa

There is no way they can do that while they languish in informal settlements and die every day without a safe and proper living place. On the other hand the government of the day claims to be redressing past land injustices while it continues guaranteeing stolen land to thieves. So far less than three percent of land stolen⁸ has been returned to the indigenous people, and measures such as land tenure⁹ and restitution¹⁰ are allowed to continue. This confirms what was said by Bishop Abrahams when he stated, “At this rate, with the way things are going in South Africa, we won’t reach 30 percent until 2054. A blind eye continues to be turned on institutions and there is an urgent need for the Church to revisit the land question seriously, as it is a major landowner in South Africa.”¹¹

This approach to addressing economic and socio-political problems therefore seems to differ to the conventional measures normally adopted by individuals when addressing their problems. I believe that an individual approach is meant to safeguard whatever

one can consider rightfully theirs. If this is the case, it will mean that my African people have been robbed in broad daylight by a party of gangs conniving with those who are called the queens, kings, sons and daughters and inheritors of Europe's stolen wealth. This is because the same European countries and some segments of Eastern countries still rejoice in our African riches.¹²

These concerns keep on haunting both me and other like-minded sons and daughters of this continent. Are our 'leaders' sober people? Perhaps I'm an idealist, as most liberals will probably tell me. These questions haunt me because African people are expected to keep on compromising everything, despite the fact they have been so dearly compromised. This means that they must be squeezed until they are nowhere to be seen. What is interesting is that all the other races are encouraged to promote and build their synagogues or temples¹³ in almost all corners of major cities in Africa. On the other hand Africans are told and forced to join or belong or fit into one of these foreign structures, but if they are viewed as being too outspoken they will be sidelined and ostracised. If African individuals aspire to be in the ranks of the capitalists they will be too scared to challenge and be sidelined because they want to be as relevant as possible. So they are also trapped in what I will call the 'I want to be famous mania' at the expense of the entire nation or race.

How long will this mania continue misleading the oppressed? Only a few individuals' stomachs and riches increase in size, but the majority don't even have the necessary services they are entitled to. Therefore, if we are committed to decolonising Africa, the colonised need to start building programs that do away with borders drawn by the Germans in the 1800s which represent the scars of the vicious wounds of the Eastern and Western colonisers. These are visible today, as the North of Africa to the east seems more like the Arabian Empire¹⁴ and the rest of the continent represents the ideals and values of greedy Europe. Furthermore, lest we forget, Europe colonised Africa through five colonial systems.¹⁵ The first

is administration, facets of which differ according to the colonising country. For example, British administration is through indirect rule, whereas French is through direct rule and assimilation. The second was through the Wakefield system –ownership of land based on selling the land at an inflated price. The third was through the domination of merchants and capital – the promotion of an export growth economy based on unequal trade. This means that a trade is championed by multinational companies. The fourth is through European monopoly via colonial pact – monopolisation by the ‘former’ colonising country and the polarisation of the flows between metropolitan and colonial markets. Another community segment that can’t be ignored is Church formations¹⁶ – land ownership through the primitive accumulation of merchants and the capital approach of the Church. This came mainly from the East and West and played a meaningful role in colonising Africa. Therefore, it is vital to understand the dynamics behind the sustainability of these immoral programmes.

Perhaps the scholars of today are fearful¹⁷ to tell the truth: that Africa is under fire and that its people need to wake up and live. For example, when the colonisers and their agents saw the Zimbabweans wake up,¹⁸ they started their old strategy of demonising the leader who managed to survive the brainwashing programs of the Lancaster Agreement¹⁹ and applying a blindfolded approach when it came to dealing with their problems of broad daylight land robbery. So, Zimbabwe is the turning point of the African revolution that is geared for the total liberation of this great continent, which was once ruled by sober-minded Kings and Queens.²⁰ The time to truly address problems causing the formation of liberation movements, civic organisations, trade unions and liberation armies is here and now. Which approach do you think is proper in dealing with these outstanding problems of colonisation? The blindfolded or conventional approach? The following chapters will highlight this weakness in the problem-solving that is adopted in South Africa, as it will attempt to approach it from different angles.

Voting Business: The Ploy to Win the Hearts and Minds of the Oppressed Black Majority

In this section the question is why the system used for voting is utilised not to advance those who are oppressed, but those who are just the opposite. In addition, it will give a brief critical overview of how the voting system won't liberate or bring about the true sense of the word for the Black majority (with the relationship of the South African state and its policies to social and economic development towards total emancipation from the colonialist set-up).

Before one gives some thought to what has been said above, it is necessary to note that African people in South Africa are colonised, and in this process are exposed to what is called the state or government. We also need to get some historical background so that we can better understand how we arrived at the present set-up. Therefore, the state or government is based on the administrative system used by the colonisers to establish control and gain some legitimacy so that stealing African land could be disguised as civilisation. (Stadler, 1987:34). As the colonisers advanced their evil work they forced Africans into quasi-feudal relationships with land,

so they went from peasants to members of a proletarianised labour force. (Stadler, 1987:36). In the process the state helped Whites by colonising Africans, who were forced to be peasants, as colonial economic policies allowed Europeans to expropriate land and labour for their farming and industries, including the mining industry.

Stadler (1987:34) confirms this scenario when stating that Whites enjoyed the largest share of wealth, economic opportunities and access to education, while Blacks, and Africans in particular, were excluded from common political rights and prevented from participating in the main political institutions. Kaplan takes this argument further with tariff protection, which was designed primarily to ensure that White or 'civilised labour' policy was made effective in the industrial sector (1987:86).

Stadler (1987:36) argues that the structures of social and political control were maintained during the period of industrialisation, and were also transformed to suit the particular requirements of the new industrial economy.

The White settlers established trekker republics in what was then Natal and across almost all parts of South Africa through a combination of violence and gun-wielding 'diplomacy'. This led to the establishment of British colonial order. (Stadler 1987:37). The Africans emerged as virtual 'peasants' in the pre-mining period as the settlers took advantage of market opportunities that opened up and this stratum was destroyed by the so-called demands of the mining industry for labour (Stadler 1987:37).

The rise of the mining industry, especially gold mining, led to the transformation of social and political structures of colonial rule in South Africa, and produced an effective absolutism over the pastoral and agrarian communities of Southern Africa. The booming industry also coerced hundreds of thousand of African labourers into employment on the mines (Stadler 1987:37). He argues further that:

“...in 1894 the Cape parliament passed the Glen Grey Act in ensuring that some elements in the community would become landless, and imposed hut and poll taxes which forced individuals to enter the labour market. So the state played a vital role in establishing a White colonial empire. Legislation passed, such as the Native Labour Relations Act of 1911, was intended to maintain a workforce discipline among Africans, controlling and excluding them from other jobs such as blasting. Supervisory roles were performed by Whites.”

(Stadler, 1987:40).

Acts passed in the 1920s, such as the Native Land Act of 1913 and 1936, and Labour Relations Acts, Soil Conservation Act and Trust Act, secured a cheap and controllable labour force and a close relationship between miners and the state. (Stadler, 1987:42). May *et al* (2000) argued that the cheap labour system on which South African capitalism relied resulted in the rural population becoming unable to produce sufficient produce for its own needs. One needs to understand rural poverty in this light. May *et al* extended this argument by highlighting factors such as terms of the commodity markets in which home-produced goods could be sold, and the monetised economy of South Africa, which led to poor communities becoming dependent upon a large-scale formal cash economy. (2000). Another point made by Stadler was that colonialists operated on the premise that the government of the day tried to solve labour shortages by importing Chinese indentured labour for the dominant mining industry. (1987:45). May *et al*. (2000) emphasised that the cheap labour system on which South African capitalism relied appeared to be an important factor in creating entrapping mechanisms, and that the system was fuelled by a rural population that was unable to produce sufficient for its needs. Stadler noted that the pace of industrial development exacerbated the crisis in the White agrarian community. This gradually emerged in the 1860s

in the Cape and the 1870s in Transvaal, when a stream of landless Dutch settlers migrated to the urban areas. (1987:46). Stadler noted further that in 1907, with the advent of White immigrant miners, the Afrikaners (Dutch settlers) were recruited as members of the labour force, and racial stratification in industry was in line with relief work imposed on the management by a politically powerful White working class (1987:47).

Stadler (1987:51) contended that the establishment of the mining industry offered commercial farmers opportunities for supplying food to the mining areas, which meant requesting state aid to control and regulate the movement of labour. He added that state support was also requested as a source of subsidies, low interest loans, credits, relief, technical assistance and marketing, to stratify the white farming community, and to maintain a force of poorly paid black labour. According to Stadler (1987:56), the shift from intensive labour and use of mechanised equipment led to a reduced demand for African labour and weakened the position of Africans on the land. The establishment of the Iron and Steel Corporation (IsCOR) in 1925 became a major force in establishing a permanent basis for the local manufacturing industry and a local entrepreneurial class as well as the growth of an industrial workforce (Stadler, 1987:57). Kaplan's view was that in order to protect the steel industry, the obvious importance of cheap steel for industrial development prevailed over the need to keep 'civilised labour' in employment (1987:90).

This led to the government commissioning the Stallard Commission in 1922, which recommended the policy of urban segregation based on an analysis of 'overcrowding' in poor areas in order to justify fears of public disorder by the franchised Whites (Stadler, 1987:61). In addition, Stadler noted that during the earlier period of industrialisation, men were numerically predominant in the urban populations in the 1930s, but that with the migration of Black families and White male settlers to cities, almost all state structures, as well as social and political activities, were predominantly

men. (1987:61). Cross takes this line of reasoning further by saying that with the artificial land shortages produced by apartheid legislation, women could perhaps be seen as escaping from male control, while at the same time men were often prevented from taking their rightful places in society (1997:24).

Kaplan contended that the South African economy had been decisively shaped by political intervention. (Kaplan, 1987:71). For example, the National Party improved the livelihoods of its Afrikaner constituency through using the government to enforce discriminatory privileges (Posel, 1999:109). In addition, in the 1950s they had a far more precise target: the burgeoning apartheid bureaucracy. Furthermore, the prevailing assumption seemed to be that under apartheid, White civil servants, who were primarily the Afrikaner-Dutch settlers, were generally contented and the powerful beneficiaries of the National Party's strategy to 'Afrikanerise' the civil service. (Posel, 1999:101) Posel argued further that job reservation policies prevented the state from training Black people and that Roediger's concept of the 'wages of Whiteness' had some obvious and important parallels in South Africa, as White workers were the beneficiaries of a series of racially constructed and discriminatory privileges. (1999:101-109). In addition, the land reforms championed by settler colonialists favoured men, even in areas where women were the primary farmers, which triggered the 'widespread feminisation of poverty' in Africa (Parpart *et al*, 1989:12). Furthermore, Parpart *et al* also referred to a Jean Hay document, which argued that land that was owned neither by men or women was transformed into one where ownership became a male right. (1989:12). Jacob argues further that women were not totally subordinated before the colonial period but were deemed legal minors under colonial law (1989:165).

Meer argues that:

"... this type of underdevelopment of African men and women

by white Colonialists created social assumptions and informal land practices detrimental to Africans. Although African women were later able to access urban employment this did not make much difference as the laws undermined them, while Cross points out that women who were employed on an ad hoc basis had permanent homes in the old homelands, received minimal wages and usually had no access to land or other benefits.”

(1997:22).

The Whites in general used any means at their disposal to enforce their Colonialist mission without showing any regard for the values or needs of Black people. This was confirmed in the ‘transitional’ government in the 1990s.

When South Africa achieved transition in 1994, there was a debate, which two years later resulted in the adoption of an orthodox economic reform program, which is in line with the western world globalising agenda and does not differ from that experienced by the rest of the world, in that it aims at sustenance of white supremacy and its values and cultures (Carmody, 2002:254-256).

Carmody further contends that globalisation in South Africa has been largely internally generated. (Carmody, 2002:256), and society in South Africa is administered, as the consent of the government is earned through scrupulous policy debates of the merits and demerits. In addition, William argues that political acceptance is manufactured through skilled manipulation by a host of think-tank, self-styled experts, opinion polls, and media specialists. (2006:12)

May *at al* states that the cheap labour system, on which South African capitalism relied, appeared to be one of the decisive factors in entrapping mechanisms, as it relied upon the existence of a rural population unable to produce sufficiently for its needs... (1997).

The state is presently increasingly characterised by entrenched or institutionalised dependence on global forces, and uses its pow-

er to maintain the 'confidence' of international investors, and the global market to discipline productive capital and labour. (Carmody, 2002:260-261). Furthermore, the colonising process led to the distortion of Africa's history in an attempt to suit the colonisers. This is confirmed by Parpart *et al* in their case that as in Marxist-type mode, the dominant class controlled the state and used it for its own purposes, and that as it was controlled predominantly by men, it was no coincidence that the laws, policies, and spending patterns favoured White men. (1989:1-3).

The development of the few Black elite, which is co-opted by the conglomerates and the development of the so-called new indigenous entrepreneurial class, claim to redress the legacy of racial exclusion (Carmody, 2002:264-265). Parpart *et al* also states that contemporary states are built on a tradition and foundation of 'heavy-handed statism' and refers to what Crawford Young terms "The robust trunk of colonial autocracy" (1989: 5). South Africa has the second highest rate of income inequality in the world and this, as well as increasing inequality, is on the rise. Carmody notes that Webster *et al* argue for strengthening of corporatist institutions to facilitate 'bargained liberalisation' (Carmody, 2002:272-273). The statistics by May *et al* (2000) concur with what is said above as they indicate that 61 percent of Africans are poor, compared with only one percent of Whites. Maluleke (2002:8) adds that Africans are the main victims of HIV/Aids, TB and malaria. According to Cross, although reserves no longer exist, the situation in many areas remains largely unchanged in terms of existing tenure. (1997:18).

In conclusion, the above evidence shows that the state has been a major player in developing the current socio-political climate, which leans towards the big corporate companies of the white colonisers. In addition, the state continues to protect and advance the interests of the core white group that established the South African state, and with the people whose skins are Black, but whose souls are White. So electioneering is nothing more than taming the

minds of Black people with hopes that by voting for the right party everything will be fine, whilst the suffering continues and Black opportunists' bellies become fatter every day. Even the so-called land reforms are not geared to return land stolen: they are nothing more than a strategy to tame the deposed as Black people today are still squashed together on the same old unproductive land. Those however who have stolen Black people's land, still enjoy rich and vast hectares of land, and this can't be accepted by the sober-minded sons and daughters of this mighty country. To those who claim to be part of the oppressed, it is harsher than before as it cuts across the colour of the skin.

**A Look at the Livelihoods of the African Population
in Post-Apartheid South Africa:
The effects and Survival strategies of Unwaged
Africans in EtheKwini UniCity in Post-Apartheid SA**

“The monopolisation of Africa’s means of subsistence negatively affected Blacks all over the world.... the emancipation of the Black world and the rest of the oppressed is inconceivable without breaking and melting down the chain of economic bondage and our reified historical consciousness.”

(Magubane, 2000: 414-416).

Introduction

This study examines the day-to-day survival strategies of households and non-earning individuals affected by unemployment, and also considers the effects and impact of continuous exposure to social conditions on households of African people who are unable to find employment. The study also assesses how the adoption of neo-liberal policies by the present government leads to continuous economic and political suppression of unemployed African people.

The data was collected through conducting in-depth and focus group interviews, as well as observations in study areas within the Durban metropolitan area, including semi-urban and rural areas, and informal settlements.

The specific focus areas of the research relate to the strategies adopted by unemployed people to meet their daily needs, the skills utilised in securing their daily needs, resources, living conditions, and perspectives in relation to identity and other social groups and structures. The unemployed adopt various strategies in order to meet their daily basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter, as well as the rise of a survival economy.

The research found that survival strategies included relocating closer to the city to seek out job opportunities which in turn leads to the establishment of informal settlements, and scavenger 'hunting and gathering' patterns utilised in daily survival, such as collecting recyclables for a sustainable source of daily food. Food is also accessed with the support of various organisations through bread distribution and soup kitchens.

The conclusion is that there appears to be no change from the old oppressive system of apartheid economics in terms of restructuring the redistribution of wealth to the poorest quarters of the population. Poverty is still continuing because African workers, in particular, remain subjected to lower paid jobs, or are forced into migrant labour with consequent family displacements, disruptions and unemployment. These factors have been linked to the rise in crime, starvation and exposure to diseases such as malnutrition, TB and AIDS²¹. Government needs to revisit its current economic policy as well as the redistribution of land, to enable those who are unemployed to make a living off the land, as well as provide job security, social security and free basic services to those who can't afford these services.

Brief Background of Areas Surveyed:

This research was conducted in four areas which fall within Etheke-wini Municipality: rural Emaphephetheni, Inanda; the informal settlement at Jadhu Place, Springfield; the semi-urban township at Ntuzuma (G- Section), and a group of job seekers in Durban next to the Kwa Muhle Museum.

- **Emaphephetheni**

This area is located 34 kilometres from the Central Business District (CBD), and consists entirely of informal housing. The total population is 4,923 and there are 669 households consisting of 98 percent Blacks. About 6,4 percent are employed and there are about 10,4 percent job seekers, with 23,5 percent of the households without any income and about 83,2 percent not economically active. The data includes the Imbozamo and Mqeku areas.

- **Ntuzuma G – semi-urban**

This 68 percent informal housing sector is located 17 kilometres from the Durban CBD, with Verulam the closest major commercial centre. The total population is 6,556, and there are 1,352 households consisting of 98,9 percent Blacks, of whom 21,7 percent are employed and 13,8 percent job seekers. Fourteen percent of the households are without an income.

- **Kwa Muhle job seekers**

The number of employed people in the Durban Metro area accounts for about 28.8 percent of the population, with job-seekers and those not economically active numbering approximately 13.8 percent and 55.7 percent respectively. About 11.4 percent of these are without an income. This area was selected

because it is one of the most historically rich sources of Black and African workers in KwaZulu-Natal. Durban has been a 'favoured destiny' by job seekers as early as the 1900s as it is the major city in the region and perceived to offer employment. Even today one can observe job seekers every day, either close to or in these surroundings. Some employers still come here when looking for workers for temporary day work. Kwa Muhle used to be known as the Native Administration Department in 1957 and was important for the administration of the Influx Control Act. All job seekers had to be registered there to gain the notorious work permit dubbed 'Special' in order to work in Durban. In the 1980s, this place became the Department of Manpower and after 1994 the administration office moved to Umgeni Road, next to Game Centre, and was incorporated under the auspices of the Department of Labour.

- **Jadhu Place - informal settlement**

This second largest informal settlement is situated on the east side of the Springfield planning unit in Jadhu Place, five kilometres from the Durban CBD. The data includes Puntan's Hill, Springfield Alpine/Silver Maple Roads; Burnwood Road; Hoffman Place; Howell Road and Silver Willow Road (Puntan's Hill).

The total population in this area is 6,273. There are 1,428 households, consisting of 11,8 percent African, 1,6 percent Coloured, 85,3 percent Indian and 0,1 percent White. About 33,5 percent are employed, 9,3 percent are job seekers and about 9,7 percent of other households have no income. This area was previously segregated as an Indian area under the Group Areas Act, and still houses a large percentage of the Indian population. It is also not a homogenous area and the wage gap between the middle-class employed people and the poorer, unemployed people is clearer.

The Research Process

The research focused on the day-to-day survival strategies of unemployed Africans in the above-mentioned areas. It was based on a qualitative study in which data was first collected from a pilot study where nine in-depth interviews – two from each area of study and one pensioner and one focus group from the rural area – were conducted. Thereafter two focus groups interviews were conducted from each area of study. There were about 10 respondents in each focus group, 20 percent of whom were female. Interviewees and areas of study were selected through the use of the snowball method, and focused on the respondent's reasons for being exposed to these conditions as well as survival strategies adopted by various participants from different locations.

All areas of study were selected combining the snowball method with observations. Wyatt Road was observed for about five years as most job seekers flocked to this area and many employers sourced their labour force from here. The first interview and observation traced job seekers back to the informal settlement in Jadhhu Place and Ntuzuma G section. In these communities, linkages were made to the rural area of Emaphephetheni.

This method was used in order to see linkages when it comes to residential or job seekers in these areas, as well as assessing the mobility of job seekers from their various places.

An interview schedule was used to collect data from focus groups and questionnaires were also used in the in-depth interviews. The first pilot focus and in-depth interviews were conducted from October 2003 until December 2003. Further interviews were held between January 2004 and July 2004.

The project focused specifically on survival strategies adopted by the unemployed. Research questions included:

- Biography of the respondent.

- Living conditions of the retrenched/unemployed workers in their households.
- Factors leading to unemployment.
- Work training.
- Strategies used to find employment.
- Steps taken by other role players to improve living conditions of the unemployed.
- The survival strategies of the unemployed.
- Strategies that can be utilised to help the unemployed.
- Things that are owned by the respondent.

The researcher experienced problems with some of the community leaders in the rural area. They were scared of exposure as they used the unemployed people to further their own enrichment. Approaching these leaders and explaining the purpose of this research resolved the problem and they then cooperated. Geographically, the sample is biased towards a few areas within EtheKwini Metropolitan area and does not include information about activities in the rest of KwaZulu-Natal and/or other provinces in South Africa.

- Review of literature.

a) The Historical Problem for the Poor (Pre-Apartheid)

In order to understand the survival strategies of the unemployed in South Africa, we need to briefly examine factors that led some people to be exposed to living in poverty in such squalid conditions. This cyclic condition of poverty in South Africa can be traced back to South Africa's experience of being colonised. The Dutch and British colonisers adopted various forms of oppression during the colonising process. They used violence for more than 250 years to suppress indigenous African people into accepting the imposition

of the Land Act of 1913 as well as adapting a monetary economy and mercantile measures such as tariffs, a monopoly, favouritism, patronage, corruption, slavery, and corporal punishment. (Terreblanche, 2002: 155). It is necessary to note that African people were colonised systemically as they were forced to be peasants due to colonial economic policies as Europeans were expropriating land and forcing them to provide cheap labour for the farming and mining industries that started emerging. (Terreblanche, 2002:14-15). These political manoeuvres led to a state where the colonised people became landless, with a subsequent increase of dependency between African slave labourers and colonisers.

In emphasising this development, Terreblanche identified two major systems in entrenching power and White political and economic domination by colonialists, which deprived the indigenous people of resources such as land, and further reduced them to various labour structures. (2002:11). These two systems were the mercantilist and feudal systems implemented by the Dutch settlers between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the system of racial capitalism, which was implemented during British colonialism during the nineteenth century. This led to the 'final' destruction of the Africans' ways and means of self-reliance. (Terreblanche, 2002:11-14).

Due to this process, which took place in South Africa between 1652 and 1994, Blacks in general and Africans in particular had their labour or humanity diminished and divided into eight categories of 'unfree' labour. These categories included:

- slavery;
- indentured ²² labour as forced labour;
- indentured labour that was also a direct forced labour;
- African labour repression that facilitated land deprivation, and the proletarianism of indigenous people by depriving them of economic independence;
- furthering Black oppression that was designed to force Af-

- ricans to live in (and become a source of cheap labour) in order to impose certain labour standards such as opportunities, unionisation, remuneration, wage negotiations, skilling, in-service training and scholastic;
- a third version of indigenous labour oppression that was meant for controlling migrant workers was through influx control measures such as pass laws or *dompas*, labour bureaux, Bantu administration boards and compounds;
 - the rising unemployment affected mostly Africans as they lacked education and were therefore unemployable in the tertiary sector which had grown since 1960. (Terreblanche, 2002:11-14).

This confirms that the historic socio-economic developments in South Africa that occurred within a racist-oriented system can't be ignored. Based as it was on extreme inequality, unevenness, and unjustness, the system plunged the majority of Africans into various forms of economic bondage marked by structural unemployment and abject poverty. (Terreblanche, 2002:11&17). This was also illustrated by the fact that in order for the white colonialists to advance mineral resources they needed a cheap labour force to work in the mines. (Popenoe, 1998: 424). To this end, they introduced two forms of coercion. The first was making it compulsory for adult men to work for 'usual wages, for at least one year': this became known as *cheap labour* and became the norm for wages in all other sectors. This still holds true today. The second form of coercion which was more subtle but much more far-reaching in its implications was the imposition of taxes such as hat tax and poll tax. These were enforced upon indigenous people as an obligation to enter the cash economy in order to earn cash wages to pay these taxes. (Popenoe, 1998:424, Lund, 1998).

The notorious Native Land Act of 1913 also facilitated the alienation of indigenous people from their land to swell the proletarian ranks, as well as creating reserves of cheap and docile African labour

for white farmers and the mining industry. (Terreblanche, 2002:260-262). This led Africans to become landless in urban and rural areas and was a decisive factor in forcing them to seek employment in urban areas. In addition, other indigenous people were removed from their land and quarantined in the slave camps, commonly known as townships. (Lund, 1998). This led labour masters to initiate means to address the shortage of labour. The Native Land Act of 1913 and 1936 as well as the Trust Act of 1920s secured a cheap and controllable labour force and a close relationship between miners and the state. (Stadler, 1987:42). The Land Act also stated that Africans could not be involved in sharecropping, tenant farming and squatter farming in 'White' South Africa. (Terreblanche, 2002:262).

Karumbidza goes on to emphasise that this conquest and subjugation of African labour led to the dispossession of their very pillars of self-reliance – their land and cattle. This step set up the ground for the appropriation of African labour (2001a). This step occurred through Acts of Parliament, such as the Land Acts (1913 and 1936) followed by the forced removals in the 1960s that led to a well-distorted racial division of land. Furthermore, Karumbidza (2001a) noted that:

“As a result of the colonial wars of dispossession and the land policies of successive white supremacist governments, 87 percent of the land came to be owned by 15 percent of the population – by Whites (although not all was privately owned); under apartheid some 3,5 million people were forcibly removed from their homes and dumped in relocation camps, settlements and apartheid townships. Inevitably, people suffered enormously in the process – families and communities were destroyed, lives were lost and economic potential squandered. On top of this, compensation received by those removed was minimal or non-existent. All this was done in order to maintain white supremacy and/or advance capital accumulation in the hands of a White ruling class.” (Karumbidza, 2001:2).

South Africa further adopted the policy of separate development (apartheid), a project that led to the creation of African homelands

that were intended to have a further destructive outcome on the ability of African societies to be self-sustaining in their restricted ecological space. (Karumbidza, 2001a). Apartheid created two worlds: a wealthy White world, and a Black one with homelands/reserves, occupying only 13 percent of the land. Members of the Black world also supplied labour power to the White world and were compensated with an extremely low income. They also secured more social and economic privileges for Whites, irrespective of whether they were Dutch or British. (Terreblanche, 2002:39; Marais, 2001:16). This type of socio-economic development continues to haunt indigenous African people as they are presently the most disadvantaged people in post-apartheid South Africa and will continue to be so as the gap between the past and present development dictates and limits who must suffer and who must benefit. (Marais, 2001:9).

b) The gap between pre- and post apartheid – what went wrong?

Even though change has taken place the gap between pre- and post-apartheid economic disparity remains almost the same as the pillars of separate development remain intact.

We need to be aware that at the time of the transition, rural conditions had worsened to an appalling point: poverty levels were high, and the exaggerated urban-rural divide was at an unsurpassed stage. Statistics show that the poverty rate in rural areas was 63 percent, against the 22 percent in urban areas. (Karumbidza, 2001a; Terreblanche, 2002:383). It should also be acknowledged that the gap between rich and poor in South Africa is said to be the highest in the world alongside Brazil. (Karumbidza, 2001a). Ginsburg *et al* confirmed the present change in South Africa, which is what led Przeworski to conclude that successful transitions require an arrangement that is “inevitably conservative, economically and socially”. (Ginsburg *et al*, 1997:113). Furthermore, the present situation fulfils the argument that says, “The bourgeois state in whatever form,

is inherently incapable of meeting either the democratic aspirations of the working class, or of civil society.” (Ginsburg *et al* 1997:118).

Resource redistribution remains a considerable problem amongst suburban, township and informal settlements, as well as between races. (Marais, 2001:198). It is also necessary to note that suburban parts of South Africa remain occupied mostly by wealthy or middle-class Whites, who own and consume most of the resources in the country, while Africans are mostly subjected to unemployment, discrimination, crime and violence. (Terreblanche, 2002:25). Table 2 below confirms this by showing how the level of resource consumption and waste generation endorses Ginsburg *et al's* argument that today, “The elitist aspects of liberal democratic theory find new currency as the alliance of reformers and moderates commits itself to a form of politics that preserves the central pillars of capitalist society, ensuring that entrenched power holders – especially the bourgeoisie – maintain a veto over the pace, content and institutional form of the new democracy.” (1997:113).

Table 2- Levels of resource consumption and waste generation in South Africa

	Consumption				Waste
	Access to floor space	Water Consumption	Electricity Consumption	Car ownership	Waste generation
Suburban	33m ²	750l per person per day	900kWh per month	490 cars per 1000 population	0.8 – 3 kg capita per day
Township	9m ²	50l per person per day	83kWh per month (prepaid card system)	30 cars per 1000 population	0.2 – 0.8 kg capita per day
Informal settlement	4 –5m ²	< 50l per person per day	As above where settlement formalised		

Source: Napier, 2004:21 citing Napier (2000)

The post-apartheid transitional period in 1994 was seen by the colonised as the period where they were to be given back what was stolen from them. For example, to many of those dispossessed under apartheid and colonialism, the Land Rights Act of 1994 represented the machinery through which they could get their land back. The same hope was evidenced when the Group Areas Act was dismantled. Furthermore, according to the 1997 White Paper on land redistribution, “The distribution of land to the landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers and emerging farmers for residential and productive use, to improve their livelihoods and quality of life,” was ensured. (Karumbidza, 2002a).

But South Africa in its transition phase chose to adhere to the World Bank’s advice that included, amongst other recommendations, the promotion of investment in land husbandry as well as in the former homelands through market mechanisms. The interests of the World Bank, which is known globally for implementing policies that are pro-rich, superseded the good intentions of the White Paper.

The latest Household Subsistence Level Survey of 2002 revealed that in the past 30 years, the poorest in South Africa suffered the highest annual increase (17,1 percent) in their basic living costs, of which about 60 percent is food. (Mngxitama et al, 2004). The Organisation of Civic Rights (OCR) revealed that South Africa has the largest income disparities and is the most extreme in the world, with 13 percent of the population enjoying a ‘First-World’ status, and 53 percent living in ‘Third-World’ conditions. (2002:13).

Endnotes:

1. This type of defensive approach in nature was seen to be quietly expressed when colonisers initiated separate back door/secret talks with Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki after

- 1985 in order to secure the spoils of colonisation and apartheid. (Good, 2003:16).
2. One should also note that these so-called demands are in line with the colonialist state and also need to be scrutinised in terms of modernisation theory that sure in liberal humanist teleologies and utopian narrative of progress and the alternative. In addition, these developments treat imperialism as a reflex of the global expansion of capitalism that perpetuates modes of production that are characterised by the unequal exchange between core and peripheries and as well as of underdevelopment and dependency (Comaroff, 2001:25).
 3. **This was seen in the 1980s when the oppressed formed organisations such as COSATU and UDF in order to pursue what was known to be a “radical vision of the future society” that stressed the ability of the ordinary person rather than fame and hungry leaders to change their world. (Good, 2003:14).**
 4. RDP houses dubbed *Uvezunyawo* - refers to the one room house (consisting of kitchen, one bedroom, toilet and bathroom) provided by the government after 1994 as a means of addressing the housing shortage among the African population. These homes were, however, the same as those occupied during the apartheid regime – if not worse.
 5. **INK Project is a program initiated by the Ethekwini Municipality to “improve” townships despite the fact that these houses were intended to be of a temporary nature and apartheid planners were not concerned about a healthy and conducive environment for a family’s needs. The African houses provided by the government are mostly characterised by the small stand, which is less than 300 square metres, poorly built, without ceilings and essential services like electricity and water, and despite the fact that these houses**

are built using conventional technology, the textures of these townships remain as those of “*umjondolo*” – referring to the informal settlement housing normally found in the periphery of the city (Frescura, 2001:120).

6. This type of development resembles the 1980s, an epoch that is known for state oppression. During this period 70 per cent were mostly from Black communities and regarded as activists. (Good, 2003:15). But why are jails still packed today, and who are still the majority of the prisoners – Blacks or Whites?
7. This type of Western development tends to deliberately deny the fact that African communities are predominantly agrarian, and accordingly, their foundations are in land and land usage. (Mafeje, 1991:67).
8. Furthermore, according to Nkosi, only about 50,000 people have benefited so far from land that has been redistributed to them.
9. The Tenure Security Reform element has had dismal failures because the farm dwellers and other tenants continue to be evicted from the land of their ancestors in large numbers, despite the government’s attempts to secure the rights of the victims.
10. For example, the Land Restitution Component, meant to help the previously evicted communities to reclaim their ancestral land, receive an alternative piece of land and/or get compensated, is seen as a disaster. Out of about 25,000 claims, six have been finalised and only about 20 are in the Land Claims Court for further negotiation, settlement or ratification. In land redistribution only about 50,000 people have benefited.
11. Maybe programs such as the Church Land Program and the Community Organisations Resource Centre (CORC) to do an audit may influence other churches to look into this issue.

12. Refer to Bond, P. (2006:14). *Multinational Capital's Responsibility for Africa's Resource Extraction Crisis*. *OpenSpace*, Vol. 1 No. 4, June 2006. University of Botswana
13. In addition to the efforts of foreign missionaries, who instituted the Primary Program for teaching the children in 1932, Church seminaries and institutes of religion were introduced into Southern Africa in 1972. All African countries in which the Church is established now have these programs. For example, in 1973 President Spencer W. Kimball pronounced a dedicatory prayer upon the land of South Africa, which included the promise that wards and stakes would dot the land and a temple would be built there. (Lebaron, 1992).
14. The history of Islam shows that where the Prophet Mohammad preached his faith in the Arabian Mecca around the seventh century, five centuries later the adherents of this religion were to be found in Senegal in West Africa to the East African coast, which is viewed as the result of the colonising agenda, in much the same way as the Westerners. (Hrbek, 1992:1).
15. Refer Hugon, (2004:18)
16. Mufeme noted that the control of land was and is still linked to the complex interplay of economic, social and political power. The arrival of foreign religions such as Islam and Western Christianity in Africa further complicated an already complex framework.
17. This is the fear of which Steve Biko spoke about, as the supreme weapon used by the oppressors to instil their supremacy.
18. When Zimbabwe revisited its initial promise when it took over the reign of power to redress colonial injustices and establish an alternative economic system that included more participation by workers and peasants. (Dansereau, 2003:23).

19. When Zimbabwe implemented policies that were in line with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), no one complained, as this institution is known for furthering Western colonisation by providing loans that perpetuate corruption and dependency. But when Zimbabwe implements programs that are meant for reversal of the ill doings of colonisation, you immediately hear mostly colonialist beneficiaries talking about “illegal land seizure”. They forget what they did in their glorious days of the famous Cecil Rhodes. (Dansereau, 2003:30).
20. Just to mention some of the mighty Kings and Queens that once ruled the Cradle of Humankind from the Pharaohs in ancient Egypt – Amenhotep IV aka Akhenaton, Queen Nefertiti, Affonso I, King of the Congo and Queen Nzinga who fearlessly and gallantly fought against slave trade, His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I who victoriously defeated and defended the last uncolonised ground of Africa against Western colonisation led by the Italian fascist Benito Mussolini. (Pheko, 1992:83-85 & Tafete, 2003:89).
21. According to UNAIDS estimates South Africa is currently experiencing one of the most severe HIV epidemics in the world. By the end of 2005, there were five and a half million people living with HIV in South Africa, and almost 1,000 AIDS deaths occurring every day. On the other hand HIV/AIDS has affected more people in Sub-Saharan Africa than anywhere else in the world. An estimated 24,5 million people were living with HIV at the end of 2005 and approximately 2,7 million new infections occurred during that year. (Avert.org, 2006).
22. First indentured labour arrived in Natal in the 1860s and 1870s. (Zegeye, 2001:7).

c) Neo-liberalism in post-apartheid South Africa

Although 'change' was heralded in 1994, following the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, the majority of people are still subjected to a life of poverty. The fact that most African people are still living in informal settlements is evidence of a good dream gone bad. This has defeated the high expectations of the Black majority. (Karumbidza, 2001a).

It was the aim of the ANC that after the end of apartheid land would be restored to their rightful owners and some White-owned commercial farms would be acquired to resettle the masses of landless Africans from over-crowded communal lands. (Karumbidza, 2001b). In addition, in July 1990 the ANC created a Land Commission to deal with the land question in post-apartheid South Africa. Karumbidza also referred to Weiner, who stated that the internal debate on land reform among ANC cadres was a call for land nationalisation. (2001b). The economic and racial hegemonic influences on the transition discourse in South Africa resulted in a general policy direction that was not only unsupportive of large-scale land redistribution to the Black majority but also led to the "legitimizing, false consciousness or manipulation of the mass of the population". (Marais, 2001:231).

The minimal redistribution of land in post-apartheid South Africa reflects the dominant interests of apartheid capitalism. Apartheid big business and economists argued strongly that land redistribution was "not economically viable but simply populist, anti-ethical and therefore destructive towards meeting economic growth and reconstruction". This argument illustrates the interests of this class of local landholders, whose interests were protected by the neo-liberal market-driven land reforms supported by donors such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). (Karumbidza, 2001b).

This hope of transforming the economy was perpetuated in 1994

by the adoption of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), which committed itself to redistributing about 30 percent of agricultural land within five years and also making land reform the central and driving force of a program of rural development. Then the ANC-led government acted against RDP promises by abandoning the RDP in favour of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy negotiated with the IMF and World Bank. (Karumbidza, 2001b). Discarding the RDP and adopting the GEAR (the macro-economic strategy) resulted in abandoning the 'redistributionist' approach (which was seen as alienating domestic and international capital) in favour of a market friendly 'productionist' approach, thereby compromising its commitment to the poor, the defenceless and the voice of the voiceless, who are still overcrowded in apartheid Bantustans and urban slums. (Karumbidza, 2001a; Mngxitama *et al*, 2004).

Despite the adoption of GEAR, the ANC's choice has not increased its political profile among the owners of capital and the rising black bourgeoisie, and neither has it translated into an increase in Foreign Direct Investment and economic development. The World Bank was supportive of commercial agriculture on smaller units of land but remained sceptical of the ability of Black small-holder farmers to produce for the market. As a result of this distrust, its policy proposals remained favourable to the largely White local property-owning class, including the 75,000 strong white commercial farmers in the country. (Karumbidza, 2001a). The ANC government fed itself into this trail through seeking to create space for the entry to a class of 'patriotic' African bourgeoisie under the auspices of black economic empowerment (Marais, 2001:240). The rise of the African capitalist class is equivalent to 'colonialism of a special type' as the colonised join forces with their colonial masters in the sustaining of capitalism generally. (Marais, 2001:241). Marais (2001:241) uses the argument of Cargill and Brown (1999:48) that joint business ventures by the Black elite and their White capital fail

to create jobs, income redistribution and productive investments because these ventures have been characterised:

Black companies have had difficulty in establishing a presence at the operating level of business, and particularly in manufacturing. Instead, they have opted for the investment holding company model, trying to make a large number of investments, with a high level of borrowed finance to build their businesses.

Ginsburg *et al* argues (1997:113) that today, “The elitist aspects of liberal democratic theory find new currency as the alliance of reformers and moderates commits itself to a form of politics that preserves the central pillars of capitalist society, ensuring that entrenched power holders – especially the bourgeoisie – maintain a veto over the pace, content and institutional form of the new democracy”.

Capitalism has now reached the stage of being able to maximise production whilst making a profit with less labour, or in other instances even no labour at all. (Napier, 2004:7). Ngceshu *et al* (2002:4) argues that employment opportunities are declining in South Africa due to globalisation and restructuring of the economy and technology. So this type of development highlights the problems specifically related to class and race and the political survival of the regime. This is exacerbated by the difficulty of separating land policy from the broader economic policy. The ANC opted to respond positively to the demands of economic viability, thus taking a route that seeks to ensure its political survival as a party at the expense of the political stability of the country. Therefore, political survival would always be uneven against economic viability because of the inequalities created by apartheid as well as the mounting pressure from globalisation. (Karumbidza, 2001a). Karumbidza, 2001a also mentions that Bernstein argued that:

“Capitalist landed property and agriculture seeks to expunge or deny the foundations of its historical formation in land ex-

appropriation, brutal labour regimes and state support. Its position today, if anything, is strengthened by the confirmation of bourgeoisie property rights in general, and, beyond that, by the economic policies and practices of the government. [This] capitalist landed property/agriculture stakes its place in the new South Africa on the claim of its 'efficiency in a non-racial capitalism, while White farmers retain a de facto, if no longer de jure, near monopoly of resources and institutional, as well as economic, power in the countryside.'

(Bernstein, 1997: 22).

This is confirmed by the fact that the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) dismissed the call to address the subsistence land needs of the poor and instead focused its attention on the commercialisation proposal of the World Bank, whose aim was to advance full-time Black commercial farmers. (Karumbidza, 2001b). In addition, the ANC adopted the 'willing-buyer, willing-seller' option for land reform, as this was consistent with its market-driven economic policy. (Karumbidza, 2001b). The racially skewed legacy of land distribution in South Africa has not changed, as less than two percent of the country's 122 million hectares of land has changed hands through this program since 1994, while 19 million poor and landless rural people and seven million poor and landless urban people need land. (Mngxitama *et al*, 2004).

d) Labour market changes

Due to the adoption of the neo-liberal economic policy GEAR by the ANC-led government, more than 200,000 jobs in different sectors were lost, despite the fact that the policy projected 1,35 million new jobs. According to Marais, GEAR has no redistributive target and no clear linkage between growth and income redistribution. (Marais, 2001:170).

The shedding of jobs led to changes in the labour market with an increase in the flexibility of the labour market and mechanisation of production, which also resulted in the introduction of labour-saving technologies, increased outsourcing and the reintroduction of casual and contract labour. (Marais, 2001:175). In 1995, the October Household Survey highlighted the fact that 1,1 million people were either employers or self-employed in the informal sector. In addition, there were about 413,000 employees in the same sector, while about 129,000 worked full-time in formal sector jobs while moonlighting at the same time in the informal sector. The majority (about 86 percent) of these people were estimated to be Africans. (Marais, 2001:177 -178).

These labour market changes are presently manifesting, in that workers are subjected to a cyclical process of emigration to urban areas in search of employment, and are exposing themselves to unhealthy living conditions in the process. This situation forces workers to flock to urban areas, where they have no support systems such as relatives to assist them in finding shelter or a place to live. They therefore opt for informal settlements because they are 'affordable'. (Ngceshu *et al*, 2002:3). On the flip side of the rural-urban migration is the urban-rural move, where unemployed urban workers have returned to rural areas seeking land for growing food. (Mngxitama *et al*, 2004). The unemployed person also adopts various strategies in meeting old and new challenges of being dispossessed, without having the opportunity to participate in the current labour market and economic system as it continues to trim itself and develops autonomous information technology.

According to the World Bank (2003), the informal economy can be broadly defined and categorised into two sub-categories: the 'family enterprises', which are independent or own-account owners, family workers, apprentices and casual workers, and with no permanent employees, and 'micro-enterprises', consisting of units with less than five to 10 employees (or jobs), or which do not regis-

ter them, or which are not registered as enterprises. Three categories have been identified: home-based, independent home-based and street traders or vendors.

Independent home-base workers have the following characteristics:

- a) they work at home outside the establishment that buys their products;
- b) they have a prior arrangement whereby goods or services are supplied to a particular enterprise;
- c) their remuneration consists of prices paid for their products;
- d) they do not employ workers on a regular basis.

Self-employed independent home-based workers who work from home and deliver their products or services to any prospective buyer are classified as part of the group of 'own-account workers'.

Street traders and street vendors sell fruit or clothing in the streets, while itinerant or seasonal or temporary job workers work on building sites or road works, or between streets and home, such as waste collectors.

The unemployed, with their limited resources, use whatever means they have at their disposal to put food in their mouths. These survival strategies can include entering into survivalist trading. According to Lund, most survivalist traders (about 46 percent) sell goods such as food, fruit, vegetables, meat and poultry on the streets of urban areas. About 32 percent sell items such as cosmetics, clothes, shoes, cigarettes and curios, and about 22 percent are engaged in activities such as hairdressing and shoe repairs, sell traditional herbs and medicines or 'muthi', and also trade in garments, needlework, or items for the tourist market, such as baskets, mats and beadwork. (2000:16-17). They are termed informal traders or survivalist traders whilst they continue contributing to the formal economy of the country; the very same economy that has

subjected them to retrenchment, shortage of skills, lack of jobs and landlessness. (Lund *et al*, 2000: 10, 16 & 23).

Some unemployed workers work as unintentional servants, as they work not for income but accommodation. (Magubane, 2000: 409). Others people use their small fields for subsistence farming in rural areas, and sell their produce in the streets of urban areas. (Lund *et al*, 2000: 10 & 23). Lund comments that some survivalist traders or 'barrow-boys' transport goods to street traders on wheelbarrows and supermarket trolleys between trading sites, earning about R3 per barrow load for their efforts. (2000:22-25). Various unemployed people also work for informal traders as their helpers or 'ababambeli' – assisting or minding the business whilst owners are away from the trading site; others are security guards who guard stalls at night. (Lund *et al*, 2000:22-25). Although informal employment is celebrated as an alternative to formal employment, it cannot be seen as the solution to the unemployment crisis, because the income that informal sector workers receive can barely sustain the livelihood of households affected by unemployment.

Marais (2001:178) in quoting the SALDRU study, the Poverty and Inequality in South Africa report (UNDP, 1998), states that:

“... average monthly net return to the self-employed was R826, while the median monthly income was much lower at R200 ... At least 45 percent of the self employed are earning less than the Supplemental Living Level (SLL) poverty line, which is set at R220 per month ... the sector contains a high proportion of working poor who would readily take up employment in the formal sector.”

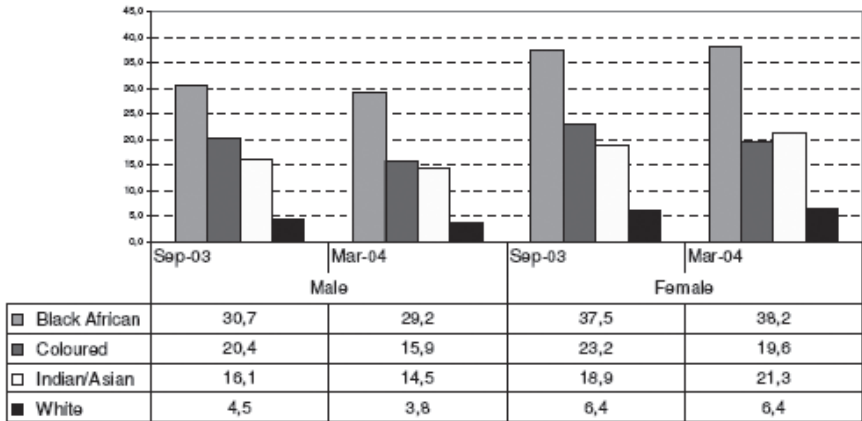
Other poverty-stricken people have no shelter over their heads and beg on the streets for food. Webster (2003) noted that Sitas suggested that there are three types of economic activity which have proliferated since 1994: “new hunter-gatherer type societies” who

survive by selling waste products and are often homeless; the “new forms of servitude” – individuals forced to survive by being at the “beck and call of individuals who demand chores, duties, sexual favours, and so on”; and “the street traders and hawkers who sell basic commodities such as memorabilia to tourists, and food to urban workers”. The unemployed are informally trained or unskilled people who can’t use their skills again as the industries who once employed semi- and unskilled workers have been completely decimated by neo-liberal trade policies. These industries include the clothing, textile, leather, car component manufacturing and other light intensive manufacturing industries.

e) Unemployment

To look into what is presently happening in the employment sectors there are different understandings as well as definitions of unemployment. The unemployed are those people within the economically active population who: (a) did not work during the seven days prior to the interview, (b) want to work and are available to start work within two weeks of the interview, and (c) have taken active steps to look for work or start some form of self-employment in the four weeks prior to the interview. The expanded definition of unemployment excludes criterion (c) (Stats SA, 2004: xiii). Recent Statistics South Africa estimates put the unemployment rate at 41,2 percent using the expanded definition, and 27,8 percent using the strict definition (2004). In simple terms unemployed single mothers, students, community defenders, neighbours, popular criminals, rap artists and genuine human beings have become the collective identities of “the poor”, including the factory worker. (Desai, 2002). Graph 1 below illustrates the increasing unemployment across racial lines. According to the table, unemployment is significantly higher amongst women as opposed to men, and this is predominant across all race groups.

Graph 1 - Unemployment rate in South Africa (official definition) by population group and sex: September 2003 and March 2004



Source: Labour Force Survey October 2004 (Statistics South Africa)

The level of poverty and degradation is much worse than expected as it is interlinked and deeply rooted in the colonial history (Desai, 2001; Terreblanche, 2002:27). Mark Napier (2004:6) confirms this when he states that there is growing proof that poverty is no longer confined to rural areas. Terreblanche argues that the unemployed people were mostly Africans. This is due to the fact that the distribution of income, property and opportunities was unequal and not favourable to them as they were criminalised through the years of oppression. (2002:25).

Desai (2001) argues that the unemployment rate in certain townships and areas dominated by the poor can climb as high as 70 percent, and that some families are completely reliant on pensions and grants. The recent figures released by the State Statistical Institute (StatsSA) reveal that the average African household has lost 19 percent of its real income since 1995, while the average white household income grew by 15 percent. The racial income gap stood at 400 percent in 1995 and the poorest 40 percent of households

saw a 16 percent drop in their share of total income during the same period, with the wealthiest 20 percent earning 65 percent of all household income. (Mngxitama *et al*, 2004).

Graph 1 confirms that the unemployment in South Africa is structural and not cyclical as it mainly affects the previously disadvantaged groups, especially Africans. Even in a democratic post-apartheid state Africans still remain the most disadvantaged. (Terreblanche, 2002:372 & 379; Streak *et al*, 2004).

An additional factor that has exacerbated unemployment is the state's policy on privatisation, which has contributed towards the growing unemployment rate. Over the past 15 years, both public sector and private firms have shed lower-level permanent posts on a large scale. (Mngxitama *et al*, 2004). Streak highlighted Bhorat's (2004) argument that the demand for labour supply does not match the skills profile of the majority of work-seekers. (2004). Hence, those who are unemployed through retrenchment cannot find re-employment elsewhere as the jobs that are being created in the labour market do not match the skills levels of the unemployed. Furthermore, Terreblanche argues that: "More than 20 percent of the potential labour force has been unemployed from the 1970s, and this figure increased to more than 40 percent in 1995." (2002:372).

An argument put forward by Ngceshu is that the growing frustration over a lack of employment opportunities amongst the youth has led them to become more violent, commit crimes and enter into occupations like prostitution, which has been one of the options taken by young women. (Ngceshu *et al*, 2002:5). People from rural areas looking for jobs establish themselves on vacant land, usually next to formal housing, and create some form of a service class, such as nurses, teachers and police. (Ngceshu *et al*, 2002:9).

The skewed development in the South African economy over the past 30 years has focused on huge investment in capital-intensive activities in the private and public sectors, which has resulted in the distortion of capital versus labour ratio, and undermined the job

creating ability of the economy. (Terreblanche, 2002:379). Colonial wars further added to the subjugation of Blacks, effectively depriving them of all forms of economic independence in order to force them into the un-free labour market.

f) Experiences of the poor and unemployed people

Another argument put forward by Ngceshu is that as there is no standard definition of poverty, it can therefore “be viewed as the state of being poor”, meaning that “the lack of a means of survival that is basic for a human being to continue with life in a meaningful way”. This leads to a “vicious cycle of poverty, characterised by vulnerability, low productivity, disease, dependency, ignorance and related problems”. (2002:3).

Unemployed workers living in poverty are faced with a different situation every day as they are exposed to unemployment in differing ways, which impacts on the areas in which they reside. Mohamed argues that Africans built ‘shacks’ or informal houses, as a means of survival in the 1920s. This was done in response to squalid and deteriorating conditions in African reserves (2002:1). In addition, Napier notes the argument made by Gilbert and Gugler (1992) that although informal settlements have been variously defined, they tend to have various core characteristics. These include being self-built with temporary building materials by the occupants, they are ‘illegal’ in some way, are not serviced, and are generally occupied by people living in poverty in poor locations. (2004:8). The types of building materials used to construct these settlements, such as timber, corrugated iron, plastic sheeting and other temporary materials, have been shown to carry health problems associated with ‘damp and thermal inefficiency’. (Napier, 2004: 17). According to Durand-Lasserve (2000), the informal settlements in many African countries have been shaped to some extent by the neo-liberal policies of these bodies as they continued to apply the

master planning approach. (Napier, 2004: 22 - 23). This is proven by the fact that during poverty hearings in 1998, Emma Makhaza told commissioners:

"I am having seven children and nothing to depend on. I am making bricks and sometimes it rains and then I can't do it. And I collect food and take it to people. I fetch wood and collect cans of cold drink and sell them. When I am without food then I go next door and if they don't have, then the children will have empty stomachs and I cry. Yesterday I left with my children fast asleep because they will ask me what we are going to eat. I am very thin, because when I bought a bucket of mielie-meal, I won't eat at all if I am thinking of the children..."

(Marais, 2001:198-199).

Cottle and Deedat noted that in KwaZulu-Natal, when the cost recovery on the provision of water in mid-2000 was introduced, many people were forced to use unsafe water sources. This contributed to the cholera outbreak in the province, which resulting in over 100,000 cases of illness and 250 deaths. (McDonald, 2002). Several poor communities across Johannesburg, with the active assistance of the APF, have launched Operation Vulamanzi (literally meaning 'open water') in which control measures such as trickler systems, re-routed water piping and pre-paid meters have been by-passed by communities in order to retain access to water. (McKinley, 2003). Illegal reconnection of electricity is widespread in Soweto as they began a campaign called Operation Khanyisa ("to light up"). The study carried out in Mali by APADEP happened to conclude exactly what is happening at present in South Africa as it highlighted that:

"...these popular expressions of discontent also illustrate a

raising of the people's consciousness and a desire on their part to show that they can act to survive, to make themselves heard and to take part in decision making, however troublesome this may be to the government."

(Kester, 1996:4).

Desai (2002) argues that the poor joined forces on common issues affecting them, and that their protests were driven not by ideology, but by the need to survive and the desire to live decently. Ngceshu argues that poverty is a bonding factor uniting individuals with a history of marginalisation who live in semi peri-urban areas such as Inanda, as these areas housed people with different backgrounds, but a common aim of seeking work. (2002:2). Deem's view is that the unemployed community takes part in illegal 'hidden or underground economy' work such as professional burglary, which involves the production of goods or services which are not, as in formal work, exchanged for cash or as a system of barter, but are intended to avoid taxation or other regulatory authorities. (1988a). Deem states this takes place in the household or communal economy, where the production of goods and services is either for the immediate household or for the surrounding community instead of similar goods and services being purchased. (1988a: 41). They also form clubs such as the homeboy clubs and stokfels as a means of saving or making money, or loan schemes such as Vukuzakhe Housing Scheme and Utshani Loan Scheme. (Ngceshu *et al*, 2002:3). Deem's findings therefore confirm what is said above, as it suggests that unemployment undermines sleep, money, health, and relationships. These are the problems facing unemployed people, but their vantage point is different. (Deem, 1988b: 72).

Molefe argues that some members of the unemployed collect garbage and compete with stray dogs for discarded scraps of food, and also trade any items that can be recycled for a few rands. (2004:6). Other means of survival include grants meant for poverty

alleviation. However, due to the bureaucracy attached to accessing and receiving the grants, they do not reach the true recipients. (Ngceshu *et al*, 2002:6).

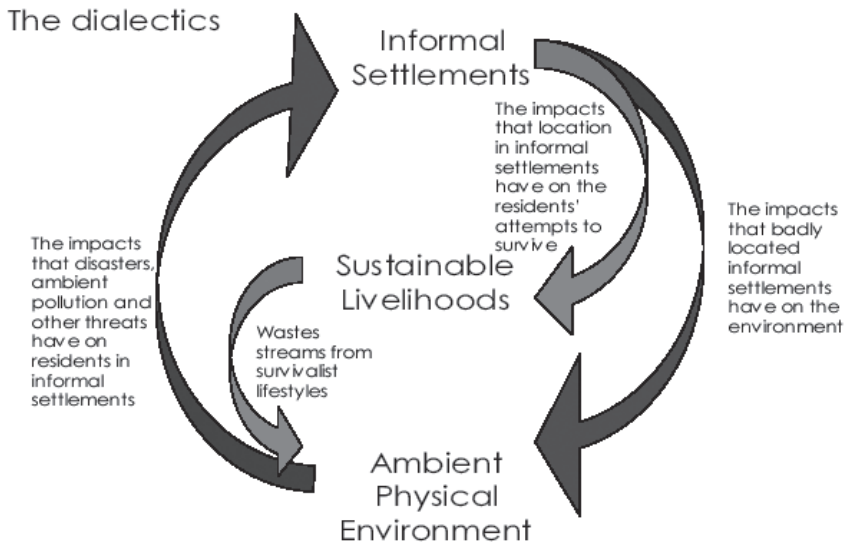
In addition, the unemployed can't afford to pay rent as they don't earn an income, and unemployed impoverished communities in South Africa still experience state repression. Sheriffs evict households who can't afford to pay rent, and members of the police force carry out raids, break down the doors of homes and arrest residents for 'trespassing' in their own homes in apartheid style evictions. (Mohamed, 2002: 23). The municipality disconnects water and electricity because the poor and unemployed people cannot afford to pay for basic services priced at cost recovery prices. The unemployed people live under threat of re-arrest, face imposed bail conditions, don't have lawyers for arrested community members and don't have enough money to pay any bail set. Unemployed people who are arrested have nowhere to go, face lengthy periods in jail awaiting trial, and get re-arrested whilst outside as residents apply pressure through actions such as marches to get service. Ginsburg argues that South Africa's new democracy is nothing more than merely a name or intensification of oppression because it is failing to deliver material benefits, especially to the previously disadvantaged communities. (1997:111).

Ngceshu's view is that people in informal settlements are exposed to lack of major development because of a number of factors, such as the ownership of land, corruption, donor-tailored leadership, political actions such as the watchdog's role in the community, lack of coordinated approach to overall development, poor health facilities, influx of people from rural areas and the constant invasion and brain-drain from the area as successful people fear to invest in areas where violence can erupt at any time, and causes a lot of damage in a short space of time. (2002:3-16).

This figure reflects the experience of people living in informal areas, where internal environmental threats are more localised.

These relate to health, safety and security, poor ventilation and the risks associated with using paraffin (kerosene), burning of bio-mass fuels, lack of piped water, temporary building materials and lack of access to municipal services, high population density and high risk of exposure to outbreaks of fire. (Napier, 2004:17).

Figure 1- Informal settlements and environmental impacts



Source: Napier 2004:14

Fadane argues that the poorest of the street traders may live on the street, use networks and payment to get a site in a shack settlement, live in hostels, or move between all of these. (Lund, 1998) While external environmental threats are more general threats, they are harder to cope with and have greater physical and socio-economic impacts on people living in poverty in informal settlements (Napier, 2004:18). Napier argues "that Africa is also the continent with the highest numbers of people living with HIV and AIDS, the impacts on the livelihoods of households living in such conditions are ex-

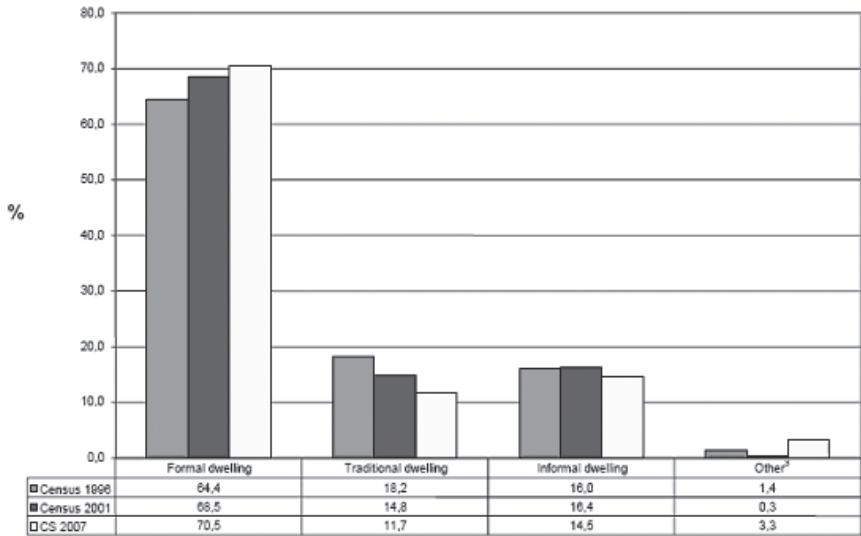
treme, and likely to stretch established coping mechanisms beyond their limits". (Napier, 2004:6). Ngceshu confirms this argument as he highlights that despite the HIV/AIDS campaign, sex activities remain as a survival means for the young people between the age of 20 and 30 years. (2002:8).

The unemployed also face adverse treatment from council officials, media and public alike, because they think that the majority of street traders are 'merely a front' for formal traders – and the conventional stereotype has African traders (mainly women) fronting for Asian businessmen.

Consumptions Patterns and challenges

The Community Survey¹ (CS) conducted by the Statistics South Africa in 2007 revealed that the population of South Africa has continued to grow. Presently, it has increased from 40,5 million in 1996, to 44,8 million in 2001 and to 48,5 million in 2007. Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal are the provinces with the highest population size with a population of 10,5 million and 10,3 million respectively. Northern Cape Province has the lowest population numbers of the whole country (Statsa, 2007).

Figure 2: Percentage distribution of households by types of main dwelling



Source: Statsa, 2007

The Community Survey shows that there are four basic categories of housing types, namely: formal², traditional, informal³ and other. Figure 2 shows the type of main dwelling in which households lived in 1996, 2001 and 2007. It also shows that the percentage of households living in formal dwellings has increased from 64,4% in 1996 to 68,5% in 2001, and 70,5% in 2007. Figure 2 also shows an equivalent decrease in the proportion of households living in the traditional dwellings from 18,2% in 1996, to 14,8% in 2001 and to 11,7% in 2007. The percentage of households living in informal dwellings has remained more or less stable between 1996 and 2001, but decreased to 14,5% in 2007 (Statsa, 2007).

The collective experience of these changes by the poor people in the new municipalities is that they still face the same apartheid style treatment; generally in most of these municipalities the poor are still

evicted from their homes and experience disconnections of water and electricity, as they cannot afford their bills (Desai, 2002; Raina and Khan, 139). Informal settlements still experience fire, for example, on Saturday night (19 August 2006) at 10:10pm, a fire broke out at Jadhru Place informal settlement and the cause was a candle left unattended. Again, in more or less the same vicinity, on Sunday 20 August 2006, fire broke out, bringing the number of shack fires in the Clare Estate area over the July/August period to four. The most affected people in such incidents are women, children and elderly people. Informal settlement communities argue that fires are a direct consequence of the eThekweni Municipality's infamous and unconstitutional 2001 decision to suspend the provision of electricity to informal settlements. The policy states that 'in the past (1990s) electrification was rolled out to all and sundry*electrification of the informal settlements has now been discontinued'.

An increasing number of female-headed families in many townships are unemployable as they lack marketable skills needed by the job market. (Ngceshu *et al*, 2002:6). Furthermore, Ngceshu *et al* argues that there are very few women who can interpret the Constitutional Rights and international conventions into real terms. (2002:6).

Mark Shaw and Antoinette Louw (2004) pose that it was remarkable that the Durban city victimisation survey conducted in December 1997 showed that Blacks generally, most of whom lived in townships and informal settlements, were far more likely to be victims of violent crime than the mostly White residents in the city's suburbs. Mamaila confirms this when he contends that most of the people arrested for crimes are driven by economic motives, such as housebreaking, robbery, car hijacking and drug trafficking. (Mamaila, 2003:10). Mark Shaw and Antoinette Louw (2004) take the argument further with the view that race and class in South Africa are key determining factors in who was affected by crime and in understanding victimisation patterns. In addition, this was only be-

cause these divisions are equivalent to wealth and property ownership, which generally dictates an individual's lifestyle and place of residence. (Shaw and Louw, 2004).

Although rural communities differ in terms of approach, what is common among both urban and rural unemployed people is working together as an association or organisation. One retrenched worker, N.Z. Mpotshane, said that he worked for about 22 years in the mines in Johannesburg and belonged to several trade unions, but that after being retrenched he never heard a word from the unions. (Inkunzi, 2002). The unemployed people rely on natural resources and 'ancient' ways of building a house, such as land, stones, grass and wood, and also obtain water from wells. (Inkunzi, 2002).

Two members of an Inkunzi Project, Mrs Josephine Sibiyi and Mrs Mpotshane, related how they survived by eating a mixture of maize and sugar, and sold sugar cane in order to buy seed. They also harvested edible wild plants, used nuts from the umganu tree to produce cooking oil, and depended on livestock such as goat and cattle, as well as rain. Mr J. Sibiyi told of having to resort to surviving through subsistence farming to help him look after his family after his retrenchment in 1986, while Mr Albert 'Inkunzi' Mngomezulu stated that most retrenched mine workers had skills that were not usable in rural areas. They also lacked fertile land for farming as well as resources such as equipment and seeds. (Inkunzi, 2002). Zondi argued that rural communities turned to a church for comfort in an attempt to deal with problems of unemployment, lack of clinics and general poverty. (Inkunzi, 2002). Members of Phakamani Garden Club based at Maphephetheni Area spoke of using traditional equipment such as a hoe for planting in their gardens, and drawing water from the dam with buckets as they did not have machines to do so. (Interview: 20 October 2003). May *et al's* argument confirms this when they note that some rural community members survive by ploughing by hoe for others in the community. (May *et al*, 1997:106).

Desai (2002) also mentioned how people starved in rural areas, while large numbers of street kids descended on every town to beg and prostitute themselves, petty crimes soar, and jails reach 170 percent capacity. Lund (1998) stated that about 900 unemployed people survive by trading in traditional herbal medicines and through the palm wine industry, and that their survival strategies were characterised by ease of entry, small scale of enterprises, family ownership of the enterprise, use of labour-intensive methods, the circular migration of many street traders who move back and forth between rural and urban areas, and reliance on indigenous resources. This is confirmed by Else Mphephetha, who lives in a rural area but sells chickens and vegetables harvested from her garden in urban streets and city markets. (Interview: 20 October 2003).

Some of the unemployed in rural areas are at least able to possess a small garden, a few goats and/or ducks, a small plot of land that is not suitable for ploughing, and a mud house (Mandlovu, 2003), while others have only themselves to make ends meet. (Mkhize, 2004).

Figure 2 above shows the levels of resource consumption and waste generation which confirms Ginsburg *et al's* argument (1997:113) that today “the elitist aspects of liberal democratic theory find new currency as the alliance of reformers and moderates commits itself to a form of politics that preserves the central pillars of capitalist society, ensuring that entrenched power holders – especially the bourgeoisie – maintain a veto over the pace, content and institutional form of the new democracy”. Ginsburg *et al's* argument about the present change in South Africa concurs with Przeworski's conclusion – that successful transitions require an arrangement which is “inevitably conservative, economically and socially”. (Ginsburg *et al*, 1997: 113). Furthermore, the present situation endorses the argument that “the bourgeois state in whatever form, is inherently incapable of meeting the democratic aspirations of the working class or civil society”. (Ginsburg *et al* 1997:118). In

addition, it also endorses what Yudelman had to say in the 1960s, when he predicted that Africans in the wage-paying economy would not be able to fall back on the sustenance farming that was previously assured to them by tribal traditions. (Yudelman, 1964:137).

Conclusion

The aim of this research, which was conducted in the Ethekewini Municipality area, is to present an overview of the survival strategies of the unemployed people by providing information about predominating socio-economic conditions. Given the prevailing material circumstances affecting the unemployed and their households, it is worth emphasising again that a strongly situational approach is vital when coming up with any intervention. However, it can be said that the survival conditions of the unemployed expose them to the hazards typically associated with these, including famine, flood and fire, the spread of certain types of disease (often food-related), and the effects of poor indoor air quality. The documentation of existing examples where approaches have been used in an attempt to address informal settlements and sustainable livelihoods in order to reduce vulnerability to poverty and unemployment would seem to be a challenging undertaking.

The problems encountered when assisting the unemployed are that they lack skills necessary to running an organisation, and in addition to not knowing how to go about resolving problems, they lack the necessary equipment for gardens, such as seeds, insecticides, fencing and irrigation tools. There is no known assistance regarding skills development from the government as they lack schools for learning about cooperatives and gardening. They are also vulnerable to opportunists who use them for personal gain, and there are no visits from government officials to assist them.

Almost all the elderly unemployed people interviewed cited his-

torical background as the main factor in unemployment, as the apartheid government did not offer them opportunities in developing skills and in education, while young job seekers said that were no job opportunities, and that they were not employed because they lacked education, and that their parents did not have the money for furthering their studies. Some of them also said that they had not been employed since they left school, despite having finished their matric. In addition, some young job seekers did not know what had gone wrong, or why they were not finding employment. When asked about their historical background all they said was that they “didn’t know why they were suffering like this”. Other members of the unemployed resigned from their jobs as they were exposed to unsafe working conditions, and could not find another job. In addition, some of them were retrenched and could not find permanent work again. This applied especially to older people in this sector.

The unemployed were still flocking to cities as they did in the early years of colonisation and were still paying tax, but job opportunities were minimal, as an infrastructure had already been established in the cities, and as previously, they had no option but to endure informal settlements and adverse living conditions. The pillars of colonialism were still intact as the economy was still a monetary one, and based on the values and cultures of the Western world. Some indigenous values and cultures such as “ubuntu”⁴ are co-opted to the Westernised economic system as part of legitimising the current political system.

The questions that could be raised would be:

- How should government and social agencies intervene in ways that can reverse both the colonialist approach and support the livelihoods of the unemployed Black majority?
- Have typical responses been responsive enough to include the physical, social and economic needs of the vulnerable unemployed people?

- What plan should the government develop in order to encourage business institutions that occupy vast stretches of land to contribute to the surrounding communities with programs aimed at uplifting and developing them in order to reach a point of self-reliance and independence?
- How should the communities and government introduce historical awareness programs or campaigns for the younger generation to assist them in making appropriate decisions about their future?

There is a need for a favourable environment to enable unemployed people to join forces with social agencies to fight the continual inhumane cycles of poverty and change their squalid conditions. Finally, the continuous turning of a blind eye by the government in redistributing land for the majority of unemployed people will result in the perpetuation of poverty and a dependency syndrome. As municipalities are integrating the informal economy in South Africa with the well-established capitalist economy, further investigation is needed to understand how it may be sustained according to the needs of the informal traders, and not capitalist needs. In view of the effects of changes that have taken place in different communities, the second chapter will look at the impact of socio-economic changes on the livelihoods of the African populace.

Endnotes:

1. The Statistics South Africa conducted a study that compares the first two censuses that were conducted since the first general elections in 1994 (conducted in 1996 and second one in 2001) with a Community Survey conducted in 2007.
2. It refers to a house, flat, semi-detached house, unit in a com-

plex (e.g. simplex), room in a backyard and any other room (Statsa, 2007).

3. Informal settlements are normally built out of old building materials such as planks, corrugated iron, cardboard and plastic.
4. Nkosi concurred by arguing that there was a growing tendency towards greed and commercialisation of land, even among Africans, and especially in urban areas, and that this development contributed towards the gradual destruction of the true meaning of “ubuntu”, which was the basis of African spirituality within theocratic settings. Refer to Tafete: (2003:89). Therefore, I will argue that it will be unrealistic to expect the success of ubuntu as a philosophy within the context of democracy, as this philosophy represents something totally different and it also dismally failed to offer a “holistically approach to offer love and respect for human beings, nature and other living creatures”. In addition, the custom of asking for rain or making rain through the help of the ancestors and God still features strongly in some communities.

CHAPTER 2

The Impact of Socio-economic Changes on the Livelihoods of the Oppressed Majority - Post 1994 Election

Changes in the Employment Pattern in the Port of Durban: Changes in Working Conditions

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the impact of socio-economic changes as well as the typical new work that emerged after the restructuring that took place in the port of Durban before and after 1994, which led to changes in employment patterns, working conditions, and in the introduction of new jobs that required new skills. These changes also affected the bargaining leverage of the trade unions and an alarming decline in permanent employment, which resulted in a new category of casual employees.

Respondents were selected randomly and in 'snowball' fashion from the port of Durban, with research methodology based on observation, interviews and questionnaires to ascertain the context of the industry, biography of the workers and general conclusion based on their working lives and associated problems.

This report is compiled from in-depth interviews conducted with 11 workers, of whom six were casual or temporary workers, one

a full-time temporary worker, and four permanent workers. In addition, four key players were interviewed: one representative from the company which used the port, one from a labour broker, and two trade union representatives, one of whom represented casual or temporary workers, and the other a former white union member who represented only permanent workers.

1. Quality of working life at the port

Types of work conducted in the port to assist in the servicing of the shipping industry include container handling, technical work, and the maintenance of electrical and mechanical machinery.

As the port is operational for 24 hours a day labour is intensified, and when port users require extra labour they hire casual labour through a labour broker, who supplies workers with different skills, such as heavy duty, forklift and crane drivers, winch men, lashers, cargo controllers and general workers. Casual labour is mainly required over busy periods like December, when clients want their goods to reach destinations early in the New Year. Small companies have been absorbed, while other non-core businesses have been closed. The biggest challenge is posed by Portnet regulations: for example, companies have to deliver their goods once the ship is ready to load, and it costs huge sums of money to keep a ship waiting in harbour.

The relationship between union members and workers is sound, as one of the shop stewards was seconded to a management position. Furthermore, the company has a closed shop agreement with SATAWU, where shop stewards obtain a mandate from workers at the general meeting. The agreement was inherited from TMS-Ilanga. "The relationship between unions is good although SATAWU is aligned to government and management tends to get SATAWU on their side. For example in the two-week strike that took place in

2001 after management's refusal to pay an annual bonus, unions were acting jointly, but SATAWU pulled out of the strike after meeting with management". (Prouce: Interview – 19 December 2002). Another source states that: "the relationship between casuals and management is not good, and there is too much of a gap, especially between casual workers". (Nkosi: Interview – 22 December 2002). In addition, Nkosi argues further that "the relationship between management and trade union is too much as SATAWU have joint venture with TMS-Shezi whilst other workers reject this venture because it forces them to belong to SATAWU. If they don't, they lose their jobs". (Interview – 19 December 2002). Another major problem identified is that workers in the company tend to be skilled veterans between 50 and 52 years, while the younger workers' attitude towards work is completely different. (John Wood: Interview – 16 January 2003).

A service level agreement signed by the South African Port Authority, business unit and labour broker regulates the relationship with the Port Authority. Negotiated annually, it entails payment rates and general working conditions.

The main problem faced by the labour broker is that clients don't pay timeously – the earliest is within six days, with the worse scenario nine months after the due date. This leads to mistrust between port users and labour brokers, and has resulted in the broker's head office accepting easy terms. Other problems include injuries on duty, which have led to deaths, paralysis or serious injuries, with many workers losing limbs, and labour fluctuations – as many as 900 workers a day can be hired by port users during the busiest period in December, but the number can drop to 350 a day in quieter periods.

The last unprotected strike by drivers from 30 April 2002 to 02 May 2002 resulted in all of them being dismissed after they ignored an ultimatum issued by management. The strikers did not act jointly with their unions but acted as workers only.

The last national strike called by COSATU against privatisation of the port took place in October/November 2001 and lasted about three days. Strikers were demanding a 35 percent wage increase in addition to an increased night shift allowance, with 48 of the workers affected.

The strike resulted in more work for casual labour, while permanent workers lost out as the “no work, no pay” principle was applied. Ship movements, off-loading of containers and the entire operations of the port were also badly affected. The strike had a negative impact as it resulted in the increased exploitation of casuals, and several new labour brokers emerged. (Nkosi: Interview – 22 December 2002).

There is no Bargaining Council, and subsequently employment and working conditions are unfavourable as they are dictated by port users, who pay labour brokers instead of paying workers directly. Consequently, workers have no benefits such as a provident fund, nor do they receive compensation for injury on duty as some labour brokers are not registered and have no offices. Workers also have no protective clothing or safety gear, and are exposed to chemicals from manganese, coal, wheat and different types of soils. This results in many casuals suffering from TB and dying from the disease, while workers who complain are dismissed. Nkosi describes these working conditions by saying that “this is slavery, and perhaps apartheid days were better than the ones they were currently experiencing”. (Interview – 22 December 2002).

Companies differ when it comes to safety regulations as some are sensitive to the Occupation, Health and Safety Act. These force the labour broker to comply and recently trained Safety Coordinators, with management keeping performance-based safety measures in terms of ratification of No 137 and No 152 of the International Labour Organisation. It is also argued that there are no safety measures as about 90 percent of the casuals use their own clothes, and the entire workforce in Richards Bay has no protective clothing.

(Nkosi: Interview – 22 December 2002).

The interaction between Government and the port users take place through Department of Labour when it comes to administering U.I.F. and the SETA levy, and the Department of Transport when it comes to regulating the port. “Government departments have no role but now want to interfere as they want to privatise the port, which raises a serious concern for workers”. (Prouce: Interview – 19 December 2002). On the other hand, Wood argues that “Government’s contribution towards improved conditions of employment is through the Labour Relations Act as recent amendments were able to level the playing ground between labour and management when compared to the previous LRA which favoured labour”. (Interview – 16 January 2003).

Operations between the wharves also differ, depending on the cargo they are handling, while new machinery and systems have been introduced, and a new form of communication between clients and labour brokers was finalised at the end of 2003.

These moves led to workers acquiring new skills to operate these machines, such as cargo co-coordinators and scanning skills. Labour brokers were also forced to train casual workers to acquire these skills in order to survive in the competition with other labour brokers, and don’t take conditions of employment into account. Workers say that: “labour brokerage must be closed, as they don’t improve working conditions except promoting slavery in the port”. (Nkosi: Interview – 22 December 2002).

Unions initially resisted casual labour terms, but later negotiated a “good” package, while companies like Freight Dynamics moved completely over to casual workers after negotiating with SATAWU. SA Stevedores did away with permanent workers and hire through a labour broker, and TMS-Shezi and P&O Ports are also moving in the same direction.

Containers were introduced in the late 1970s, causing many workers to be retrenched, and other labour-cutting measures fol-

lowed, such as computer-operated gantry cranes for loading containers, and forklift equipment, floating gantries, and small planes for transporting ship's crew. Privatisation also led to changes to meet competition in the industry. For example, casual labour terms introduced by port users led to more permanent workers losing their positions. Meanwhile, production in the port is not improving as it is presently handling 12 to 15 boxes or container an hour compared to European ports, which handle 42 an hour.

The categories of casual workers in the port include skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled or general workers. Skilled labour is employed for positions like crane drivers, truck drivers, forklift drivers, tractor drivers, gangways, cargo controllers, supervisors or *induna*, and lashers as well as general workers. Unskilled or general workers must at least have had some experience in naming tools or equipment used.

The role of the National Port Authority or landlord is to ensure safety environment and stability in the port, and it is not involved with the employment of workers. The South African Port Operators or users are SA Stevedores, P&O Ports and Greystone.

The agreed procedure for collective bargaining is the Service Level Agreement. SATAWU and SEIU participate but D&GWU is not recognised. Changes were negotiated between management and workers, who were represented by SATAWU and PUSEMO in the early stages. However, only SATAWU was present at a later stage, and PUSEMO was derecognised after the disappearance of officials. For example, the company retrenched 250 workers by the end of December 2002, including permanent and guaranteed permanent workers, who were represented throughout the proceedings. Even non-union workers participated. One of the main problems here is that if workers join a union they face the possibility of not being able to find future employment through a labour broker.

NDLS was designed as an umbrella body for dock workers with different skills, and functioned as a pool system where labour would

be hired when it was needed. It also served as a pilot project in Durban. If it succeeded it would be implemented nationally in other ports. At the inception it had 1,500 workers with different skills, but it failed because of monopoly – when workers went on strike port users had no alternative means of hiring labour. It was therefore viewed as a communist concept by port users.

NDLS collapsed because it was unmanageable, uncontrollable and ungovernable – leaders were taught in Amsterdam where it is active, and failed to understand the nature of the operation. Employees set their own pace when working and refused to be searched by security officers, and when union members tried to explain the system to workers they were challenged and regarded as collaborating with management.

There are plans to revive what NDLS stood for, which is training and equipping workers with various skills, a guaranteed three working days, and ensuring that pool workers receive the same benefits. However, the name of the organisation will be changed.

Attendance of workers, whose average age is 57, is good as the ‘no-work no-pay’ principle applies, with the exception of AIDS, which is affecting some workers. Other companies use different strategies to motivate workers to turn up for duty every day. For example, Wood points out that: “Attendance improved drastically after the company came up with a guaranteed 60 to 80 hours a fortnight plan as most guaranteed permanent workers used to be absent on Fridays and Mondays. Furthermore, casual attendance was poor because as they were not guaranteed work, they were losing money on transport costs when they did not work. The majority of overseas ports in Australia and Europe use this type of guaranteed, flexible staffing to save costs”. (Interview: 16 January 2003).

The difference with other ports such as Richards Bay is that labour brokers formed an association that ensures no competition and the rotation of hiring of labour amongst labour brokers. Another difference is that Durban harbour is responsible for between 60

percent and 68 percent of the South African economy, with about 2,000 to 3,000 ships calling at the port every year, compared to the annual quota of 250 to 350 ships handled by Port Elizabeth.

2. Findings

2. 1.

(a) Types of workers

Casuals are employed in a different capacity to heavy duty, tractor, driver, forklift and crane drivers, cargo controllers, lashing hands, 'boss boy' and general workers, and therefore differ in terms of grades, wages or salaries, and workers in these capacities: -

1. Skilled worker

This worker has formal training from a college for further learning or related institution to equip him for a particular position, and possesses a certificate to that effect. Examples are cartage drivers, electricians and motor mechanics, and millwright examiners.

2. Semi-skilled worker

He has received informal training from his employer to perform his job, and does not have a certificate. Some forklift drivers, gangway men and cargo controllers fall into this category.

3. Unskilled/general worker

This refers to a worker who has no training for a specific job, and who either does general work or assists skilled or semi-skilled workers.

4. Permanent workers

They are employed on a full-time basis and enjoy benefits such as a provident fund, medical aid, annual leave and an annual bonus.

5. Guaranteed permanent worker

Typically stevedores, these men have a set number of guaranteed working hours a month and enjoy the same benefits as permanent workers on a pro rata basis. They have a guaranteed 60 to 80 hours a fortnight, and receive a salary from the company even if they did not work.

6. Casual workers

They are not guaranteed fixed working hours or days, can be skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled, and do not receive benefits such as provident fund, medical aid and sick leave – all they have to fall back on are unemployment benefits.

7. Full time temporary/casual workers

This worker has three fixed working days a week for which they are guaranteed payment, in addition to annual leave calculated at a pro rata rate, and U.I.F.

b) Conditions of employment

Respondents indicated that their annual leave and bonus is paid on pro rata conditions, which are: annual leave calculated at a pro rata rate – SAS; no annual leave; one-month annual leave; annual leave.

This information reveals that business units and trade unions determine when to improve working conditions, which can sometimes improve. But even if and when they do, workers can find themselves even worse off than before, as there is nothing tangible to show for any changes made. The only sound improvement is the new policy to enforce safety clothing.

No progressive changes have been introduced except for destructive measures introduced by the new management. For example, drivers falling under Portnet in 1994 used to earn R25 an

hour, but now earn only R12.45, despite the increased cost of living. They also used to be transferred to another ship after finishing their shift early, but this no longer happens. They are also not paid if it should rain, which used to be the case.

No changes have been made to the following: the transference to TMS-Shezi with conditions of employment and rotation of three-shift system, sub-contract workers, people of colour, women facilitation, disabled people, outsourcing of non-core business such as cleaning services with contract workers hired by different company and painting of machines section, the introduction of casuals in the workshop in the past seven years, unqualified mechanics, payment at the same rate as qualified mechanics, introduction of one casual per day, casual drivers in the Fleet Section during festive season, hiring of casual workers through a labour broker, the split of Portnet from the National Port Authority and SAPO.

Respondents were not happy with the fact that employers introduced changes without any prior consultation. For example, when the company transferred workers to TMS-Shezi, with associated conditions of employment and the rotation of three-shift system unions and workers were only informed after the move had taken place.

(c) Work environment

Work satisfaction differs from department to department. Some workers are happy, while others reported working without food at times, or that they had to contend with a lot of dust when working with coal. Others were happy as long as they had a job for a certain time, while others were concerned because they had no guaranteed working hours, and want guaranteed pay, even if they should finish their work early. Permanent workers also have different work experiences: some found their day satisfactory, while others felt that there was too much pressure about efficiency, or that they had ups and downs.

Casual workers started their employment at different times between 1987 and 2000, and some were transferred from a different company, whereas some permanent workers interviewed started as long ago as 1966.

The number of casuals doing the same work on the same day also differs from day to day and shift to shift, depending on the work load. For example, there are sometimes about 43 cartage drivers (external), 12 cargo controllers, 56 general workers or six booking clerks on a shift. Permanent workers differ from casuals, as the numbers of workers doing the same work does not change. For example, there are four electricians a day in the maintenance department, three in the mechanical handling department, and eight in electrical mechanical.

All the casual workers have supervisors, who do not participate in the working environment, and are only present at the labour broker's offices when casuals are booked in and handed over to their foreman at the workplace, while permanent workers have supervisors in the workplace.

A recent change in the workplace is promoting untrained supervisors to supervise skilled workers. For example somebody who has no driving skills or licence supervises drivers. Changes in the working pattern is another recent introduction, as in the example given earlier, where workers are no longer transferred to another ship to complete their shift, and do not receive for full pay in case of a rainy day. Another example is the introduction of women employees, disabled workers, Black workers in former Whites only work, casual labour in the workshop, sub-contracting in other departments, unqualified workers receive the same rate as permanent workers in the mechanical handling section, and reducing working hours. Factors cited for causing deteriorating working conditions include cancelling overtime after eight hours, and reducing the night shift and Saturday allowance.

d) Representation

The following table reveals workers' responses to questions on representation.

Table 3 –Dockworkers speak up

(a) Employer/ employee relations	No relationship; not bad; not good; is good; fair for now but sometimes management takes unilateral decisions.
(b) Grievance procedure	There is a grievance procedure but it is not effective as it is hardly followed by the company; have grievance procedure although is not used; they don't have a grievance procedure.
(c) How it is used?	It is not effective as it is hardly followed by the company; it is not used.
(d) How are grievances submitted?	A mandate is submitted through shop stewards after a meeting with other workers; submit grievances by convening a meeting with management; submit grievance through shop stewards who submit it to the organiser who arranges meeting with management; no place to submit grievances – (SAS).
(e) How to improve conditions?	By requesting management to give us training. For example in case forklift licences expire; by organising things for us as workers; through negotiations between unions and management; giving mandate to shop stewards who then meet management.
(f) How are mandates submitted to the union?	Generally speaking, shop stewards are given a mandate after workers hold a meeting and draw up a list of demands for the employer (for example, workers wrote a grievance letter in August 21, 2002 with eight demands). Shop stewards then liaise with an organiser and meet with management to submit demands.

(g) Main problems	Bad deterioration of all other conditions of employment generally; the failure by the company to increase wages for past two years and the reduction of salaries (for example before the NDLS forklift drivers were paid R12.50, during NDLS it was R9.98 and it is now R11.50); no protective clothing; no good working environment; no report back on meetings between shop stewards and management; change of management; management fail to keep their promise and change dates of employment; no wage increase and refusal by the company to give me my forklift-driving certificate; the employer is not registering us as permanent workers; we don't have a say in the workplace and don't get training for other skills; retrenchment of all old workers; no organisational rights; no safety; no guaranteed work and no benefits; low wages and unlawful deductions from the salaries; management and trade union are not helpful; no feedback after communicating with management and in case they buy or sell new machinery.
(h) How are problems addressed?	Problems are not resolved as we don't get any assistance in addressing them; problems are nowhere near resolution; by getting advice from union lawyers; resolved through meetings and consultation between parties; the trade union is not helpful and shop stewards address them.
(i) Representation by the union?	They are no help to us (this has led workers to tackle grievances themselves); the union loses most cases; it is minimal; organisers are slow when it comes to resolving problems; it can be good.
(j) Thoughts about the union.	The union is useless; I am not sure about the future with my union; there is no hope; I am not sure about the union I belong to; if there is any alternative I will resign; it needs to improve member assistance.

2.2

Problems in Workers' Representation

Most casuals feel that there was no consultation when changes were introduced as their unions did not inform them when these took place. (For example when they were transferred from Privest to TMS-Shezi they were not consulted) whilst some permanent workers said that there was no proper consultation as there was no input from workers. For example in the mechanical handling section there was no input from workers or trade unions, casual labour was introduced and casuals were paid for 48 hours when working the afternoon shift. Other permanent workers however felt that their unions enabled proper consultation between management and workers.

Most casuals were not sure about how many workers were affected when changes were introduced as there was a lack communication between unions and membership.

Another problem is that there are several active unions in the sector and they are not effective enough, such as SATAWU, UTATU, D&GWU, UPUSA and SEIU. Furthermore, casuals' working hours are not guaranteed and shifts have rotating workers. Another problem is deteriorating working conditions under unions, while some unions have a closed shop agreement and fail to help workers or act on the grievances they have submitted. This has led to workers turning to lawyers for advice as most grievances are nowhere near being resolved. Lack of union assistance has demoralised workers to the extent of some not being sure about continuing their memberships. Some see no hope in resolving unsatisfactory conditions, while others say they need something else to help them with their problems.

2.3.

Obstacles

One obstacle mentioned is that unions such as SATAWU have a closed shop agreement with bosses while they have a joint venture. This type of relationship is questioned by other workers as it blamed for workers' interests being compromised by SATAWU. This is confirmed by the list of demands sent by workers in August 2002 instead of going through shop stewards.

Another obstacle is that the closed shop agreement forces all other workers to join SATAWU, which prevents the growth of other unions such as D&GWU as some of the clauses note that "the employee will have to sign a SATAWU joining form before he or she becomes registered with Ilanga TMS, and the employee refusing to join the union or resigning from it will be dismissed from Ilanga TMS..." Workers are therefore compromised and are losing faith in all trade unions, as they are not receiving the help or results they want and need.

The following section attempts to capture the true effects of changes on the workers.

A total onslaught faces Black African families/ workers today: a case of the *Afrophobic* violence that engulfed African communities in occupied Azania (South Africa) and the world in general.

"Until the lions have spoken, the only history will be that of the hunters".

(Hawi, 2005:6)

Introduction

This chapter will examine contemporary African borders as well

as their historical definition and purpose in today's socio-political terrain in an attempt to understand the African borders discourse and their impact on the survival and security of the daily livelihoods of black Africans. In so doing, it will also look at the violence that continues to haunt the black African world and its populace in varying degrees as time goes by, especially the recent series of acts of violence in the southern tip of the mighty African continent. The violence that continues to engulf the black African community in general, especially in several past months in Azania, revealed the true social and economic conditions under which previously disadvantaged people still live. This violence came at a time when the political situation in the country – and Africa in general – remains as tense as it was in the apartheid times of Botha and his gangs. Another normal practice is to spread media propaganda through the exploitation of airwaves and destruction of the environment through written or printed material.

Thus, this paper argues that the media remains a master's voice as always, because it still dismally fails to report accurate information on what is happening. This raises the question of whether those who do the writing or are in control of the buttons that tend to produce false information are sober minded, or some sick characters who are interested in spreading lies about the true happenings in our communities. This misleading reporting of unrest in our communities needs to be challenged, as continuing to make people believe that the problem is about work amongst the so-called workers actually makes this happen. Whilst in fact the real reason is that the media continues to ignore the truth: what is going in the black African communities is the violence that is waged through the various strategies of the colonisers. It will therefore be wise to highlight some of the causes of the violence that continues to shatter the livelihoods of the working populace, and that these are still the same old forces of colonisation as they were pre-1994.

Background

When we speak of the current state of African borders and their rationale, it will be impossible to deal with such issues without talking about the historic land dispossession of the indigenous people or the occupiers of that land in general, especially in Africa. It is well-known fact that border demarcation disputes normally emerge when the government authorities attempt to implement some requirements of the law of the state. The present border demarcation disputes have been recorded in various historic epochs, although the actual reasons for what has led to these disputes have varied amongst the participating stakeholders.

Therefore, it will be vital to look at definitions of what we are talking about when we speak of border demarcation. Firstly, let's look at demarcation, which *Your Dictionary* on the internet defines as "the act of setting and marking limits or boundaries or a limit or boundary or a separation or distinction". When we look at definitions of border demarcation by modern scholars such as Sambani (2000), who looks at "partition" with reference to demarcation, the term is defined as "war outcome that involves both border adjustment and demographic changes". (O'Leary, 2006:7). Sambani's definition also highlights the fact that demands for demographic changes are the result of war. However, O'Leary (2006) emphasises that we need to be aware that such definitions tend to be too broad, as the indication of border adjustment incorporates secessions and partitions. It is worth noting that partition entails a border adjustment since there is an unmarked, verbal border, whilst secession only brings about border transformation, which means a breakdown of the previous autonomous state and changing a previously agreed on border to a self-governing demarcation.

O'Leary (2006) argues further that it is realistic to foresee that partitions are the basis for demographic and border alterations that take place after hostilities, but that nevertheless the end result

should not be included in the definition. The reason for this is its exclusion of the prospect of anticipated partition that stimulated the end of confrontation. Although Sambani acknowledges that other scholars utilise secession and partition as likely alternatives, political scientists like Peter Taylor (1993) argue that partition is the separation of a country into various components. O'Leary's view is that "break up, division or divorce, of an empire or state under a common sovereign" of existing internal jurisdictions may involve a number of secessions that do not constitute a partition, except in cases where there is a new demarcation (2006). This view is similar to Taylor's and that of other political scientists, who stress that the separation of nation or state into two or more territories may form a new state. Modern scholars like Donald Horowitz (1985) and Alex Heraclides (1991) deal differently with the issue of partition. However, Horowitz's (1985) definition of partition as a "radical surgery ... separating the antagonists" (O'Leary, 2006) tends to fail to depict any sharp difference between secession and partition, especially when discussing partitions, while Heraclides (1991) highlights the distinction that identifies partition as "the formation of two or more states by mutual consent". At the same time, he notes that a secession is "an abrupt unilateral move to independence on the part of a region that is a metropolitan territory of a sovereign independent state" which is "opposed by the political centre". (O'Leary, 2006). He further highlights that the margin can normally be unclear between secession, which is defined as unacceptable in international law, and partition, which is defined as acceptable in international law. Therefore, O'Leary argues that it is accurate only in cases where partitions match his description, which requires approval (2006).

Another scholar, Chaim Kaufmann (1998), differentiates partitions from secessions in an investigative manner, as he describes secessions as unilateral breaks from a state, while partitions are either mutually decided or forced (O'Leary, 2006:9).

O'Leary (2006) argues further that some groups may not have any authority in self-government in the organs that administered their homelands. However, due to historic developments that were suppressed by some and consequently led to abuse of the partition that may accompany secession and national liberation, the two are theoretically separate. Therefore, partition should be differentiated from both secession and from the recognition of secession by a political core. In addition, empires or nation states or provinces implement partitions. Secession "is an action of regions or provinces that may be accepted by the political core (O'Leary, 2006). It is argued that in contrast nation states sometime implement partition, especially in a separate region against a national liberation movement, or due to the decreasing size of the region (O'Leary, 2006:11).

Furthermore, it is noted that partitioning can be politically motivated. In cases where there are no changes to provincial borders, then such partitioning could be regarded as decolonisation where there was agreement, or recklessness in cases where there was not. (O'Leary, 2006:10). Therefore, it is significant to highlight that O'Leary notes that border demarcation is aimed at legalising or resolving national, ethnic or community disputes and that there are four identifiable categories: firstly, whether it is national partition or multinational polities; secondly, whether national partition separates comparatively homogenous nations in the homelands; thirdly, national partitions are identified by mutual non-recognition of respective regimes, although this can lead to friendship renewal and mutual existence; and fourthly, national partitions are safeguarded in cases where partition has an ideological base (2006:14).

O'Leary (2006) revealed how these categories manifest in various socio-political environments, where multinational partition-type splits are based on ethnicity, religion and community or national mixed policies. In the partition of empires, border demarcations cut across homeland borders. This leads to the redrawing of a single

amalgamation that will establish new borders that match the ethno-national homelands or linguistic components that are seen to be reviving border architectures, instead of new borders, particularly in cases of mutual agreements. In cases where the partition is spearheaded by external or internal players, the internal partition utilised hierarchical management methods to classify one or more ethno-national groups and baffle and manipulate others. This is seen in cases of gaining an unfair political advantage and provincial destruction of the dominated ethno-national group(s). It is also significant to note that in other instances, internal partitioning is intended to divide territorially mixed entities as a strategy to diffuse conflicts amongst national, ethnic or religious communities and eventually consolidating control instead of integration. Agents promoting, supporting and implementing partition are distinguished by their status; whether they are outsiders (including colonists/imperialists, interventionists or a coalition of occupational groups) or insiders (including central government and local partners). It is worth noting that in cases where the national liberation movement fought for freedom from the imperialist forces they created their own self-proclaimed national territory, which led to a new border demarcation across the established homelands and other national communities (O'Leary, 2006:12). The political standing of the partitioned units can be seen by the political state of the territories and people who are being partitioned; for example in external cases this is where people have lost the war and in internal cases it may be provinces with the same entities and legal status as other conquered provinces (O'Leary, 2006:11).

Therefore, it is significant to note that partition is a political decision that is determined by an imperial or external state due to the irreconcilable dispute between local rival parties, or perhaps as an intervention strategy (O'Leary, 2006:21). O'Leary argues that partitions don't guarantee a better environment since most partitions have supported privileged and dominant minorities. In addition,

partitions can be reversed, just like annexation and occupations. For example, in the twentieth century, China overturned the European imperialist partition of the country and today the reversal of partitions of nations has been turned around. There are two determining factors in reversing partitions; demography and geopolitics (O’Leary, 2006:22). When we look at a global level, the present Judicial Courts acknowledge the right to political participation, which goes back to the Middle Ages. The present borders of the African continent tend to follow the basis of Roman-Dutch law, which upholds white supremacy values, especially above African values in line with the colonisation mandate. It is worth noting that any development that is guided by the current judicial system will continue denying control of the indigenous populace over their land. Hence, the question of border demarcation is based on a political decision, and it is therefore significant to examine how political decisions are enforced, especially in Africa and other formerly related colonised countries. Perhaps for us to have a better understanding of the state of the current African borders and their rationale, it is necessary to revisit the definition of the term “violence”, as political decisions are normally enforced through violence. If we look at the World Health Organisation’s definition, it highlights the fact that violence is “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation”. (World Health Organisation, 2002:5).

Figure 3: A typology of violence



Source: World Health Organisation's *First world report on violence and health* (2002).

The *First world report on violence and health* (WRVH) also presents a typology of violence that cannot be generally accepted but can, however, be useful when one attempts to understand the context in which violence occurs and the interactions between types of violence. This typology defines four situations in which violence may occur: physical, sexual, psychological attack and deprivation. Additionally it divides the common definition of violence into three sub-types based on the victim-perpetrator relationship.

When we look at each sub-type and its definition:

- *Self-directed violence* means violence in which the executor and the victim are the same individual. This type is further divided into *self-abuse* and *suicide*.
- *Interpersonal violence* refers to violence between individuals, and is subdivided into *family and intimate partner violence* and *community violence*. The former category includes child maltreatment, intimate partner violence and abuse of

elders, while the latter is broken down into *acquaintance* and *stranger* violence and includes youth violence, assault by strangers, violence related to property crimes, and violence in workplaces and other institutions.

- *Collective violence* refers to violence committed by larger groups of individuals and can be subdivided into social, political and economic violence –<http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/index.html>

For the above mentioned reasons, it will be vital to scrutinise the role violence plays in determining borders, especially in Africa. Firstly, lest we forget, when one speaks of workers the term normally refers to individuals or people who were forcefully removed from their lands in order to sell their labour power for their daily livelihood. Secondly, when we speak of Africa, we cannot divorce the fact that almost all African countries face the same political situation, as colonialist forces first opted to start sharing African land amongst them and killing at the Berlin Conference in the 1800s. For us to have better clarity on the violence that was utilised in Africa, it will be vital to briefly examine how the current African borders were drawn up.

A rationale of violence: Azania and Africa in pre-colonial and colonial borders establishment epochs

If one narrates the historical background of Azania or any part of the African continent there is not much difference as such, as these so-called states are the outcome of the same colonisation process. It is worth noting that the ancient African Empire reached as far as India, Mongolia and the Americas, which started to shrink around 2000 BC (Icke, 2001). The planning of the division of Africa, which started early in the fourth century and ended in Germany, is known today as the *scramble for Africa*, which started as early as 1700 BC and was consolidated in the 1800s at the Berlin Conference¹

(Rosenberg, 2008). These periods are significant in understanding the reasons that led to the migration of the indigenous people to the whole continent and the world. The first so-called scramble for Africa is known to be associated with the persecution of members of the ancient Christian church by Julius Caesar, which forced Africans to scatter all over the continent, followed by slavery (which has changed formats from unpaid to today's slaves, who are called workers). It is argued that this persecution of the African people was caused due to their continuous failure to follow their ancestors' traditions, and worship foreign gods and vanity instead (Icke, 2001).

Another colonising front for the Islamic colonialist force cannot be ignored when it comes to narrating the African colonisation process, especially when we speak of present borders. So in brief, I will highlight how the thieving Muhammadans (Mahometens) followed their white counterparts by claiming African land in the name of religion, like the westerners did with Christianity. For example, Chinweizu (2006) noted that in 640 AD, there were no Arab settlers of any kind in all those areas of land in the north of Africa which they occupy today. But greedy for plunder and greener pastures, Arab gangs left their homeland, Arabia, flying the flag of their newly found religion, Islam, and conquered Egypt by 642 AD. Thereafter, Egypt became their base for invading and seizing lebensraum all the way west to Morocco and Mauritania, and southwards along the Nile (Chinweizu, 2006).

However, the indigenous people in the southern part of Africa remain part and parcel of the whole community that were, and still are, facing the same persecution from the same old African enemies – the Roman Empire. Another significant fact is that the traditional communities of Africa form part of what is termed “communal system” (property owned collectively, with work done as a collective and goods shared out equally) (Jack and Johnson, 1995:57). The communal system operated under the auspices of

“*ubuntu*”, which is guided by theocratic fundamentals and values (Rodney, 1973: 22; Fuze, 1979: 9-11 & 90). Again, the livelihoods of the indigenous populace in the continent in general show that they believed in, and lived and were guided by *theocratic order*² (Mthembu, 2007). That is why the origins of African people in this southern part of Africa are regarded as part and parcel of what is termed Israelite (Magama, 1979; <http://www.angelfire.com/il2/HebrewIsraelites3/color2.html>). Around the 1600s the colonisation violence programme spearheaded by European settlers was experienced in the southern part of Africa and the continent in general, which altered the African subsistence community system. This land dispossession programme led to another bitter war of resistance against land dispossession/ alienation from their land. This is clearly illustrated by the earlier wars that led to the invention of borders within the southern part of Africa, and was first experienced in the Cape between the indigenous people versus the Dutch settlers. This war was followed by the British settlers and then the Zulus, and finally a series of subsequent wars, which are still continuing today (Wrong, 1946; Callinicos, 1990).

The colonialist violence programmes varied from region to region and were determined by the colonising country. As colonisers were bloodthirsty and hungry for the riches of Africa, they developed strategies for exerting power over the indigenous people to ensure their control. For example, in Azania in the late nineteenth century, British and Dutch colonists participated in barter as a form of exchange of goods. Traders later began to demand *money* (thus the introduction of the *monetary system*) instead of goods (see Callinicos, 1990: 2; Rodney, 1973:18). The *monetary system* is significant for the colonisers, as it helped them to put values exchanged in quantitative and fixed terms, rather than in subjective terms (see Wrong, 1946:376). Another significant strategy colonisers liked and are dependent upon even today is their Roman-Dutch law, which helped them to ‘legitimise’ their thuggery in the form

of legislation that entrenched the values and cultures of Europe. On the other hand, the policies adopted on this basis enabled the oppressors to alienate indigenous people from their land and from decision-making to increase their control over the environment, and finally to destroy indigenous values and cultures. In fulfilling their colonising spree, around 1760, colonisers in the south, in what is now Cape Town, passed legislation such as pass laws, and in 1809 this legislation was extended to all indigenous people in occupied Azania. Any resistance to these changes was dealt with by killing and imprisonment on the famous Robben Island, where some of these early prisoners came from royal families. Indigenous people were further forced to live in one place and possess *passes* (Callinicos, 1990).

With this background, African indigents were subjected to violence to sell their labour power. This later became known as cheap labour, and is still in practice today in Azania, just like in old Botha's South Africa. This dividing of African land amongst the colonisers followed the divide and rule principle that continues to be revived from time to time. In this southern part of the continent, these practices were mastered through employing various strategies of dividing workers into different segments (Callinicos, 1990). The first strategy of dividing 'workers' was according to their tribes and used borders drawn in Berlin to give the false impression that these indigenous people came from places such as Malawi, Egypt, Sudan and Nigeria, and were foreigners. Meanwhile, the colonisers attempted to deny the fact that a vast body of historical literature shows that all black Africans came from one source. This was followed by the hiring of foreign 'workers' who were also forcefully removed from their land, and came from as far away as Europe, India and China. The colonisers kept these divisions by the use of violence throughout the history of working life in the South African industrial workplaces, especially in the farming and mining sectors. This type of violence usually only affects black African people, and

is variously termed *tribal wars*³, *black-on-black violence*, *political violence* and *rape*⁴. Recently this violence against African people is labelled “xenophobia”. This is despite the fact that some media reports on the genuine nature of the violence exposed the fact that the attacks had even targeted Africans from this country, as some of the affected people had shown their South African identities.

What is very interesting about the violence against the indigenous African people is that it tends to change colours and names in line with the current political set-up, but still serves the same purpose of further alienating, depriving and denying the say the true owners have in deciding how to use their land to their best advantage in view of the ravaging poverty. The same violence that is being waged against the African people has been given names in order to continue to divide and better serve the colonialist masters and their puppets at the expense of the black working majority. When one understands the true formations of the African community, one will be in a better position to understand and interpret the true happenings in the past, instead of just commenting in order to satisfy the aspirations of the philanthropic agencies and their colonialist agenda. Therefore, for one to start labelling the past violence that took place in South Africa as xenophobia, it will be pure lies and won't tell the facts of the matter. It is a well-known fact that some of the so-called black Africans were also affected by violence, like Africans from other parts of Africa. This violence is not different from the same normally state-sponsored violence that erupted mainly in the mining compounds in the 1980s between tribes from all over Africa. It was very unlikely that such violence could happen, as the colonisers remain as vicious as ever, as they try to protect the stolen land with all means necessary. The most potent weapon in the hands of colonisers is the control of the mind of the colonised, as Steve Biko said in *I write what I like*. For one to say the past violence “amongst” Africans was xenophobia is nothing more than entrenchment of the divide and rule principles by treating Africans

according to the dirty work of Berlin., instead of revealing the fact that the violence targeted only African people. This means that it is *afrophobia*⁵, and security machineries like the police responded just as they did pre-1994. Afrophobia manifests itself through activities or behaviours that are related to the Stockholm syndrome – in other words, one of the reasons put forward as the cause of violence that took place in Azania was that the so-called foreign nationals took jobs away from the citizens of this country. Now this reason tends to be blind to the following question: who created the current borders in Africa and the manner in which worker mentality was established through forced labour as the means of meeting the daily livelihood of the indigenous people?

Government structures such as the police are geared to ensure the safety of white society and its structures, and not that of the indigenous people. This was more visible during the violence in the 1980s and 1990s, where police were very selective when it came to determining who could or could not march and carry the so-called traditional weapons. In case marchers threaten the colonisers' interests, they are immediately forced to obtain permission to march in protest and wave a flag or carry traditional weapons. If defiance occurs, the most trusted and notorious western weapon of the patriarchal capitalist – the firearm – is used without any reservations. However, if the marchers strengthen the wishes of the colonisers, the police are willing to allow anything, including protecting the gangs who burn African people alive, and watch with their guns without making any attempt to put out the flames on a burning African. The division and continuous spreading of lies through the media is paramount for sustaining the labour sold by the colonised, as a strategy to shift the focus to the real issues would benefit the dispossessed black majority. This shift in focus is exacerbated by the elite, who tend to be caught up in what Abdullah and Low (2005) view as intellectual imperialism that has resulted in diverting attention from issues that should be of critical concern

to black African societies. When exploring this point (Snyman, 1997) notes that a critical theory should aspire “to identify the unresolved tensions in the existing social reality and thereby cause a change of consciousness” in dealing with future challenges and devising a lasting solution to the current outstanding problems on sustainable environment. Therefore, this paper argues that the history of capitalist ‘civilisation’ that offers Africa the opportunity to learn about reification from inside out for the first time means that working individuals are dispossessed and continue to be subjected under this type of development. In addition, they remain a saleable commodity, alienated from social processes. This has a dehumanising effect, of which they are aware. Furthermore, a critical theory (Snyman, 1997) is necessary because it will be guided by analysis of the historical process that has an interest in the future. The need for Africa and her children to redesign its decolonising self-image and create a new science-led and cultural awareness of its future is more than just a need (Roach, 1994).

In addition, the urgent need arises for Azania and Africa in general to start revisiting Asante’s (1987) Afrocentric notion of the promotion of indigenous African knowledge systems that argue for a scientific attempt for African development that is geared towards real African foundations, cultural possessions, habits and beliefs and not an imitation of the western approach to development (Hawi, 2005:6). There is a need to revisit African-centred traditions in almost all knowledge-producing systems, a need to move away from the exclusive use of a Eurocentric perspective when dealing with issues of decolonisation of Africa and relevant strategies. Therefore, this situation requires the intervention of all stakeholders to start addressing the true needs of African people from both dominant and marginalised cultures, and implement a realistic, practical strategy in dealing with current borders towards proper development (Oliver, 1988). I argue that the failure to give due acknowledgement to the Afrocentric approach to the African borders discourse in general will

be a clear sign of the continuous refusal or deliberate subordination or distortion of African knowledge systems by western scholars and their systems in general to decolonise Africa and her people (Kunnie, 2000:33).

In order for the colonised African majority to deal fairly and justly with past injustices, they need to start being serious about the future or survival of their race and take a stand, or else vanish in the world memory. This raises the need to start considering the linear thought approach suggested by Welsing (1991), who advocates progressing from problem perception towards problem solution, changing step-by-step anything that needs to be altered to achieve a total problem solution, which calls for whatever we have at our disposal. A critical theory is urgently needed, which poses a great challenge for leaders, scholars and think-tankers, especially from previously colonised countries and the African continent in particular. Doing this will help Africa to start changing what Welsing (1991) terms a circular thought of analytical pattern that tends to move away from problem solution by adopting a diversionary route, which results in coming back to the same problem insight. This type of problem solving of issues that affect workers globally will continue to force them to be chained to greedy capitalist forces. Lastly, it tends to force the African majority into compartments, whereas the problems affect them all in the same manner. The continuous failure to interpret social developments can be seen in the 'past' violence that targeted African people in Azania in general, which was defined as xenophobia instead of correctly defining it as Afrophobia.

In conclusion

Therefore, the usage of all forms of violence in establishing the colonised Africa in which the borders were drawn by colonisers still

exists today, and is a testimony of the colonial legacy which can't be ignored, especially when everybody clearly declares Africa free. Various forms of violence made the colonisation process a reality, including killing, rape, burning, torture, war, diseases such as HIV and those with chemical origins, and self-hatred programmes, racism, economic deprivation and forced foreign ideals of culture and values, to mention a few. Consequently, the continuous failure to reject the Berlin-drawn borders in Africa by various relevant stakeholders will be tantamount to what Abdullah and Low (2005) noted as the intellectual imperialism that has resulted in diverting attention from issues that should be of critical concern to black African societies. To this, (Snyman, 1997: 222) suggests a critical theory that aspires "to identify the unresolved tensions in the existing social reality and thereby cause a change of consciousness" in dealing with future challenges and devising a lasting solution to the current outstanding problems on current African borders. Therefore, I argue that because of the history of capitalist "civilisation" that offers Africa the opportunity to learn about reification from inside out for the first time, working individuals are dispossessed and continue to be subjected under this type of development. In addition, they remain a saleable commodity, alienated from social processes, which leads to dehumanisation (Snyman, 1997: 222). Furthermore, a critical theory (Snyman, 1997: 223) is necessary because it is "guided by analysis of the historical process that has an interest in the future" of an Africa free from colonisation of whatever nature. The need for Africa and her children to redesign borders and create a new science-led and culturally aware future is more than just a need (Roach, 1994).

Endnotes

1. Fourteen countries were represented by a large number

- of ambassadors when the conference opened in Berlin on November 15, 1884: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway (unified from 1814-1905), Turkey, and the United States of America. Major players in the conference were France, Germany, Great Britain and Portugal, as they control most of colonial Africa (Rosenberg, 2008).
2. The rule of people-by-people for the Creator (Jehovah in short Jah). For example, the Ngoni people such as the Xhosa and Zulu people (Jeremiah 2:3) practised the same rituals as the Jews in general, like the First Fruit ceremony and circumcision.
 3. Refers to the clashes which take place between two or more tribes, and especially amongst workers in the mines compounds and townships.
 4. The United Nations recently defined rape (2008) as one of the political weapons.
 5. This refers to a collaborative behaviour that is intended to submit to white society. In short this means selling one's soul in order to achieve material prosperity – http://www.experiencefestival.com/a/Afrophobia_-_Afrophobia_among_Blacks/id/4772567

The next section looks at the question:

Sports in an unequal society: a litany of South Africa – the 2010 Soccer World Cup: an oppressive western world ritual or just sport?

Introduction

This paper attempts to scrutinise the 2010 Soccer World Cup. I will start by looking briefly at the origins of this event that happens to be taking the world by storm. The paper will also look at the brief historical background of Azania and consequent to this, its selection to host this traditional event. Additionally, this paper will scrutinise the impact of the hopes that are emerging, particularly among previously disadvantaged communities, that preparations for the event will benefit their livelihoods. Lastly, the paper presents some suggestions that need to be considered in Azania as the country moves towards addressing past injustices. There is also the question of what will happen by hosting a sporting event of this nature in a country like South Africa, which is notorious for being one of the world's cradles of racist practices.

Brief background to participation in international sporting event[s]

The historical background of sporting in this country cannot be fairly dealt with without looking briefly at the apartheid era. It is a known fact that in the 1970s and 1980s, the South African regime was internationally excluded. The political system of apartheid, that forcefully alienated indigenous people from their land and denied social and economic opportunities and political rights to South Africa's black majority (Booth, 2003:477) was condemned outright by foreign governments, multinational corporations, churches, the media, campaign groups and individuals.

Some of the international action against the Republic included an embargo on the sale of military hardware, financial sanctions, refusing visas to South African officials and nationals, and boycotts of produce. These restrictions lasted for over 30 years. In the

1960s, proponents of the boycott simply sought to deracialise South African sport. By the end of the following decade, the sports boycott was one of a raft of resistance strategies aimed at isolating the South African regime and forcing it to abandon apartheid policies. Modern sport emerged as an institutionalised form of human activity in the late nineteenth century, propagated by propagandists and proselytisers, such as the founder of the Olympic movement, Pierre de Coubertin, and Avery Brundage constructed an enduring myth that sport defeated racism, religious and political prejudices and engendered social cohesion and integration (Booth, 2003:478).

Due to continuous resistance from the indigenous populace in general through various political organs, in 1977 members of the Black Consciousness Movement formed the Black People's Sports Council that opposed SACOS's position on negotiations and all contact between black and white sportsmen and women until South Africa had been freed from the yoke of western world colonisation (Booth, 2003:483). By the 1980s, black people demanded more than deracialisation of sport, as symbolic citizenship meant nothing to them till their stolen land was returned. However, the then ruling party, the National Party, began to deracialise sport, and the non-racial movement redefined the objectives of the boycott to suit the interest of the colonisers (Booth, 2003:482). Therefore, multinationalism, multiracialism and administrative autonomy were brought forward despite the fact that they were obviously inadequate reforms. Autonomous sport did not reflect an enlightened attitude towards race relations beyond voting in middle-class urban blacks – the sports-playing class. This was emphasised by the then minister for sport (who later became a South African State President) F.W. de Klerk, that the government expected sports officials to maintain “good order” and adhere to the “general laws of the land” – which meant the laws of notorious oppressive “Zuid-Afrika” (Booth, 2003:484).

In cohorts with the international community, the apartheid regime

forced the resistance movements to accept conditions that had been defined by their colonisers and promoted their values as the opposite of their existential suffering and negation of the conditions they held responsible for their plight. The promotion of the western concocted philosophy of democracy became the order of the day despite the blatant failure of such a philosophy to be adopted by, or benefit, the oppressed. “Democracy” and “non-racialism” were promoted as the opposites of racial oppression; and “socialism” as the alternative to capitalism and a panacea for exploitation and poverty. Whilst non-collaboration negated the state and provided a psychological escape from helplessness, it neither transformed the state nor empowered its victims.

After a series of political interventions by various social organs against oppressive rule that culminated in the launch of structures such as a new political bloc, the United Democratic Front (UDF) in August 1983, by over 600 organisations. This development coincided with the collapse of SACOS’s political respect. Resistance in the townships was at a high level in 1986 and the state had to calm down the ongoing township insurrection. A well-calculated participation by state institutions was then rolled out, using the trade union movement scenario in the workplace as evidence that participation in the apartheid system could bear fruit. This just happened to overlook the fact that parties would remain unequal even during negotiations as these were normally conducted in employer and employee relationships (Booth, 2003:485).

The response by the media and international community tended to be more favourable to the colonialist regime as they tended to treat the oppressed and oppressor in the same manner. For example, the ban on black soccer champion, Jomo Sono, who was prevented from playing in a series of international charity soccer matches to raise money for AIDS victims, was regarded as “irrational” by journalist Sekola Sello, as the system of the day was not concerned with the suffering and survival of colonised people (Booth, 2003:487).

When the then sports minister became State President and unbanned political parties such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Communist Party and the Pan African Congress (PAC) in February 1990, some political parties then abandoned the non-collaborative strategy. In this way the playing field was levelled and De Klerk's move put negotiations towards a deal on the agenda. In sport, officials from sports bodies and non-racial organisations met to negotiate the formation of democratic national controlling associations whose priority was to develop sport in the townships, not do away with them.

International reactions to these proposed structures varied, with de Klerk's reforms being called genuine whilst misleading (Booth, 2003:490). This was confirmed by Kkba Mbaye, who led an IOC delegation to South Africa in March 1991, and stated clearly that political rights were not, and never had been, on the IOC's agenda. Then we saw the IOC inviting South Africa to Barcelona in 1992; the following year South African sports enjoyed international recognition. However, it seems that many sports constitutions have simply been rewritten, with vague promises made still largely unfulfilled a decade later. Perhaps, before any endeavours are made in this respect, much more needs to be done about the challenges that are faced by the dispossessed black majority in the highly celebrated post-apartheid era in South Africa.

The brief origins of the Soccer World Cup - 2010

For us to be in a better position to understand what this paper is attempting to put across, one needs to consider the historical formative years of the Soccer World Cup up until the present day. The history of football/soccer states that originally it was not on the modern Olympic Games programme, although international football was in its infancy in 1896.

It would be a grave error not to mention the fact that the origins of the ancient Olympic Games are associated with several western legends and myths. For example, western idols or gods include Pelops, king of Olympia and eponymous hero of the Peloponnesus, to whom offerings were given during the Games. The Christian Clement of Alexandria asserted, “[The] *Olympian Games are nothing else than the funeral sacrifices of Pelops*”. There are several myths about the Games. We hear how Pelops overpowered the King and won the hand of his daughter Hippodamia with the assistance of Poseidon, an event that is connected to the subsequent fall of the house of Atreus and the sufferings of Oedipus. One myth concerns Horakles, who won a race at Olympia and then declared that the race should be held every four years, while another states that Zeus established the festival after his defeat of the Titan Cronus. There is also one about King Iphitos of Elis, who conferred with the Pythia – the Oracle at Delphi – in an attempt to salvage his people from war in the ninth century BC, and was subsequently advised by a prophetess to organise games in honour of the gods. The Spartan opponent of Iphitos then decided to stop the war during these games, which came to be known as the Olympic Games after the sanctuary of Olympia, where they were held.

Before one indulges in a historical narration of the Olympic Games, it is wise to scrutinise the reasoning for the event resurfacing. Therefore, it is worth noting that the framework of white supremacy culture is refined, as it is no longer customary to hang black Africans on trees and castrate¹ them – (as they did to *Jesus Christ*²) (Welsing, 1991: 70). Christ became a significant symbolic image that achieved its mission in white supremacy culture. In white Christian religious traditions, “Jesus dies on the cross by shedding his blood so that they (the Whites) can have everlasting life” (Welsing, 1999:69). The image of the white “Christ” was a response to the threat posed by black African male genitals and the need to control³ this threat through castration of the black genitals. The following words were

put on the cross, “*In Hoc Signo, Vinces*” – meaning that with the symbol of the cross they would conquer. Surely, this practice did exactly that by going around the world, ensuring that they would conquer black Africans (Icke, 2001:92).

The Roman Emperor Constantine 1 legitimised the barbaric act that decreed that Christian⁴ worship became lawful at the beginning of the white supremacy system (Icke, 2001:106). Lest we forget, the first Games started in Olympia, Greece, a sanctuary for the Greek gods near the towns of Elis and Pisa. The sanctuary of Zeus⁵ in Olympia housed a 12-metre high statue in ivory and gold of Zeus, the father of the Greek gods. The process of participation in the Games required that one had to qualify and have one’s name written down in the *lists*. Before being able to participate, every participant had to take an oath in front of the statue of Zeus, saying that he had been in training for 10 months. At this time, only young people were allowed to participate. The event was conducted in a very similar manner to the modern marathons – the runners would begin and end their event in the stadium, but the actual track wound through the Olympic grounds. The course would often flank important shrines and statues in the sanctuary and went past the Nike statue at the temple of Zeus before returning to the stadium.

The sport that was conducted in the *stadion* race, a race of about 190 metres, took its measure from the feet of Hercules. This race on foot led to the emergence of the word *stadium*. The Olympic Games was limited to male athletes, with only free men who spoke Greek being allowed to participate. The only way women were allowed to take part was to enter horses in the equestrian events. In 396 BC and again in 392 BC, the horses of a Spartan princess named Cynisca were among these. The Games were “international” to an extent, although they included athletes from the various Greek city-states as well as Greek colonies. Additionally, the early Olympics were held in the place where the Greek tradition of athletic nudity was first introduced in 720 BC. More events were added over

the years, including boxing, wrestling, pankration (regulated full-contact fighting, similar to today's mixed martial arts), chariot racing, several other running events like the *diaulos*, *hippios*, *dolichos*, and *hoplitodromos*, and a pentathlon, consisting of wrestling, *stadion*, long jump, javelin throw and discus throw. The addition of events resulted in the festival growing from one day to five days – three days were set aside for competitions, while two were dedicated to religious rituals. On the final day, a banquet was held for all participants that consisted of 100 oxen that had been sacrificed to Zeus on the first day of the Games. This is why, even in South Africa, they want to maintain the tradition of slaughtering cattle before the commencement of the event, just as they did in ancient times. (<http://www.opposingviews.com/articles/news-animal-sacrifice-planned-for-2010-world-cup-soccer-tournament>).

The Olympic Games were held at four-year intervals and these intervals later influenced the Greek method of counting the years still referred to as Games, using the term *Olympiad*⁶ for the period between two Games. It was normal practice for every Greek or European state to use its own dating system, a practice that continued for local events, which has led to confusion and disagreements among scholars about the actual date of commencement of the Games. One of the reasons for this is that Diodorus stated that there was a solar eclipse in the third year of the one hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, which can be regarded as the eclipse of 310 BC. This calculation therefore gives us a date of (mid-summer) 776 BC for the first year of the first Olympiad, which is contested.^[4]

The last running event added to the Olympic programme, the *hoplitodromos* or “Hoplite race”, was introduced in 520 BC and traditionally run as the last race of the day. For these games to continue, in 12 BC Herod gave financial support to enable their future survival. The Games were later suppressed by either Theodosius I in 393 AD or his grandson Theodosius II in 435 AD,^[6] as part of the campaign to impose “Christianity” as a state religion. The original

site of Olympia remained until an earthquake destroyed it in the sixth century AD. For the continuation of Zeus for the western world heritage, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association⁷ (*International Federation of Association Football*), commonly known by its acronym, FIFA, is the international governing body of football. Its headquarters are in Zürich, Switzerland and FIFA is responsible for the organisation and governance of football's major international tournaments, notably the FIFA World Cup, held since 1930. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) realised that change was essential to renew interest in the event and decided to admit professional players. FIFA did not want the Olympics to compete with the World Cup, so a concession was reached that permitted teams from Africa, Asia, Oceania, North America, Central America and the Caribbean to field their strongest professional sides, whilst only allowing UEFA and CONMEBOL teams to pick players who had not previously played in a World Cup. Many teams therefore fielded very young teams, including France.

FIFA has confederations which oversee the game in the different continents and regions of the world that subscribe to western world ideals. National federations, and not the continental confederations, are members of FIFA. The continental confederations are regulated by FIFA's by-laws and claim membership to both FIFA and the confederation in which their nation is geographically located for their teams to qualify for entry to FIFA's competitions. FIFA has six confederations in various parts of the world as follows:

AFC - Asian Football Confederation in Asia and Australia

CAF - Confédération Africaine de Football in Africa

CONCACAF - Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football in North America and Central America

CONMEBOL - Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol in South America

OFC - Oceania Football Confederation in Oceania

UEFA - Union Européenne de Football Association in Europe.

FIFA is characterised by the nations across the traditional boundary between Europe and Asia that have generally had their choice of confederation. This is seen in a number of transcontinental nations, including Russia, Turkey, Armenia and Azerbaijan that have chosen to become part of UEFA although vast areas of their land lie in Asia. Another example is Israel, which lies entirely within Asia but became part of UEFA in 1994 after decades of isolation by many of its Middle Eastern neighbours. While Kazakhstan moved from AFC to UEFA in 2002 and Australia moved from OFC to AFC in January 2006, countries such as Guyana and Suriname have always been CONCACAF members, despite being in the South American continent.

2010 Soccer World Cup and its impact on the socio-economic conditions in South Africa

The real intentions of the World Cup cannot be clearly understood without examining its impact on the livelihoods of the community [ies] it has supposedly come to entertain. The event is also meant “to mend some of the rifts which are still clearly evident in our society”. (Urquhart, 2008).

This paper looks at some of the incidences that have taken place since the announcement to host this sporting event in South Africa by FIFA President Sepp Blatter in Switzerland in May 2004 (Urquhart, 2008). The argument here is that the event is conducted in the same old spirit of the European political agenda. This is more apparent when we look at the manner in which the calculation of days is done in all the countries that happened to be part of Europe, as a colony or otherwise. We also need to take note that the Western

and Arabian worlds remain accused of maltreating the black African people concerning their inheritance. This took place through various barbaric and extremely vicious methods, such as slavery, modern slavery or worker mentality, land dispossessions, forced foreign cultural traditions such as the famous World Cup, forced abdication of African nobility, information deprivation and subjection to a *pseudo-educational system*⁸. This type of education is perpetuated in the colonies through inherited set norms that intensified after the granting of false freedoms to colonised countries like South Africa. Therefore, this shows that such false freedoms tended to be used as platforms to hypnotise the minds of the oppressed in order for their western colonialist masters to continue looting undisturbed in the name of civilisation (Mthembu, 2007b).

This type of false development manifests itself in our calendar system, which continues to ignore the fact that the current calendar system was forced onto this country in keeping with the ancient spirit of spreading European cultures and values to their colonies. For example, the Romans (in the same tradition as Greece in sports) under **Julius Caesar** established a reformed calendar system taken from the *Alexandrian science* and adapted it to the western world. This came into practice when Julius Caesar declared and authorised the revised version of the Roman Calendar System (Mthembu, 2007b). The doctoring of a solar calendar started around 47 BC and 46 BC, and Caesar's new calendar was based on the solar year being 365 days and six hours long. Romans therefore changed the names of months in dedication to their gods. For example, the month of July was originally named Quintilis after the fifth month, but was later named after Julius Caesar (Mthembu, 2007b). For example, *October 4, 1582 (Thursday) was the last day of the Julian Calendar for the Roman Papacy, and the next day, Friday, became October 15, 1582*. Again, *10 days* were not regarded as part of actual time measurement and were removed. At the same time, the Enochian Calendar corresponds to the time, which was *day 27*.

of_the_month_Ethanim_(seventh_month)_5588_ Currently, almost all western Christian religions still follow the calendric time established by the Julian Gregorian calendar. In addition, the new changes allowed for the Gregorian calendar to have a *duration of 146,097 days for every 400 years*. In short that meant the *first 300 years out of 400 years each had 36,524 days, while the last 100 years had 36,525 days each*. With this set-up, it takes about 3,300 years for the Gregorian calendar to exceed the accumulated solar time by almost one day, or to be out by about one day (Mthembu, 2007b).

This type of practice therefore contributed to what is defined as the underdevelopment of Africa in general (Walter, 1973). One of the western rituals of praising the sun also led to establishing December 25 as the day on which the longest night and the shortest day, or least amount of light, occurred. After that day, the sun was re-born again. In terms of terrestrial notion, there are six months of a rising sun, and six months of a setting son. Another crucial role played by the Church in the western world was setting up the existing social conditions where, through land dispossession and slavery, the vast majority of the populace, the African race in particular, effectively became the lowest class in society. For example, currently in occupied Azania, a religious denomination like the Roman Catholic Church owns about 50,000 acres of land, while approximately 13 million Africans have no land or permanent homes and live on the streets and in shantytowns, squashed in slave camps called townships, overcrowded buildings and tents (Mthembu, 2007b). Again, the western world played a significant role in the scramble for Africa as early as 1700 BC. This campaign was eventually instituted by the Roman Empire towards social transformation, which cannot be ignored. So, around 364 AD, the Church Council of Laodicea ordered that religious observances were to be conducted on Sundays instead of Saturdays. Sunday became the new Sabbath as they ruled that Christians should not, like the Jews, be idle on a Saturday, but should work on that

day. There are many indications in historical records that some Christians ignored the Church's ruling, with an example of Sabbath observance noted in Wales as late as 1115 AD. Francis Xavier was concerned about Sabbath worship in Goa, India in 1560 AD, and called for the Inquisition to set up an office there to get rid of what he called "Jewish wickedness". Another incident is when the Catholic Provincial Council suppressed the practice in Norway in 1435 AD (Mthembu, 2007b).

Another significant event was the battles fought by Princess of Kahina or Dahia against the ravaging Muslim Arab hordes who, in a similar fashion to their European counterparts, poured in from the Arabian Peninsula, intent on looting and seizing the ancient Berber lands. Despite the noble efforts of the Berber Princess, they eventually conquered and Arabised North Africa and the Middle East. This legacy of the Eastern Arabisation of Africa and her children remains in many places, amongst which are Morocco, Libya and Egypt. Another example is the death in 1492 of the non-Moslem Emperor Sonni Ali of West Africa-Songhay, when on his return from battle in the south he was replaced by a devout Moslem, who installed Islamic priests and preachers in the ancient African institution of higher learning –the University of Sankore. Therefore, for over 600 years, Africa experienced great devastation on a scale never before experienced, from the Arabian and European slave trades (Mthembu, 2007b). Therefore, this data helps one to understand the colonial processes that have led to the discrepancy of time-keeping and the general progress of black African/ Aethiopian people in general, as well their adherence to western ideals in Africa.

Therefore, I argue that the famous 2010 World Cup preparations are very similar, in tempo and style, to the system of primitive accumulation at a hypnotic level (a state where a person is made to believe that forgetting about real issues determines their survival, and focuses instead on minor issues like pleasure and its vanities

[in other words, forget about talking about land dispossession related issues and waste time watching soccer matches and drinking beer in the name of pleasure]) as preparations are characterised by corruption by some municipal/ state⁹ officials in the form of dealing treacherously with the indigenous populace with land where stadiums were built. For example, take the case of the land of the *farm workers*¹⁰ based at Mpumalanga, who were tricked into “selling” their ancestral land worth more than R60-million to the Mbombela Municipality to build the Mbombela World Cup Stadium¹¹ for an unbelievably low amount (Raath, 2008). The dispute in this regard reached a state where “our 2010 hopes are hanging in the balance... the whole project can continue while this cloud of corruption hangs over the tender process, unless they are going to say: ‘look, let’s sweep this under the carpet, build the stadium and we’ll deal with the process later’”. (Raath, 2008). This type of attitude goes along with the threats to people or communities who challenge the corruption by some soccer and government officials, as they are often told, “the building of the stadium has nothing to do with our World Cup hosting rights; FIFA can very easily take the tournament away from us”. (Raath, 2008). This tends to confirm what other people see as a development of our times, of global social processes that enrich a few and leave the majority poverty-stricken, while at the same time creating intense moral and political crises in almost all societies. This has resulted in destructive violence against humanity and nature in history (Berman, 2006:2). Additionally, the culture of modernity that powers the major institutions of industrial capitalism and the nation is undermining and threatening to destroy the central cultural foundations of any prevailing social order. Furthermore, Berman (2006) reminds us that “industrial capitalism, the nation-state, and the culture of modernity came to Africa and the rest of the black world specifically through forceful and crafty means in imposition of western hegemony”.

This manifests itself in the manner in which service delivery

measures for improving the livelihoods of black Africans is being dealt with. For example, the housing backlog in Azania is currently estimated to be between two and three million houses, which means that more than two million people are without access to electricity (Winkler, 2007). At the same time, when the black Africans in quarantine in the townships complain about lack of service delivery

“they are told that such a problem was not part of the budget. Therefore, this requires the community to submit the complaint and wait for the municipality’s next budget. In short this means that all problems that might arise will not be attended to until after 2010 because the budget for 2007 only covers the period up until 2010”.

(CCS report, 2007).

The construction sites of some of these stadiums were characterised by labour unrest (Maphumulo, 2008:1) whilst at the same time the true aspirations and values of the indigenous populace remain marginalised to a great extent. This was more visible during preparations for some ceremonies meant for the launch of the 2010 Soccer World Cup, as these tended to be more advantageous to the same old white and established business. For example, In 2007, when hundreds of Durban informal traders at the Warwick Street Market, where they have operated for more than 10 years, found themselves on the street without a place to trade after being evicted by eThekweni Municipality, as the premises they were occupying have been earmarked for a hotel as part of the planned developments for the 2010 Soccer World Cup (Mfusi, 2008). Furthermore, despite the fact that the colonialists promised to improve their conditions, they forced indigenous people to denounce their traditional ways of earning a livelihood and become workers in a system which tended to fail to keep its promise. Currently, this is manifested through the

high rate of unemployment, which has forced unemployed people to adopt their own methods of survival – labelled as informal trade by established business. Despite the commitment of unemployed people to respect the laws of the city in order to survive, their treatment remains racially motivated. This was confirmed Ms Mazibuko, who has been trading in the market for more than six years, and who said that the traders were being victimised for trying to earn an honest living.

“We are out on the street now and we will be arrested again and have our stock confiscated for making an honest living. This democracy of ours is a joke. When we ask for permits we don’t get them and now the government is taking away what little we have to feed our children,” she said Another trader, Mr Mvelase (not his real name), said: *“We pay R50 every Sunday to trade here. The city must not do this to us because we are low income traders. People from around the country come here every Sunday to buy our goods. We also contribute to the economy of the city.”*

(Mfusi, 2008).

The eThekweni Municipality officials don’t see anything wrong in evicting people – as long as the timetable for launching the playing fields for the pleasure of the western world agenda is on track, it is fine, even if this is at the expense of the survival strategies of unemployed people in general. This was confirmed by one of the municipal officials who said that the city could not help the traders and was quite comfortable with evicting 1,200 low income traders, who depended on the money they made there to survive, regardless of the socio-economic impact this would have on the city (Mfusi, 2008).

Another disturbing exercise is in the world of higher learning, where local community knowledge systems are treated as secondary to the

western knowledge systems. For example, graduation ceremonies are geared towards and have retained various rituals specifically for this purpose, like songs that are dedicated to the 'gods' of Greece or Europe. In institutions such as the University of KwaZulu-Natal, they still sing a song (*Gaudeamus Igitur*) at graduation ceremonies that is of Latin origin. They refuse to recognise the Imhotep Oath of Africa as the father of medicine of the universe and continue to use the Hippocratic Oath of Europe when swearing in their medical students. Traditions like these tend to challenge such institutions, as they profess to be seeking to be leaders in African education whilst practising the opposite. However, the song was composed as a form of dedication to western gods of ceremonies (Mthembu, 2008).

Almost all institutions of higher learning in the country still hold onto the apartheid values of the white supremacy agenda at the expense of the indigenous knowledge systems. Another such institution is the University of Witwatersrand in Gauteng, which still bears a name from the apartheid era, and displays statues of prominent figures from the same era. This institution has made public announcements about recognising African knowledge systems, but in reality this remains only lip service, with no tangible examples to show for such a declaration. So the need to decolonise Africa and her children demands a serious intervention that is accompanied by capable and trained personnel, who are sober minded and have the guts and political will to apply relevant intervention approaches for developing this mighty continent and her children, rather than the repetition of the same old limited European and Islamic colonising approaches towards addressing the challenges facing Azania and Africa today. This will demand a clear understanding of the basis of the foundations of the current political settlement.

Therefore, it is significant to revisit the approach and role players behind the political settlement that has brought no realistic solutions for resolving the problems that colonised people encounter when

trying to make a living, in their culture and values, and land redistribution. There are two liberal schools of thought that opposed and championed South Africa's apartheid sports policy approach as a means to a political settlement that ensures the further freedom of colonialist white racism and total Black African liberation onslaught. The first position argues that although apartheid is wrong, only through continued sports contact will South Africa be made to change her sports policy. For example, England has shown through sports successes that a multiracial society is a viable alternative to apartheid; South Africa was to change its apartheid policy, in sports at least, whilst other issues would remain the same. Thus, according to this argument, South African political players continued to get directives from western colonising and pirating gangs led by England, with specific sports tours strategies that formed the basis of the notion of multiracialism, both on and off the sports field, and in that create South Africa as apostles of multiracialism. Then there is the "crossing the Rubicon approach" (a bridge from constitutional apartheid policies to practical sustenance development apartheid fundamentals). This was developed and rolled out through sports administrators from outside South Africa (administrators of tennis and golf were primary advocates). The second school of thought argued for continued sporting contacts with South Africa, and nations committed to such contact were actually condoning and supporting apartheid policies. This liberal approach argued that a "meaningful" change in South African sports policies and change in general would happen by isolating it from the international sports community. Thus, according to this argument, the white population of South Africa, for whom sports are so important, will demand that the government change their sports policy in order to avoid isolation whilst enjoying the same spoils of colonialist apartheid policy.

A decolonisation process for total emancipation: the Afrocentric approach

For us to be in a better position to understand the challenges that face the dispossessed black African majority and come up with what needs to be done to resolve such challenges, it is vital to revisit some. It will be significant to scrutinise the 2010 soccer games, and the practices of this sport. The World Cup euphoria tends to intensify the ideals of capitalist subjugation, while at the same time legitimising its existence, and finally it consolidates the processes of further colonisation, which is termed neo-colonisation¹². The manner in which preparations for playing fields for this global football tournament have taken place seem to be following in the same steps as other social initiatives – for example, in ‘developmental’ initiatives or projects such as building dams, in the same country and more specifically the province of KwaZulu-Natal. This reminds me of the story told by Khumalo about the devastation that took place in her community due to the building of the Inanda Dam, which is situated about 40 kilometres north of eThekweni. Another example in sport is the continuous usage of a symbol, like the traditional and notorious South African Springbok colours and emblem in rugby, which represents a racial order (Lapchick (1979:161). Another very interesting cultural habit of referring to a Black African male as the “boy” is dehumanising and reduces them to a low status, as in the times of apartheid, where male garden workers were called “boys” and female domestic workers were called “girls”. This racist practice still rears its ugly head in sport today where freedom is said to be in the air. An example of such a practice is the names for the male and female South African soccer national teams – *bafana bafana* and *banyanya banyana* respectively, thus enforcing racism to its fullest. But most people today are at the stage of being hypnotised, and the buzz of the “special” event has misled the oppressed and dispossessed Black African majority, thus sustaining and advancing

a western world neo-colonisation programme in Africa in general.

Therefore, this tends to reveal that in reality real change in sport in South Africa is far from being realised. The new term, “multinationalism”, means little as long as the system itself is still based on apartheid principles (Lapchick 1979). It also suggests that some of the expectations and realities of the previously disadvantaged populace in the post-liberation struggle when it comes to issues such as self-determination in everything are still not seen and denied in areas of indigenous knowledge and spirituality and methods of making judgements. The need then arises for South Africa and Africa in general to start revisiting Asante’s (1987) *Afrocentric* notion of the promotion of African indigenous knowledge systems that argues for a scientific attempt for African development that is geared towards real African foundations, cultural possessions, habits and beliefs, and not an imitation of western approaches to development (Mthembu, 2007a). Therefore, this suggests that there is a need to start considering the usage of the Ethiopian (African) medical and indigenous knowledge systems that date back to ancient Egypt and beyond. Another interesting development is choosing the month of July to hold the 2010 World Cup. Lest we forget, the Romans changed the names of months in dedication to their gods, as the month of July was originally named Quintilis, which was their fifth month but later became the seventh month, dedicated to and named after Julius Caesar – the Roman leader (Mthembu, 2007b).

Conclusions

This paper is intended to shed some light on issues that remain unresolved to everyone who is committed to seeking total solutions to the problems that keeps haunting Azania and Africa specifically and the world in general. To this end, the critical Afrocentric approach

in analysis in scrutinising the current political and socio-economic realities that are normally embedded within the Eurocentric paradigm has been utilised.

The paper attempts to expose how fundamentals of a historical nature influence current changes that tend to dismally fail the pre-1994 aspirations of the land dispossessed black majority. It further reveals how current sporting events tend to be imposed and follow the same neo-colonial strategic route, which differs slightly from overt violence (which is imposed, like earlier colonising strategies) in that it exposes covert violence (which hypnotises the colonised into volunteering and facilitates their oppression through leisure programmes such as sports), although both types of violence have the common goal of colonisation. Lastly, this writing is meant to declare and fulfil what has been said by the legendary Rasta, Bob Marley, in one of his songs: “You can fool some of the people some of the time but you cannot fool all the people all the time”, and to prove that black liberation remains as unstoppable as ever: Ethiopia, land of the Blacks, shall prevail!!!

Endnotes

1. A process whereby a male has his testicles forcefully removed – in other words, “balls” that carry genetically material (Welsing, 1999).
2. For example, by the fourth century the colour had changed, from being a black African “Jesus” to a white “Christ”, as it was feared that the black male and his genitals would obliterate the whites genetically. This became the dominant symbol in the religious practices of the white supremacy culture (Welsing, 1999:70).
3. This is also confirmed by the fact that some scholars argue

that the “evil dragon” attempts to control the Earth by stealing “power stones” that include gold and diamonds, a process referred to as ME (Icke, 2001: 101). This further manifests itself in the manner in which colonisers changed names of mountains given by the indigenous African, such as Maluti/Ukhahlamba Mountain to “Drakenberg” in the Dutch language. In English it simply means “Dragon Mountain” in keeping with their old cultural traditions.

4. There are two fundamental secret powers of the western society network since the times of Julius Caesar and the likes: control over the dissemination of information to their selected few through the formation of “classes” (compartmentalisation) – in other words, the wealthy, the elite, and the working class, and the manipulation of events in the public spheres and control over the circulation of the surviving esoteric knowledge there. This was achieved through the creation of religions such as Christianity, Judaism and Islam, a “science” that enforced a authoritative short-range agenda, which is based on ‘hallucinatory’ ideals, and the marginalisation of indigenous African cultures and genocide, in particular the holders of knowledge such as elders (as an example, during the violence in the black African slave camps – the South African townships in the 1980s – old women were targeted and labelled as witches and this ‘legitimised’ their stoning and burning to death). This practice was alleged to have been perpetuated by the “third force”. (Icke, 2001:106; Welsing, 1991).
5. The Greek pantheon of “gods” is said to be non-human and live within the mountains or have their subterranean complexes that were entered through mountains. This is associated with some of the origins of the parable of the “holy” or “sacred” mountains. It is said that Zeus used to descend from the mountain to seed children with human women (Icke,

- 2001:100).
6. Ephorus was a historian who lived in the fourth century BC and it is believed to have invented the use of Olympiads to count years, much as we today use AD and BC.
 7. FIFA is an association established under the laws of Switzerland and has its headquarters in Zurich. The President and Secretary-General are the main officeholders of FIFA and are in charge of its daily administration, which is carried out by the General Secretariat, with its staff of approximately 280 members.
 8. A type of education that teaches an individual to imitate or assimilate the master, to forget, not question the master, succumb and hate to hear anything that reminded him/herself about the true self (Mthembu, 2007b)
 9. State refers to a body of agencies and offices to be controlled and manipulated beneath the façade of the official “development” notion, for a particular individual and specific communal benefits (Berman, 2006:10).
 10. Refers to indigenous people who were forcefully removed from their land (as part of the proletarianisation process that led to them being regarded as farm workers, as they are still forced to sell their labour power for their survival) through the colonisation process, employing violence and legislation such as the Land Act of 1919.
 11. The stadium will be a venue that has the capacity to accommodate 48,000 spectators.
 12. It’s a continuation of old western world colonisation with new changes; the inclusion of the elite and opportunist of the oppressed populace towards the championing of colonisers’ ideals in their culture and economic system at their peril and detriment.

Labour and labour movements in the globalised economy

Introduction

This paper attempts to dissect and identify the challenges faced by members of the labour force and labour movements in this highly celebrated capitalist era, especially by the wealthy, and highlight their associated problems and survival. It will also examine the constraints resulting from globalised economic policy demands and the consequences of drastic economic reform. The paper will further suggest that working class organisations missed the opportunity of achieving their perceived goal of socialism in their respective localities.

Before I look at these issues, I think it is wise not to forget that worldwide, all those who are presently wage earners have been made to sell their labour power for their survival. It is a known fact that in their colonising spree capitalists plundered the means of production, such as land, and forced the rightful owners to the perimeters to sell their labour power or perish. "The economics of political economy has revolved through eras where leading figures saw security as desirable or undesirable." (Standing, 1999:51). So in order for working people to survive these harsh conditions they organised themselves into trade unions. Unions generally engage in struggles on the shop floor as a means of addressing working conditions, but in some instances they engage in struggles for political emancipation. These struggles varied according to environment. For example, workers in Britain fight for better working conditions, whereas in South Africa workers were divided among racial lines¹ in the 1920s, and fight for rights varying from better working conditions to land dispossession by foreigners.²

It is not possible here to go into details about the differences in the rights workers in other countries fight for, but what is interesting is that workers in the early industrialised countries like Britain played

a meaningful role in influencing working class culture.³ (Baskin, 2000:53). This tendency tended to become a part of workers' struggles to the extent where workers around the world followed the same pattern of 'resolving' their problems. However, in some areas workers' struggles tended to be orchestrated by shop floor issues and political agendas.⁴ For example in the South African scenario the workers' struggle was highly influenced by political parties, almost all of whom ended up in government structures. This type of arrangement forces labour movements to follow their mother body's party line,⁵ which ends up forfeiting workers' interests. (Buhlungu, 2005:193-195; Von Holdt *et al*, 2005:311).

The twentieth century had two contending models – welfare state capitalism and state socialism, both of which share the common objective of making labour less flexible. (Standing, 1999: 51). In addition both these models were more focused on the interests of labouring men and advancing their fundamental needs and aspirations, because men and women everywhere were all expected to labour for wages for as long as they could. Currently, writers like Standing argue that globalisation is the dominant model in facilitating international division of labour and change in working conditions, as well as coercing governments to downscale labour rights and welfare benefits. (1999:73). We also need to understand that the present political framework of liberal democracy is nothing more than a Western philosophy for further colonisation, even if the terms are new. Globalisation is ideological, as well as being linked to economic liberalisation, which demands more labour market flexibility and forces governments to support large scale business ventures and amendments to social policy. (Standing, 1999:62-63).

Therefore, in these times of the 'modern' globalised capitalist economy, governments are forced to or willingly adopt the liberal economic policies that favour the rich at the expense of the poor, especially the poorly paid workers. For example, the South African

government adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic strategy and dropped the Reconstruction and Distribution Programme (RDP). This means in sectors such as labour, the interests of capital took priority over the interests of the poorly paid wage earner and dispossessed labour. (Noyoo, 1999:65). Organisations are therefore forced to restructure, due to various factors such as rapidly advancing technology, changing markets, globalisation and rising global competition. (Jarvis *et al*, 1999:27). In view of this organisations adopt continuous improvement measures. "Because it can speed up work dramatically or even replace labour, the introduction of new technology in a workplace usually results in restructuring and the introduction of new forms of work organisation". (Jarvis *et al*, 1999:27). Globalisation also leads to a lack of protective regulation and the lack of working class traditions and expectations such as collective bargaining on issues affecting workers everywhere. (Standing, 1999:63).

Globalisation and technological change raised income inequality in the workforce and unemployment, and increased the number of people seeking employment in other countries because of the lack of employment opportunities in their own. (Massey, 1999:318). McGovern (2003) argues further that the current feminisation of immigrant labour among Third World women in the changing transnational division reinforces gender, class, race and nationality inequality. According to Lindio-McGovern, this phenomenon resembles the continuation of 'old slavery', as some Africans serve as brokers in the slave trade as they benefited from it, and that even recent labour immigrants play a role in entrenching the chains of modern slavery, while Massey (1999:307) states that capitalists support labour supply as it helps to reduce wages and maintain a flexible labour market.

The issue of flexibility in the workplace has therefore brought about various changes in the livelihood of workers of both gender. This is confirmed by the increasing number of jobs in service

industries, which employ mostly women, while the number of jobs in manufacturing, where mainly men were employed, has declined. This has transformed class relationships, and created the rise of an 'underclass', which survives mainly on state funds. (Bradley, 1999:17). This also affects the 'traditional' division of labour in families, as men lose their status of breadwinners, learn new skills and 'feminise' their masculine personalities as they become a caring parent. (Bradley, 1999:18-19). He also poses that class and gender are terms that are used to understand the way in which societies differ not only from each other, but in the way in which resources and power is utilised. (1999:21). Any division among women is among career-orientated women, who are more like men, and 'family-oriented' women who join employment ranks on a part-time basis. (Bradley, 1999:29).

Writers like Castells point out that "networks" are fundamental to how new organisations are made, and will be made. (2000). Therefore, one can say networks refer to new communication processes used by companies where computers and the Internet play a pivotal role in communications. The term arises when the capitalist world economy is transforming itself by using electronics to reach the whole world or globe without wasting a second. Productivity is generated through, and competition is played out, in a global network of interaction between business networks. (Castells, 2000: 77). Furthermore, this new economic system is a source of information, because the productivity and competitiveness between firms, regions or nations fundamentally depended upon a capacity to generate, process, and apply efficient knowledge.

Business activity and the key performance of the main operations of management, financing, innovation, production, distribution, sales, and employee relations are predominantly conducted by the Internet, or other computer networks. (Castells, 2001: 65). In addition, the socio-technical transformation permeates the entire economic system and also affects all processes of value, creation,

value of exchange, and value of distribution. This transformation leads to a need for a new type of workforce, and if an organisation is not willing to adjust it either ends up in the history books or adjusts and becomes part of the game. Castells confirms this when he states that that labour is dependent on the ability to take initiatives, apply skills, reprogram itself, retrieve, process and apply information, be increasingly on line and also highly educated. (2001: 90-92).

This type of labour force calls for constant retraining, and a reliance process that continues throughout adult life. This demand for a highly skilled labour force puts pressure on the organisations or firms to adopt a team system, and facilitate easy interaction between workers and management, across the department and all levels with internet capability, as well as autonomy and involvement; a watered-down form of cooperative ownership. Furthermore, the communication system is increasingly speaking a universal, digital language, and integrating globally the production and distribution of sounds and cultural images and customising them to the tastes of the identities and moods of individuals.

This economy gradually transforms the old and notorious capitalist economy into a “new economy” because it specialises in the use of computer networks, and firms and nations are fundamentally dependent upon their capacity to generate, process and apply efficient knowledge-based information. (Castells (2000:77). Furthermore, the core activities of production, consumption and circulation, as well as their components such as capital, labour, raw materials, management, information technology and markets are organised on a global scale, either directly or through a network of linkages between economic agents. Workers lose their power to challenge as their trade union membership is on a casual basis. At the same time workers participate in decision making during production as they participate in teams. (Jarvis *et al*, 1999:132).

According to Standing (1999:80), the lack of opposition from trade unions creates political conditions which increase employer

control and decrease workers' protection. The new phase of global labour flexibility is accompanied by mass unemployment, strengthening the employer's bargaining position, and management takes advantage of workers' fears of unemployment and poverty to introduce labour and product innovations. Jarvis *et al* argue that labour is seen as flexible when it reaches a state where a worker is open and able to adapt to various approaches and also change swiftly from one approach to another. Labour flexibility is also seen differently by workers and management because workers view it as job insecurity, no guaranteed wage and unsatisfactory working conditions, while management views it as the manner in which the company is able to control its staff by reducing the number of full-time workers. (Jarvis *et al*, 1999:100-101).

Another assertion by Jarvis *et al* is that labour flexibility is divided into three categories; namely numeric, functions and wages. Numerically refers to the number of people hired and their working conditions. Workers are either regarded as core employees because they are permanent and highly trained, while others, who are mostly women and regarded as being on the periphery, are also referred to as flexible labour. This means that a worker performs different functions in his job. A good example is the retail company such as a supermarket, as they employ a number of permanent employees with benefits such as a pension fund, and also use casual labour at weekends, as they receive less pay and have no benefits. Wage flexibility refers to where wages depend on meeting targets and are not guaranteed.

The restructuring came with the "international best practice" of downsizing, outsourcing and privatisation in workplaces, especially in the public sector, and led to the rise of the contract and casualised workforce in the workplace and the reduction of trade union influence. (Naidoo, 2003).

Current research shows that in the past years, there has been an intensive anti-worker restructuring of the workplace, which

culminated in the reduction of benefits and rights. The 'market' has been making greater use of so-called atypical employment, including so-called independent contractors and labour brokers. (See table 4 below).

Table 4 below shows that the casual labour force increased by 55 percent in 2002, temporary and contract workers increased by 12,2 percent and 61,6 percent respectively, with an accompanying reduction in full-time employment.

Table 4: Changing forms of employment in key sector

Type of employment	Sector employment 1999	Sector employment 2002	Compound annual growth rate	% change from 1999 - 2002
Permanent employees: (full-time & part-time)	382,521	361,075	-1,9%	-5,6%
Casual labour	1,390	5, 179	55%	272,5%
Temporary labour	4,184	5, 906	12,2%	41,2%
Sub contracted labour	7,055	29,778	61,6%	322,1%
Total labour	394,479	401,938	0,6%	1,9%

Source: Naledi Report, 2003

The South African Social Attitudes Survey (2006) conducted by HSRC, indicates that perceptions of improvement/deterioration do not relate only to liberation from oppression, but also discontent among those who have either lost power or feel threatened by the abolition of the 'colour bar' - racism, which is more rife in the private sphere. In addition, whilst the study highlights that educational institutions and government departments have improved relations in workplaces, shopping centres and 'elsewhere', they revealed that the highest ratios still experience racial discrimination (Abbott, 1980:36; Netshitenzhe, 2006).

It seems as though the labour movement has failed to chart its way forward, and this has enabled the capitalists to influence the path ahead in their favour at the expense of the Black majority. It also seems that trade union movements have reached the end of the road as their leaders have been flocking to the ranks of the corporate world and government structures. It is clear that the trade union movement has abandoned its mission of defending job security, and has become an investor in the system that further subjugates its membership. It would seem that the only alternative for union leadership is to join capitalist ranks. De Villiers *et al* confirm this when they point out that Linz (1990) argues for a modest definition of strengthening democracy by saying that it is: -

“one in which none of the major political actors, parties, or organised interests, forces or institutions consider that there is any alternative to democratic processes to gain power, and that no political institution or group has a claim to veto the action of democratically elected decision makers. This does not mean that there are no minorities ready to challenge and question the legitimacy of democratic process through non-democratic means. It means, however, that the major players remain politically isolated. To put it simply, democracy must be seen as the “only game in town”.

(2000:35)

The labour movement needs to be a better position to prevent it from turning into organisational fossils that have no significant role to play in the contemporary work world. I believe that the trade union movement needs to change its strategy in order to survive and pursue its objectives further. Meanwhile, a handful of activists are starting to look back to past practices such as the era of social movement unionism of the 1990s, and imagining the revival of this. (Buhlangu, 2005:197).

In conclusion, different writers have indicated that the trade union movement has been derailed or has lost track as members have lost most of the benefits they used to enjoy. In view of this development, wage labour has undergone drastic change, going from a lifetime and permanent employment with fringe benefits such as housing subsidy and medical aid to a smaller workforce with fewer fringe benefits and an increased work load. This is accompanied by massive unemployment, while the labour movement has to contend with different views but “common” problems of reduced membership and less power. They are also divided into three categories: one still clings to racial segregation when registering members, the second holds steadfast to a marriage with political organisational alliances, and the third regards itself as independent.

Furthermore, these unions also differ in adjusting to the so-called global demand as they come into contact other unions when they travel, and learn that they share the same views, such privatisation of state assets. The approach of other unions has become intertwined with struggles that take place at social forums, especially when rich capitalists meet at international conferences. The last set of unions consists of mostly small unions in terms of membership and this segment is not very active in policy formulation gatherings as its leadership is only concerned with individual survival in terms of getting income in their comfort zones.

The sad part is that the senior leadership of the labour movement has joined the ranks of the opposition, which shows that they did not seem to know where they were heading. Based on the above information, I think chances are minimal of the current labour movement coming up with a sound program that is geared to what I call the liberation of the proletariat. Such developmental changes on the shop floor pose a serious challenge to the labour movement in general to reconsider their mandate or transform themselves into something that will remain relevant to the aspirations of the working population in general.

2.4

Educational System

Education remains the “privilege” of the selected few in the “new” South Africa.

We know that access to basic education is a fundamental human right for every child. It is a known fact that South Africa has a clear obligation to provide free basic education to all children. Why then is expulsion from school still the norm for many children from disadvantaged backgrounds?

I recently witnessed the mass expulsion of about 25 pupils for non-payment of their school fees while I was waiting to see the principal of one of the high schools in a township – one of those created for apartheid purposes as a labour reserve next to the city of Durban.

This type of landscape still represents the true scars of African deprivation, dehumanisation, segregation and continuation and sustenance of townships, and its clusters of shacks and informal settlements provide a stark contrast to the nearby shopping centre

Witnessing the expulsion of the pupils was a sobering moment. Their only fault was that they happened to be poor. This approach is detrimental to the building of young minds as well as the future nation. If we are a “new society” that preaches that the “doors of learning shall be open to all”, it is an outrage that this sentiment was not present in a township school, where the need is greatest.

It is not fair to penalise pupils because of their economic status. This type of learning experience is obviously traumatising and devaluing to those pupils who are summarily expelled for non-payment of school fees and raises other critical questions – for example, around the role of teachers.

Dignity

Teachers have an important role to play in ensuring that school-children are treated with dignity and fairness in the classroom. This begs the question, “What is the future of the expelled pupils, especially considering that their mid-year examinations were imminent?” Something has to be done.

I therefore decided to contact the principal of the school about this situation, who told me over the phone that the pupils had been expelled because their parents had failed to fulfil their promise of paying on the agreed date.

He further explained that the parents had a platform where they could highlight their concerns or problems about school fees, which they did not use. This type of educational system is nothing more than indirectly perpetuating the vision of the master of apartheid, Verwoerd⁶, in some of his statements on his expanded view of the racialised House of Assembly Debate on 17 September 1953, when he said in June 1954 that:

“There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community ... Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.”

(McKay, 1995: 30).

I enquired as to why this platform was not utilised by the principal to discuss such problems before the pupils were expelled. Expulsion causes humiliation, and all means should be exhausted in order to make sure that pupils do not suffer such trauma. The principal did

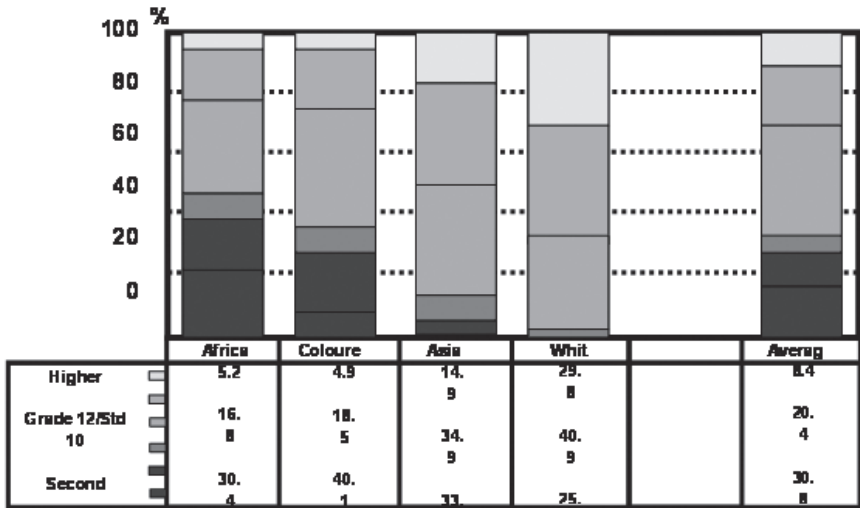
not really have an answer. However, he said that the pupils would be permitted to write examinations. According to Durkheim analysis, South African educational policy is largely informed by functionalist views of society and the education system. (McKay, 1995: 29). It can be argued that this suggests that under such a learning environment, the school forcefully applies required standards despite the prevailing unequal political and socio-economic conditions to which students are exposed.

McKay adds that education legitimises the class structure and inequalities of the capitalist world by transmitting an ideology of merit-based or equal opportunity (1995:38). In addition, McKay notes that this philosophy encourages certain beliefs and abilities in establishing academic achievement, but Bowles and Gintis argue that features such as class, sex, and race are made to count. Furthermore, educational institutions providing for working class children have a tendency to stress docility, obedience and other attributes that will best shape their future status in factories and shops. (McKay, 1995: 38). Education creates the environment to justify inequalities and operates to settle people in positions in an unequal society. (McKay, 1995: 38). McKay noted the argument advanced by Bowles and Gintis, that education provides an ideological function which fosters a false belief in the fairness of the merit-based system, and a conviction that social inequalities are normal and natural. They also point out that education supplies capitalists with the type of labour force that is most in demand, and that socialisation is vital in the reproduction process. (1995:38).

The demand for skilled labour and rising capital intensity during this period, demanded 'high-end workers', which necessitates a high demand for skill base at the expense of unskilled elementary occupations (McCord, and Bhorat, 2003). Whilst the demand for the workers with Matric or tertiary education was growing, the demand based on gender inclusion increased and the male ratio to female dropped drastically by 1.7% and women ratio by 3%. The improve-

ments in education and opportunities facilitated large amounts of young Blacks rising to the status of middle strata. The less educated and unskilled faced the prospect of a poverty trap, but that goes along with the increase in levels of education, especially among young people looking for work (Netshitenzhe, 2006).

Graph 2: Education level by race



Source: Netshitenzhe, 2006

Graph 2 shows the percentage of education level in different race groups in South Africa, as follows: 5.2% of Africans have attained the Higher Education qualifications with 4.9% of Coloureds, 14% of Asian/ Indians and 29% of whites attaining the same level. Again, the graph shows that 4% of Africans completed Secondary school while 1% of Coloureds, 33% of Asian/Indians and 25% of whites fall into the same category. In summary, the graph shows that the minority of Africans received education in different levels, although they are the majority in the country. Compare this to the whites, the

majority of whom attained education in different levels, and yet they still constitute the minority of the country's populace.

The new city demarcations of eThekweni Municipality was drawn after the 2000 local government elections and the implementation of the Municipal Structures Act, when Durban Municipality started to unify seven (7) different local councils that were previously divided under apartheid. This area includes uMkhomazi in the south, including some tribal area in Mbumbulu, Uthongathi in the north, some tribal area in Ndwedwe, and Cato Ridge in the west. The new name of the municipality is eThekweni Municipality Metropolitan and the geographical area of the municipality is 2291.8910 square kilometres. Most of the newly incorporated areas are rural in nature with 50% of the area being used for subsistence farming and only 2% for urban settlement (eThekweni Municipality, 2008).

A transformation of the administrative component of eThekweni Municipality was initiated in 2002, with a specific focus on improving service delivery, and driving economic growth and employment in the region (Joffe, 2006). The eThekweni Municipality is surrounded by the iLembe to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, Ugu to the south and UMgungundlovu to the west. The population of eThekweni Municipality boasts being home to about 10,014,500 million people, 2 110 594 (68.30%) of whom are African, 614 829 (20%) of whom are Indian, 277 429 (8.98%) of whom are whites and 87 274 (3%) of whom are coloured. It is further estimated that about 68% of the eThekweni population is under the age of 35 years and 28% of the economically active community are unemployed (Case, 2003:6; Mji, 2007:104). Casale and Thurlow (1999) argued that about 40% of the households can be regarded as being poor and ultra-poor. About 20% of households have incomes of less than R1 156pm and a further 20% of households have incomes between R1 157 and R1 834. The eThekweni Municipality have a staff compliment of between 18 500 and +/- 22 000 employees in total (eThekweni Municipality, 2008; Batho-Pele, 2006).

How does this happen to young people who are poor?

It is important to understand legislation applying to the issue of non-payment of school fees. This needs to be clearer to avoid providing loopholes for unscrupulous educators to act unfairly against pupils who cannot afford to pay school fees.

Legislation concerning the payment of school fees states: “The state must fund public schools from public revenue on an equitable basis in order to ensure the proper exercise of the rights of learners to education and the redress of past inequalities in educational provision”. There is a direct responsibility on governing bodies to fund-raise to avoid the expulsion of pupils.

Illiterate

Statistics in 2004 reveal that in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) in 1999 about 49 percent of pupils were illiterate when compared to 41 percent in South Africa as a whole. In addition, KZN had the highest number of illiterate adults – 1,982,845 – followed by the Eastern Cape with 1,517,890. Mpumalanga had the highest pupil-educator ratio, followed by KZN.

Furthermore, 2001 statistics showed a proportional increase of African youth above 18 who were not attending any educational institution. This is a sad state of affairs for Black youth in KZN and, indeed, the country. This concurs with research conducted by Porter *et al* from the University of Durham, who cite stumbling blocks like lack of transport, as pupils in parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa, and especially those from the rural areas, travel about six kilometres a day to and from school. (2006:3). Factors contributing to the deprivation of education among Black pupils include:

- The family and socio-economic status;

- Local agricultural and economic production factors related to conditions such as patterns affecting the daily chores a child is expected to perform, such as herding cattle, collecting water and firewood;
- Expensive transport;
- Lack of infrastructure such as roads and bridges;
- Cultural beliefs that tend to influence the will to send children to school, especially girls;
- Lack of teachers, as most teachers are reluctant to take up positions in the rural areas and
- Lack of information such as how to get funding for further education, as well as the right to education, and exemption from paying school fees.

It could be also argued that acts such as expulsions are responsible for forcing many Black youngsters to opt for low-paying jobs in the retail sector, which do not require high levels of education or skills.

This means that the only jobs these youths have access to are poorly-paid, temporary, and non-unionised, with minimal or no benefits. This ensures a vicious cycle of non-development, marginalisation and further impoverishment.

In conclusion, the practice of expelling pupils for non-payment of school fees is one that perpetuates inequitable development, in much the same way as apartheid. How can we say we have a single educational system while pupils continue to be treated differently and according to the attitudes and wishes of the authorities at that particular time? The system does not serve the rights of disadvantaged and marginalised pupils to education.

CHAPTER 3

'Have-nots' Suffer in the 'New' Democratic South Africa

The Beneficiaries of Colonisation Continue to Enjoy the Spoils of Apartheid, While the Poor Must Lead Their Own Struggles.

The rise of new social movements in South Africa has piqued the interest of many, particularly those who see their interests threatened and those whose interests remain unfulfilled.

New movements continue to draw attention through their many marches, which ostensibly represent the anger of the majority of South Africans who are poor.

Many observers thought that the societal problems giving rise to social movements would vanish after the first democratic elections, but they have instead worsened.

Questions thus surround these movements: what is the rationale behind poor people who continue to organise themselves into social movements? What developmental discourses (if any) do they bring? What impact can these movements have towards elevating the poor?

Social movements generally form because the interests of a certain group of people are being threatened. In her book, *The Real World of NGOs* (2003), Dorothea Hilhorst observes that social movements in

Europe and the United States have historically formed around class categories, such as Blacks, women and students; these categories would become the basis of the civil rights movements of the 1960s. In the Third World, activists have engaged in land struggles and have formed themselves into the peasant and squatter movements of the poor. Hilhorst convincingly argues that social movement theory has been overwhelmingly dominated by Northern intellectuals dealing with Northern case studies and movements.

Theories

New social movement theories have their centre of importance in Europe, while resource mobilisation theories are developed in the United States.

Movements in the US and Europe have tended to be based on middle-class foundations, with loose organisational structures, and with demands that emphasise lifestyle and values instead of tangible and pressing needs.

In many cases across the world, labour movements have failed to offer a meaningful emancipatory path for extremely exploited workers. However, new social movements are beginning to tackle issues, which their predecessors did not.

For example, some movements are struggling for the recognition and revival of various indigenous economic systems, which promote collectivism rather than individualism. These movements are taking up true decolonisation in Africa and other parts of the global south.

Perhaps this shift in priorities indicates a change in representation and internal power dynamics – perhaps not. It is widely known that new social movements are characterised by the dominance of elite, rich activists who can afford to travel and attend meetings in various global venues (while alienating grass roots communities from control over their own struggles).

In the case of South Africa, we must not forget that most early political organisations were inordinately influenced by Western countries and dominated by elites. Even the formation of trade union movements was highly influenced by experienced White workers from industrial Britain during the mining industry boom in the 1920s.

Elites

Organisations need to be scrutinised, especially those which are meant to help or to advance the war against poverty and injustice, and which seek to promote anti-racism, anti-capitalism and decolonisation.

The role of elites in poor people's struggles must similarly be scrutinised. Poor people have willingly given their support to elites by granting them the power to be their leaders. Elites are often perceived to be exceedingly capable in dealing with the problems which engulf the poor populace. However, the elites tend to be more concerned with the interests of other elites, and the interests of the poor tend to become secondary.

On the other hand, the beneficiaries of colonisation continue to enjoy the spoils of apartheid and advance the same old agenda of 'civilising Africa' – further entrenching colonialism through the notion of democracy.

This scenario repeats itself while the poorest communities still see the need to unite and advance the oldest struggles around land dispossession, the denial of health services, water and food, and against racism and the oppressive capitalist economic system.

The question remains: what 'new' developments will be brought by the newest of social movements? Perhaps a capacity to unite different activists from various parts of the world?

Where these movements will take us is an open question which depends on their ability to fully lead and control their own struggles.

South Africa: In a state of crime or a surge in resistance?

Media and electronic publications tell us today about the soaring crime rate and its negative effect on South Africa. But it is interesting that we hear little or nothing about the rationale behind these incidents of 'crime'; all we hear is that 'crime does not pay' and this and that. This situation raises a lot of questions about what is really facing this country, in view of the fact that it is a country still characterised by clear lines between the former (and still) oppressed and the former (and still) apartheid beneficiaries. I wonder whether these reports that crime is rising in this country are true. Perhaps the better question is whether these activities should actually be described as criminal; labelling these activities as 'crime' fails to acknowledge the fact that disadvantaged communities are sick and tired of being given false promises that things will be better.

In order to better understand exactly what is happening in South Africa, one must look to the historical background of this highly celebrated country. With this in mind, it becomes clearer that what is viewed or defined as crime by the capitalists or the rulers in a particular time or place cannot necessarily be regarded as such by the poor populace and vice versa. Writers like Schönteich *et al* (2001) urge us to note that crime cannot be understood as a problem of today, and must be understood within South Africa's history. It is argued that the issue of so-called crime began to be seen as a threat to apartheid capitalism in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. Some people will recall that this was a period of intensified struggle by the popular organisations resisting the apartheid regime. This period was characterised by intense, violent crime perpetrated by South African security forces against anybody who was identified as or associated with 'terrorists'.

Most of the oppressed majority hoped that this violent time would pass; they hoped that the country's majority who had been dispossessed of their land would get their land back. They hoped for more

than the dangling carrot in the form of the so-called right to vote. The criminals who dispossessed the Black majority, on the other hand, hoped that the dispossessed people would just sheepishly accept the crumbs which fell from the capitalist masters' tables, without any form of resistance. These hopes were not realised after 1994 because levels of recorded 'crime' (what I will call 'incidences of resistance') have increased since then. I would argue that if the so-called 'crime' has increased this only shows that the Black majority's aspirations have not been met; it means that people are continuing with the resistance that was hijacked by the Black elite in conjunction with their buddies – '*amabhunu*' – at the expense of the oppressed populace. In addition, if 'crime' started increasing in the 1980s, it shows that these actions were intended to unseat the apartheid regime and its economic system (a goal which was not achieved). Instead of thrashing down apartheid, we saw a few Black elite co-opted into the ranks of capitalist apartheid.

On the other hand, the super-exploited majority retains the same status they had in the times of Botha and de Klerk. Under Mbeki they were still subjected to selling their labour power as the 'only' way of making a livelihood, but the labour market still sees very high rates of unemployment. In addition, the Black townships and city streets are still characterised by that famous dance, the *toyitoyi*; the rich still lock themselves in behind high concrete walls. The majority remain beggars in the city streets – a sign of not yet *uhuru*, not yet liberation.

The poor Black people remain landless despite their tireless struggles to liberate themselves from the vicious oppressive system. However, their elite leadership had a different view, as they saw the only way to fight colonisation was becoming part of it.

It seems that the leadership of the oppressed majority opted to follow the famous proverb that says, "If you can't beat them, join them". In other words, the leadership did not have a mandate that was reached at CODESA (the Convention for a Democratic South

Africa); instead deals with ‘*amabhunu*’ were made that secured the stolen property in the hands of the thieves and ensured that the Black majority remained squashed in the labour reserves.

The “Rainbow Nation” community views incidences of ‘crime’ differently, as they have different interests in the survival of the “New South Africa”; they are encouraged to see that everything is as normal as it can possibly be, given their interests in the new dispensation. Again, I ask myself whether the incidences that are reported as crime are not in fact the continuation of popular resistance. Popular resistance under apartheid came in various forms, many of which are being repeated now, like workers going on strike and attacking what they see as part of the problem. Communities are up-in-arms in various parts of the country, making the same old demands such as access to basic services and land distribution. I know the schools of thought of resistance differ but, in reality, when did this issue of ‘crime’ start? In the 1980s, various forms of attacks on Whites by Blacks increased, making them feel uncomfortable in their stolen cocoons. These attacks were called ‘crimes’. But what about the crimes committed by Whites on Blacks, including colonisation? This was characterised by extreme violence, at magnitudes previously unseen. Furthermore, it is criminal to continuously mislead Black people into accepting that land is not theirs.

In short, I am trying to highlight fundamental issues which cannot be easily ignored by sober-minded people, especially when we aspire to a peaceful world, free from hatred in forms of racism, violence, crime and exploitation for profit. When we talk of the rise of crime in South Africa (Azania) what are we really saying? Are we judging ‘crime’ as threats against capitalists, whose profits and interests continue to grow? What is happening in the land of the ‘colonised and the coloniser’?

Forum debate (posted on RASA FM website)

South Africa (Azania): In a state of crime or a surge in resistance?

3 August 2006, posted by Scared

“You claim, to summarise, that the majority of Black people in SA today are still without farms (land) and in exactly the same position as they were before they started the struggle, right? You then justify (or excuse) crime as the continuation of popular resistance in order to achieve ‘liberation’ goals, right? Then you must also admit that apartheid (theory behind it) and the ‘abolishment’ thereof was and still is nothing but major political trickery (national and international propaganda), right? (...it tricked you, for one!). Now THAT is exactly what us ‘Whiteys’ were trying to tell you all along (referendum: 80 percent plus whites pro-liberation, remember?) but you were too deafened by all the BLACK POWER promises and your own chanting and toyi-toying to even consider the one and only solution: Let’s walk the road together! All South Africans together!

Twelve years into the “Promised Land” and I find a letter like yours (a Black SA citizen!), posted on the Internet for the world to see, shamelessly and lamely blaming the same dead propaganda horse, apartheid and Whites, as the “confused majority’s” justified reason for increased crime activities! How embarrassing for all Black people this must be!

Black South Africans, just in case you didn’t know, are socially and economically, the most privileged Blacks in all of Africa with the highest per capita income (even during your “apartheid”) and the most opportunities (affirmative action making them more privileged than Whites) in education, sport and financial success. And **70 percent** of the votes were for

the ruling party whose top priority should be to create safety and security for its citizens... but you blame apartheid for your shortfalls?

Wake up! The honeymoon is over! There are no free farms and there will never be, no matter who rules! I'm White and have never had a farm (I wish!) Neither is there a free lunch! Farmers take on Zimbabwean refugees, rather than SA farm workers, why? Because they are prepared to WORK, without going on strike!

And lastly, no matter how hard you try to make us feel guilty for being White, I know that your future, my friend, would have been a certainty if only you'd opened your eyes in time. At the end of this year, because of CRIME, our family of six white South Africans, two engineers, a lawyer, an actress, an A-level matriculant and a baby without a future here will be leaving this country for good – thanks to scary articles like yours. And the brain-drain continues... (I won't be surprised if this doesn't make your forum)!

South Africa (Azania): In a state of crime or a surge in resistance?

19 August 2006, posted by Ntokozo Mthembu

“First and for most thank you Mr/Ms Scary for your response and further showing your guts and spirit in believing in your same old White lies in thinking that when your generation of White settlers leave Africa will suffer. I want to remind you that the days of spreading colonialist theories are slowly but surely fading and you are not willing to see and hear the winds of change sweeping in front of you. If that is the case, as far as I am concerned my friend the future of the White race is bleak, so wake up and leave. It will be sad if you can't see

that the majority of Africans no longer have any trust or belief in your puppets, who were tricked to think that the liberation of Black world would be negotiated through CODESA by big businesses such as Anglo-America.

Do you remember the broad daylight robbery, the so-called primitive accumulation by your homeland countries – Europe from 1600 onward, and the brutal extermination of Africans resisting the stealing process? Do you remember the partitioning of Africa in Berlin in the 1800s, and do you remember who benefited under apartheid? You benefited by virtue of being White, irrespective of the country you come from, whether England or France. According to your false White supremacy and ‘civilisation’ your grandfathers purported to be bringing to Africa, which including taking somebody’s property illegally, forcing your values and culture on other races and what did they say to you? They did not tell you that they were committing crimes? If they did not that is where they were wrong, so it is better that you now need to start making up your mind – whether to live the rest of your life with this fallacy and illusions of White supremacy, and clinging to stolen property and believing that you are indispensable.

As a reminder, don’t ever think that all Blacks are drunk from the brainwashing of democratic euphoria, like your elites whose minds have been tortured in the institutions of learning, prisons and with your liberalism – the so-called love of the Blacks. If arrogant Whites like you don’t learn from the Zimbabwean experience, you are in serious trouble. Your time is running out and I think those Whiteys who have realised that they can’t take it have started ‘voortrekking’ back to Europe while the coast and the oceans are still calm. Sober-minded Africans will never accept the junk you have written. So Azania, Zimbabwe and the White world will be liberated from all forms of oppression – mental, physical and otherwise.”

South Africa (Azania): In a state of crime or a surge in resistance?

21 August 2006, posted by Scared

“Thank you for responding. Maybe this extract will explain the situation better:

I saw an interesting news item on TV this evening. A habitual criminal in the US was caught for crime number 226. They showed his face and hey presto, he was a Black man.

Why the violence and why the crime? Why do these criminal swines have to resort to extreme and prolonged violence in the perpetration of what is usually a petty crime like the theft of a cell phone and a few household belongings – none of which could ever be worth a human life?

The answers are clear. This is a country that after the release of Nelson Mandela and the build-up to “democratic” elections was accompanied by electioneering slogans and chants that actively and unequivocally called for the slaughter of White South Africans.

How else is one to understand the meaning of “One Settler One Bullet” and “Kill The Boer – Kill The Farmer”? These chants formed the platform for the ANC’s rise to power in SA and was part of their campaign to rally support – a word of mouth undertaking throughout South Africa that after the “liberation” of South Africa Whites were to be slaughtered on a piecemeal protracted basis in the exact manner that we see taking place in South Africa at this precise moment.

We do not exactly have the most sophisticated electorate on the planet – what African country does? – and the question has to be asked, how would an unsophisticated electorate respond to the continuous brainwashing that White people have robbed him of everything he ever had or could have

had, and are the cause of all the ills that he, his ancestors and his descendants have experienced, are experiencing, or ever will be experiencing?

Indoctrinating the population in SA in this manner has been the most infantile accomplishment of the current powers that be with the most incredible outcome. The rest of the world is absolutely incapable of fathoming the rudimentary workings of the indigenous African mind, and at a loss for the reasons behind the violence. So are White South Africans.

After some thoughtful consideration, the answer becomes easily apparent. We are dealing with a race that for the entire history of its existence has not developed or evolved in the same way as most of the other races in the world. They have no written history prior to this being recorded by White people a few hundred years ago and this fact in itself challenges the exclusivity that South African Blacks claim to this country at the exclusion of everybody else, particularly Whites.

We are dealing with a race that is infinitely fragmented into tribal and ethnic divisions, sub-divisions, languages, dialects and others defining separatist mechanisms. This makes defining them simply as "Black People" outrageously simplistic and myopic if any effort is to be made to understand the absolute inability of these people to contribute anything constructive or positive to the economy.

Nevertheless, in keeping with simply defining these murderers as "Black", we need to understand that as such we are dealing with a race of people about whom history has shown us lived as close to their other splinter tribes and ethnic kin as factors like geography, hostilities and speed of travel provided for. There was no economic activity as such. If one tribe or group needed anything that they could not grow or make they simply went over the plains to a neighbouring tribe, wiped them out, usually very cruelly; took their belongings and live-

stock and burned down their dwellings before disappearing.

What has changed? It is this same culture of entitlement and absolute lack of any economic evolution by indigenous black Africans that still manifests today as violent crime in modern societies all over the planet. It is a congenital peculiarity of Blacks that no amount of integration into Western societies will eradicate. They may be refined a little to give the illusion of similar levels of sophistication as Western societies, but that is all that changes. This is amply evidenced by people like Mugabe, who wears a suit. By Western standards he is eminently civilised and educated, with SEVEN university degrees. For all his Western-style sophistication and education look what he did to Zimbabwe – exactly what his ancestors have done throughout their history. He has plundered, murdered and pillaged to acquire what he wanted because he simply knows no other way, despite his Westernisation.

That is all these people know and this is all they will ever do. This is the reason why they were colonised in the first place, and the reason they will be colonised again – for certain. Black Africa will be colonised again and this time, having been exposed as a murderous liability no matter where they put down their roots, their new colonisers are not going to be the benevolent kindly BOERS that they are killing daily. This time their colonisers will be a race of people that can currently put 200 million armed soldiers into the field at any time and THEIR approach to violent crime is simple – a bullet to the back of the head and the bill therefore to the criminal's kin.

In the meantime white South African are being slaughtered like pigs in an orgy of retribution and by way of penance for apartheid – a system that was implemented precisely to preserve White people from the attentions of these savages that we see today – but it has been twisted by the international bleeding hearts society to be perceived as a diabolical

mechanism for persecuting Blacks. Opponents of apartheid by way of their voluble opposition, sanctions, and so on, have shown that what they understood of apartheid was that White South Africans could only function if some perverse desire to see Blacks squirming, dying and being humiliated on a daily basis was sufficiently assuaged for them to be able to build the South Africa that the ANC inherited, took credit for and then proceeded to destroy.

These bleeding hearts have never given any thought to the possibility that the implementation of apartheid was an act of survival by White South Africans to isolate them from the attentions of Blacks. We are currently witnessing this now in a form and on a scale that by any definition can be labelled the genocide of Whites in South Africa.

This genocide that has been cunningly planned all along by the ANC and equally as cunningly executed, and which is justified by apartheid and the victims thereof as acceptable losses for the redressing of “past injustices”. Genocide that is explained away as crime. Genocide that the government fully approves of, encourages, supports and endorses in its absolute refusal to do anything about violent crime against Whites in South Africa.

The agenda of this genocide is clearly apparent to any thinking person without the odd loose Black cannon giving it away at a “youth rally”, at which the call was made to Black youths to “Go and steal from Whites because they stole from us...”

This is the kind of indoctrination that generations of Black youths have been subjected to, to the extent where they see little merit in applying any personal effort or endeavour into acquiring anything that their “leaders” are telling them they can simply take from White people. If it involves killing White pigs all the better – remember the slogan, “Kill the Boer, kill

the farmer.”

They don't have to go to “youth rallies” to be told this, because they hear it all the time. It is an ongoing part of the indoctrination strategy that has been inherited from the communists and implemented with absolute results.

What the idiots haven't figured out yet is what they are going to do when all the Whites have been slaughtered or driven out of South Africa and every last of their possessions plundered and destroyed. The answer is equally as clear – they turn on themselves and before long the beautiful country that Whites built is reduced to rubble and is just another African civil war zone – until the neo-colonisers move in.

In the meantime law-abiding, unarmed, productive white South Africans are slaughtered without the immediate realisation that for every White life gratuitously snuffed out hundreds of Blacks will ultimately end up starving and dying in the years to follow.

And when things in the “liberated” country get unbearable because the economy has collapsed the “free” Blacks invade the very countries from which their “oppressors” originated and go and perpetuate their culture of entitlement there.

So to all those bleeding heart countries gleefully clapping their hands and laughing, “serves you right for apartheid” (isolating yourself from Black on White hate crimes while you do so); take note of who the perpetrators are in your cosy countries of unrest, riots, civil disobedience, murder, rape and robbery. I'll put my money on it that it's usually a Black African.....”

South Africa (Azania): In a state of crime or a surge in resistance?

25 August 2006, posted by Ntokozo Mthembu

“Thank you once again Mr/Ms Scared. The very fact that you are scared shows that you know the truth. Without wasting my precious time, I just wanted to tell you that Africans have a documented history, so wake up from your false slumber of Western lies. No matter whether you jump or not, Africa will be liberated, within and without.

We still urge arrogant Whites like you to be realistic in not believing in your own lies. Africa is for the Africans at and in the Diaspora, and in the same way that Europe was divided into tribes such as English, Franks and so forth, we call them Whites or Europeans.”

South Africa (Azania): In a state of crime or a surge in resistance?

28 August 2006, posted by Still Scared

“Sorry to waste your precious time but thank you in any case for your rather staggering reply! Scared I am indeed of your criminal and violent “surge in resistance”, but you should be more terrified of your own “winds of change...!”

A study titled: *A nation in the making: a discussion document on macro-social trends in South Africa* (p 34, Sunday Times August 27, 2006) amongst 29,773,126 citizens, found that, “... it is significant that NO ONE (out of nearly 30 million!!) described themselves as AZANIAN...!!”

Oops! You must be totally devastated at this one or are you once more reaching for your usual “blank” comment, when

cornered, of conveniently calling it all “lies”! The realisation of finding oneself the only remaining rebel loyal to purposely driving White people out of Africa at all costs, purely because of their skin colour, perceiving everything about them as “lies”, must surely be a terribly lonely and humiliating experience! Especially if you have to live with and daily witness and experience all evidence around you of the immaculate achievements and successes of White people, even making use of their technology for writing your own pathetic racist propaganda! Eish!!

Wake up and get real: You are no Robin Hood or freedom fighter!! (We have enough in “parlement” as it is.) It is the Western (Whitey) way combined with the hard work of all citizens that can save this land (and your ass...!) and it is the ONLY realistic way (you can see for yourself how the Black government fails to deliver and is rotten to the core with greed and corruption, right?). Your racist fantasy of a “liberated Africa the African Black way” will undoubtedly cast us back a couple of millennia, calculated by our famous all-too-easy-to-find African examples like “circus-class-amusement-act-minus- three-zero’s” Zimbabwean dictatorship and “comical-after-election-trigger-happy-democratic” (ha-ha!) Congo!!

I was born in South Africa as were all my ancestors as far back as I care to remember, and we all happen to be Whites. Neither you nor anyone else can deny, cancel or nullify this fact. I cannot return to my mother’s womb to make myself non-existent, nor am I going to commit suicide in order to please you and neither are many, many millions of other White people. We cannot be held responsible or apologise for the actions of our ancestors who then structured laws according to their circumstances and safety first! We also do not “believe” in our dead forefathers like you do but in a Living God in Heaven.

Your attitude of promoting crime in order to “liberate” the land (...again?) and views are socially, mentally and politically counter-productive to a progressive South Africa and is based purely on irreversible history and blatant racial hate! Once again, Wake Up!! We are all here to make this work! You are blocking progress by demoralising everyone by fighting the past over and over again (...the Bushmen were here long before you, but you Blacks savagely drove them into the Kalahari! Are you going to give them back their land? NO YOU WON'T!!). Stop feeling sorry for yourself and GET OFF YOUR ASS, like us Whiteys and rather use your “precious” time to work towards creating new jobs and a future for the poor of all races, rather than just demanding and grabbing for free whatever it is the White man has that makes you so utterly jealous of him!

Let me let you in (a little...!) on what us Whiteys are chatting about behind our high walls, around our *braais* while the *boerewors* is sizzling! We cannot thank your affirmative action (intended and particularly introduced to penalise and hurt us for our grandparents’ “apartheid”) enough for forcing us out of our comfort zones (where you are now...) to once again having to become self-sufficient, think for ourselves, invent new ideas and dictate our own income, be our own bosses and create great wealth for our children abroad! All along scheming about how to dodge the taxman as best we can as to limit the gravy on the gravy train! And still, even though you hate us, we are solely responsible for creating 85 percent of the work opportunities for our Black brothers and sisters. No lies my friend and I pray that you can find love and peace in your very bitter heart to accept the White man because he is here to stay. I don’t think you have it in you to forgive the same way I do not apologise for something I had no control over long before my birth!”

South Africa (Azania): In a state of crime or a surge in resistance?

31 August 2006

“What a piece of work you are!

I left South African in 1988 and have not been back since. I am sure that I will never go back after reading what you are spouting.

You my friend are the racist. And don't for one second think that just because you are Black that it is impossible for you not to be racist. You have an evil heart which is just as evil as some of the worst White racists I met while doing my military service between 1980 and 1981.

I now live in Canada where we have many beautiful Black African souls in our church who are NOTHING like you. They would be ashamed to share the same colour of skin that you have. I consider them to truly be my brothers and sisters.

And you my friend should change your values before you destroy the future of your children and your children's children. If you keep this up, they will eventually want to move to Canada to escape the devastation that your kind of thinking will bring about. I pray to God Almighty that your thinking is in the extreme minority.

You reap what you sow and you are sowing the seeds of your destruction. What a TRAGIC waste!

Truly, Cry the Beloved Country. Even Alan Paton's wife left South Africa because the crime got so bad.

PS. Don't bother coming to Canada with an attitude like yours. You are persona non grata! What a miserable wretch you are.”

South Africa (Azania): In a state of crime or a surge in resistance?

28 July 2006, posted by White African

"I as a White person must agree with the writer of the article. The country is still in the hands of the Anglo Americans (AA). I was hoping that the way that Africans do politics would be sufficient to get our country back. This is unfortunately not happening as the AA are experts in exploiting people's weaknesses, like GREED for example. Is crime the way out? I think not. EDUCATION is the only way to beat the AA as people need to know and understand enough of politics and strategies to "see" the truth. Can the AA be beaten in any conventional way? NO! Many upstanding people have tried, only to die or be publicly humiliated for their efforts. The only way to get our country back is through educating our people. They need to be able to see the truth before it will be of any consequence in telling them what really is happening. Only then will they be able to stand firm, make sacrifices and bring about the changes that are needed to ensure that the wealth of South Africa stays in South Africa in a way that will not allow the AA to vilify the people of our country."

For the comments on the Rasa FM website that sparked the email interview between the interviewer, 'DR', and 'NM':

<http://www.praag.org/interview1mthembu.htm>

The proclamation of the state and future for Azania/Aethiopia

DR: I see that you use the name "Azania" for South Africa. So I gather that you reject the 1910 name that was given to this country by Botha, Smuts, Hertzog and others?

NM: It is true that I reject the colonialist name South Africa, as it

represents the Western glory of victory and steamrolling over the indigenous people's ideals of this part of Africa in an arrogant and vicious manner. I argue that it is foolish for anyone who thinks that the naming spree of the White colonialist settlers, like Botha, Smuts and Hertzog, which is still visible today, justifies their continued existence. I'm saying this because it is a known fact that the murderers, thieves or the evil doers will not rule or sustain or hide the truth forever, or go away like water into sand. No ways! That cannot happen, nor can generation after generation be killed, tamed or threatened, like in the times of Botha and the rest. The name issue is not something that can be negotiated, like anything belonging to Africans, and you needn't be fooled by the negotiated political settlement concocted by the CODESA circus.

DR: How do you feel about name changes in general, for example Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Jan Smuts airport, which became Johannesburg International and is now O.R. Tambo airport?

NM: Firstly, when you Whites named these African places in your names with whom did you consult and debate, except amongst you and your European gangs? You disguised it in the name of civilisation, while it meant daylight robbery?

In addition to what I have said above, I will argue that the name change is not an issue that needs to be negotiated. It is a known fact that names such as Pretoria, or names which refer to the settlers and their crimes in terms of true humanity – 'ubuntu' – simply continue the legacy of colonial settlers. I will argue that the government of the day is wasting time and resources in entertaining jokes by Western clowns, such as the ones who refuse the name change program. If anyone claims that it is justifiable to retain Botha's names, I will argue that he or she believes in the ideals of Blood River – where Africans were slaughtered in the name of White supremacy.

In addition, it still shows that the government of the day is nothing more than one of those famous shows in town that entertain the audience with racist driven arguments against name changes. We also see the inheritors of colonialist spoils having the guts to claim that they deserve the rights or privilege to sustain the stolen property of the African people. So far the only privilege they have for now is to peacefully hand over the stolen property, and the wealth accumulated from them.

DR: John Pilger, the Australian journalist, has recently written a book called *Freedom Next Time*, in which he says that “the African National Congress sold its soul to corporate bosses over glasses of single malt whisky”. According to Pilger then, the revolution never happened. We also know that individual Blacks only own two per cent of the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Would you agree then with Pilger's view that the White ruling class has retained control of assets?

NM: While I agree with Pilger it is worth noting that this organisation did not start selling-out at CODESA, but you need to remember the historical reasons leading to the emergence of the Pan African Congress. In addition, I concur strongly with the views of Pilger in this respect, as that is seen in the new shopping centres that are mostly accessible to rich Whites, and few rich Africans. Even the two per cent that is claimed to be owned by the so-called “African tycoons” is open to debate, because how can a poor unionist or returned exile become a millionaire overnight? If it indeed takes place, I will argue that something unusual is happening in the normal process of wealth accumulation.

One good example is the scrupulous processes whereby government ministers make secret deals to secure the interests of capitalists and end up in prison – and all in the name of freedom.

Ministers like these expose the true character of the government in which they are serving, as it was meant to lure Black people

into believing in the White liberal Joe Slovo's Sunset Clause, which guaranteed land stolen to remain in the hands of the European thieves led by the Dutch and Britons. That is without mentioning the previous or earlier abalengu abasithatndayo, Bishop John W. Colenso and his gang.

Furthermore, we need not confuse the right of Black people to owning the wealth of their country with the opportunistic tendencies of individuals whose interest it is to enrich themselves at the expense of the Black majority, and to the advantage of the Western world economic system. Whose interests are characterised by corrupt deals that create assumptions that Africans own some wealth, whilst in fact they are just a front for the super corrupt rich white class. These are merely individuals who are used in order to justify the political settlement that promotes White values and Western ideology – democracy.

DR: Could you elaborate on what you understand by “total liberation”?

NM: The total liberation of African people will be characterised by the following:

Self-determination of Africans, to which all others races aspire.

Control and benefit from their land. *Africa, from the southern tip of Cape Town of the continent to *Tunis at the top, or to the land of the Pharaohs and its resources.

Define “their own political doctrine”.

Controlling and in charge of government organs such as administration, police, military and judicial systems that reflect the African ethos instead of the current joke.

An economic system that is pro African needs, not an European export-oriented or mass production system.

Respect for and promotion of a world free from greed, hatred, racism and inequality.

A place where “ubuntu” principles are upheld and not mixed with

the individualist-oriented capitalism system.

Nationhood is the highest ideal of all people and Africans need a nation and country of their own. Security is the strongest need of any people, and they must strive to attain that goal of an “African Republic” on African soil.

Remember that no one will ever take away the spirit that has been part and parcel of the African people over the years of believing that AFRICA IS FOR AFRICANS, THOSE AT HOME AND ABROAD. This has been proven to any sober person as Africans have succeeded in demonstrating that no force can take this away, despite the fact that some leadership members have bought into the idea. But what is interesting is that each generation has its rightful rulers to give a sober direction, as the African race is not in charge of their survival or destiny but its Creator or God for that matter. Don't forget that African people have a promise to fulfil of liberating Africa from all forms of oppression for many years to come, through whatever means they have at their disposal.

Respect for the environment and the creatures that survive in it, and NO TO DOMESTICATING ANIMALS, NO MATTER WHAT THEY ARE.

DR: Let's now turn to the interesting issue you raised in your comment on the radio. You described criminal acts as “incidences of resistance” by the poor. Would you therefore say that the much-publicised attacks on White suburbanites is part of some sort of guerilla warfare or resistance? Also, would you describe farm attacks and farm murders as part of the popular resistance you are referring to?

NM: Firstly, my comment on Rasa FM questions the understanding of the notion of criminal acts, as it tends to be biased and defined according to the interests of a particular race. In this case it's the interests of the White colonialist race. I argue that when we speak of crime in South Africa, we need not forget the manner in which

the vicious way stealing from African people took place, which is in itself criminal activity. In addition, this criminal activity is still treated as if it never happened, and continues to receive negative publicity as part of protecting the stolen land.

Not to mention resisting the fact that African property was stolen by White criminals by any available trick in the book, even if it meant shooting and killing African people on the streets in broad daylight. Do you remember Strydom? Lastly, how would you describe the continuous telling of lies that African land belongs to everybody, and turning a blind eye on the issue of returning it to the rightful owners? The root causes of crime have been described as an expression of lack, a lack of the “good life” currently enjoyed by Whites in this country, a good life based on a historical act of crime and mass thievery. Now with that understanding, why do you insist on pretending that this “crime” is a new thing? The best way to correct the situation is to correct the original sin of White theft. For as long as the African remains precarious and wanting, in his continent of origin, for as long as the vast majority of those considered “criminals” remain poor and desperate sons and daughters of this stolen land, then the lines that define crime will remain intensely contested.

Lastly, if I knew whether it was guerrilla warfare or resistance I would not be writing articles asking whether it is crime or a surge in resistance. But, by conventional reasoning, I can say that it is definitely not crime as criminals are still wandering the streets of South Africa, not knowing whether the sun is rising or setting because of the noise they are making about resisting the coming changes. This is seen by some of the organisation’s acts of vandalism of the statues of the gallant fighters of this mighty land of Africa, which cannot be tolerated in the long run. If these acts are not stopped soon, these are a recipe for disaster. We need not forget how long Africans have been told to be humble whilst they continue to be oppressed and made a laughing stock. Only the sober ones ask

themselves why Mandela agreed to that junk settlement and Africans just sheepishly accepted it?

DR: We have recently seen an uprising in Orange Farm, where both sides of the Golden Highway were barricaded by a large placard reading, "Ten years of freedom without water, sewerage, electricity - South Africa f*** democracy". Would you say that there is a tendency among the Black poor to reject liberal democracy in favour of a more revolutionary system like socialism or even communism?

NM: You must understand that so far there has been no liberation in the true sense of the word, especially for Africans, but yes to the white populace, as their stolen property continues to be protected through Slovo's Sunset Clause and the police and military. We need to remember that this Western liberal democracy that was negotiated was not part of the mandate that the African majority gave to the political organisations that negotiated the political settlement. But it was broad daylight robbery, as the poor old prisoner* Mandela had to be convinced to believe that he had the authority to reach a deal behind prison bars. Again we need not forget that Mandela is not the first African leader to be sent to the island as part of silencing his freedom, and we need not forget that the Zulu kings and royal house were imprisoned on the famous St Helena Island and the same Robben Island where Mandela was a prisoner. Remember that this did not stop each following generation from pursuing the liberation by whatever means they saw fit.

Therefore, it would be stupidity for anyone to believe that African people will just accept that it is justified to have their land taken by Whites, and unquestionable that these thieves get away with murder. For your information, neither socialism nor communism is equipped to totally liberate the African race, as it is anti-Christ in nature. Slovo is a shining example. Do you remember the Communist Party of South Africa's early slogan, "White workers of the

world unite to keep South Africa white”, and that is why even today’s Communist Party kept its promise.

DR: You say that “It is criminal to continuously mislead Black people into accepting that the land is not theirs”. How do you feel about land reform? What do you think should happen to White farmers?

NM: As I have mentioned above land stolen from Africans is not a negotiable issue but the inheritors of the stolen property should return the land unconditionally whilst we are still sharing ways of returning it instead of a Zimbabwean experience. The land reforms are not dealing with the suffering of African people as they continue to be squashed and die in slave camps such as townships, rural areas and informal settlements. It would be foolish for anyone to think that the majority of Africans can afford to buy the land if they want to, as they have been employed as cheap labour for more than 200 years. The current land reforms in South Africa are nothing more than a fallacy to make African people believe that land has been redistributed. The White farmers and those who occupied the stolen land need to show the right human spirit and hand over the land to the government, or time will tell how much longer Africans will allow this state of affairs to continue.

DR: What do you think of Robert Mugabe's land reform policy?

NM: Remember the saying, “Let what belongs to Caesar be returned to Caesar”. So, Zimbabwean land reform policy is a sober policy meant for redressing past injustices. In fact land reforms in Zimbabwe had elements of humanity as they did not deal with land repossession in the same spirit as the cruel, vicious, greedy and racist Cecil Rhodes and his party of gangs. So, Africa is for Africans at home and in the Diaspora, and that is the standing rule. No matter what the case may be, Africa or Azania will be liberated on all fronts when the time is right. You need to keep in mind that the land

appropriations did not occur as a result of any state policy – the contrary is true. Mugabe’s state developed a land redistribution policy as a result of ordinary people cynically labelled “war veterans” in a situation where the entire African population was at war against the colonial occupiers of Zimbabwe. So too here in Azania, Whites can think that they have bought their insurance by fattening up five or six natives, but African people are not blind and they have begun to rise. The Zuid Afrika/RSA state can choose to act in the same way as Mugabe, or they may choose to defend the interests of their Baas – the people shall rise!

DR: In your reply on Rasa FM to another (White) poster you wrote: “Your time is coming...”, and that “Azania, Zimbabwe and the White world will be liberated from all forms of oppression – mental, physical and otherwise beyond your Western brainwashing”. Is this the second phase of the revolution that the ANC and SACP have always envisaged or an international revolution against all Western countries?

NM: It is time for those White colonialist settlers and Blacks who think their misleading notions which entrench White supremacy are permanent to see that are slowly and surely fading. We need not forget that both sober Blacks and Whites think that White people can be imprisoned and African people take repossession of what is rightfully theirs. We need not forget that no big guns or weapons of mass destruction, mercenaries, snipers, murdering or assassination can stop this last march for a total emancipation of the African race. For example, no one thought the times of slavery would ever end. Remember too the heydays of White colonialist occupation and the so-called primitive accumulation. Now Zimbabwe is a good example of positive and unstoppable things to come.

Remember that no institution, gang or Mafia can stop or control the anger of the dispossessed African majority when it erupts. For example, the Zimbabwean government has been one of the agents

of Western economic interests that secured land for the minority colonialist White settlers. But when the anger of the indigenous population rose, the Mugabe regime was forced to choose between enriching and securing the interests of racist White ‘royalty’ or vanish in the archives, or be part and parcel of setting into motion the irreversible project that is declared to take more than 200 years. A word of good advice will be that all White thieves hand over the spoils of colonialism unconditionally and soon whilst repossession is still at a reasonable rate.

DR: Many Afrikaners believe that they have been betrayed by FW de Klerk and Roelf Meyer into surrendering power, and that there is an African-style “uhuru” coming in which large numbers of them will be killed, or otherwise they will be kicked out of Azania by force. Are they justified in having these fears?

NM: Any Dutch or British settlers who think that de Klerk and his gangs betrayed them will feel sick because they were supposed to be regarding de Klerk as their Messiah as he managed to manipulate and market their own elected leaders as they convened the CODESA circus and endorsed the same White supremacy interests as Mugabe in the 1980s* Lancaster Agreement. Another interesting point is that this circus was characterised by the most famous opportunists ever produced by White civilisation. All settlers need not be fearful, but they need to hand over the land and all the resources they stole. There will be no peace in South Africa, even if Whites cry out aloud, or organise expensive conferences, or apologise in whatever manner, or wash feet for many people as possible, for today and every hour African people are subjected in their many thousands to a fatal socio-political environment. Peace will be realised on the day the inheritors stop saying that they were not there in times of accumulation, while riding high on privileges or the spoils of colonisation, and hand over peacefully.

DR: Is there still a place for Afrikaners in Azania as you call it, or do you think they should leave of their own free will while they still can?

NM: In Africa everybody is welcome to live fairly, and respect and acknowledge Africans as the rightful owners of this mighty land. They must also be willing to stop the propagation of racism and false claims about African land belonging to them, and hand over the vast hectares of stolen land. Those who persist in not voluntarily handing over the wealth and the land must start considering that option. For those eager to return to their homeland of Holland, I believe it will be a healthy exercise for them, as it is their country. Nothing will go wrong for those sober whites who voluntarily hand over and consider returning to their homeland, as they will acknowledge that Africans need to reorganise themselves without Whites acting as advisers. Furthermore, there is still a need to repatriate the Africans in the Diaspora in terms of the prophecy that will be fulfilled for some years to come.

DR: Do you feel that Afrikaans should still be an official language of Azania?

NM: Afrikaans needs to be taught in Holland where it belongs and those who are eager or passionate about its survival are justified in doing so as it is their language. On June 16, 1976, blood was shed to resist the madness of Afrikaans as the language of education. But it is a known fact that White settlers enjoy shedding the blood of African people and will attempt to pursue the failed project in an attempt to promote the possibility of shedding blood. All Whites in Africa must start learning one indigenous language soon as there are sweeping changes and interesting moments ahead.

DR: How would you describe your own ideas? As African nationalism, Black consciousness, Negritude, pan-Africanism or some other term?

NM: I would describe my ideas as Ethiopian because they refer to the fundamentals of the Black world and the manner in which it is defended, and that it has been prophesied that these ideas will be fulfilled. It was promised that when the time is right we will know it by the fact that “Great men and women of our times will be a disaster for humankind and defended illusion”. Even though Whites have scrapped apartheid policies it does not mean that Africans will accept that everything is fine while they “enjoy” sharing the same toilet and continue to serve as servants under their White masters. Ethiopianism is not something that has been invented, but time will determine its proclamation. We need not forget that history indicates that Africa was and is still a world of faith, or in short a theocratic world. So, Africa has reached a point where it is slowly reverting to its original state of perfection as was promised.

Lastly, Azania, which is a province of the mighty continent of Africa, has been and is still a theocratic state, which needs to be liberated from a Western capitalist, democratic, barbaric and greedy system that breeds poverty, hatred and racism, all disguised as civilisation. This is proven by the fact that since the White laid foot on the shores of this mighty continent Africa has become the cradle of poverty in the world. At the same time, Europeans are many more times richer than they were before they started colonising Africa, and still continue looting wealth on a greater scale than before. No matter what the case may be, the total liberation of Azania or Afrika is certain.

Will Azania ever be liberated from the yoke of oppression?

I attended meetings for community leaders from new social move-

ments such as the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance and the Abahlali Basemjondolo Movement⁷, and others from organisations in places like Wentworth, Newlands East and Cato Manor. I was inspired by the experiences of the leaders, because most people believe that experience is earned through hardships in life.

This report attempts to highlight differences on issues such as an individual's historical background when it comes to talking about the rationale behind the needs that led communities to embark on various civil actions as part of sustaining their livelihoods. The first session mostly concerned outlining the meeting and providing clarity on the tasks that will be undertaken by the community leaders and the host organisation as it was part of a continuation of the last meeting on 21 March 2006. The second meeting between 10 April and 14 April 2006 built further on a foundation that was already in place.

In the second session I was more interested in the circumstances that made the community leaders retaliate against what they perceived as an oppressive state after the demise of the notorious apartheid regime. These leaders saw their struggles in the pre-democratic era as struggles for equity and justice. Another interesting element was that these leaders came from diverse backgrounds. Some defined themselves as Indians by origin, while others were confused about which identity to take. Others said that they were regarded as an inferior race, and had to live in places or townships which were a long way from town and city centres. Finally, another leader, blazing with emotion, emphasised that it should not be forgotten that labels such as Indians, Coloured and Africans are nothing more than a strategy by the oppressors to keep the poor divided.

Another important part was when I was trying to understand the community leadership rationale behind their common oppression, which was instituted in different ways. Some of the leaders have

had a glimpse of the historical background as some had been born in Cato Manor, and saw some of the unfolding of the greatest crime against black humanity – apartheid. I noticed that most of the leaders knew something about what had led them to live in places such as Wentworth, Merewent and Kwa-Mashu. They attempted to highlight their different historical backgrounds but failed to pinpoint the exact impact of oppression on them, and their reasons for redressing the problem, which had different connotations for each of them. For example, the Africans were forced to become the poorest class of working people through the land dispossession, while Indians were brought to Africa as indentured labour under various agreements. And in the words of one of the leaders, Coloureds also had a confused identity, as they came across situations where they were labelled “not too Black to tar and not too Black to be White”.

I believe that this is very important as most of these leaders were from movements that are challenging problems that organisations like the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) failed to address, opting instead to become a part-governmental structure. I also feel that issues like these need to be highlighted and dealt with while the formations of new social movements are still new, so that they can start formulating strategies in dealing with them now, and not after they have tasted failure. These are the real issues if we are serious about achieving justice and total liberation of colonised South Africa.

What is more interesting is that leadership failed to highlight such a profound problem in the political policies in Mbeki’s inheritance of the capitalists’ fallacy. What was also observed was the spirituality of the leadership, as they started vigorously highlighting that the regime of the ‘last’ emperor – De Klerk and his looting team colonisers – was divided into segments⁸. It is true but Africa faces a situation where her children at home and elsewhere remain landless, despite Mandela’s highly celebrated new South Africa. The question I’m posing to the leadership of the old and new social

movements is, “How do you cross a bridge where the dispossessed remain dispossessed and the masters of ‘primitive accumulation’ remain in possession of vast areas of land and own almost all the wealth of the country?”

What makes me more interested in the social movement leadership is that they are committed to bringing about lasting change to lives but they are also searching for direction in the tunnel. This is because they are committed to democratic principles, while the same principles keep them where they are. This does not mean that I’m underestimating the leaders’ course of action, but the human race also needs to be liberated from all the fallacies that have been spread as a part of undermining their capacity to think and see what is illusion and what is real. The last question that comes to mind is whether Azania will ever be liberated?

South Africa revolts in the era of the globalised world

The industrial actions that rage like a wild fire in South Africa pose a lot of questions to different people. One of the questions I found relevant and think that others will as well is why workers in Mbeki’s times behaved like they did in the old days of apartheid South Africa?

For some it will be easy to know why industrial action seems to be reaching a peak, as it did in the days of Botha, the former president of apartheid South Africa. Perhaps people can recall that from the 1970s, and up until the early 1990s, more strikes were experienced in the winter months, from about May to August. This was caused by many reasons, one of which is that most unions negotiated during this period. Another reason is that workers were highly opposed to apartheid and its capitalist economic system, which was regarded as public enemy number one. In addition, workers in trade unions in South Africa had a joint program with the so-called

liberation movements – the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which was to topple the apartheid capitalist regime. Steve Biko emphasised this before the White apartheid security police murdered him in September 1977. When he said that:

“... above all, we Black people should keep in mind that South Africa is our country and belongs to us. The arrogance that makes White people travel all the way from Holland to come and Balkanise our country and shift us around has to be destroyed . . . Whereas Whites were guests to us on arrival in this country, they have now pushed us into a corner of only 13 percent of the land and have become bad hosts in the rest of the country. This we must put right.”

(Pheko, 1992:107).

But such a program was short-lived by the opportunist returning former exiles and prisoners who were greedy to take power by whatever means possible, even if this brought about the total betrayal of the Black majority, especially African.

These two fronts of the oppressed had to mingle with leadership inside the country that had experienced the brunt of apartheid and would do whatever was necessary to take over from the capitalists. But the unfolding of the situation was seen by the actions of the former prisoners and former exile “comrades” in almost in all ranks and organisations that had such structures. The new leadership reached a compromise deal that was never explained to the masses – why capitalism came to be seen as the only viable option despite its known failures globally. All the so-called liberation movements that started endorsing capitalism and why it had worked for so long were seen as reactionary movements, like the Inkatha Freedom Party. Strikes in the White minority colonialist capitalist apartheid regime were and are characterised by the

anger of workers protesting against the continuous alienation from their land, and their 'slavish' working conditions, which are still deteriorating further in all sectors. (Standing, 1999:4). This deterioration is characterised by the rise of a flexible and insecure labour market that is advantageous to the capitalists as it is political in nature (Standing, 1999:86). On the other hand some workers lost their lives because of the actions directed against the machinery of the capitalists. Their administrative organs defended it and workers continued losing benefits, while capitalists increased their lifespan and new benefits from the governments in the form of tax relief and the enforcement of cheap labour mechanisms. (Baskin, 2000:53).

The interesting part is that the White minority still spoil themselves with wealth and huge portions of land that were stolen in the name of primitive accumulation by forcing the indigenous populace off their land in order to sell their labour power in the name of civilisation. (Baskin, 2000:53; Pheko, 1990:1). What is also interesting is that this white minority has managed to win the hearts and minds of a few African elite and make them endorse the old broad daylight robbery as the answer. (Noyoo, 1999:65). This robbery is highly celebrated, especially by mostly Whites globally, as the "perfect example" the world should know about, where thieves are forgiven, but those who have been robbed are kept in prison for taking crumbs. (De Villiers, 2000:35). The numbers of Africans in prison then and now confirms this, as well as the number of Whites still occupying the amount of land in South Africa.

I'm highlighting these things because people and the world in general seem to be moving towards and adopting the same old capitalist strategy of turning a blind eye on reality. What is happening in South Africa is a dream going bad situation because the "noisiest" trade movement is the one that has an alliance with the ruling party. Although we can't confirm that this is the true feeling of the union leadership what is visible is that workers are still as "angry" as they were before, as is evidenced in industrial action in various sectors

in the country. (Mthembu, 2006; Nyar, 2006). Other recent waves of strikes include security guards and nurses, and there were again victims, especially in the security strikes. In other words workers in South Africa remain opposed to capitalism, irrespective of whether their trade union members and leaders have been co-opted to the echelons of capitalist structures such as NEDLAC. (Baskin, 2000: 49; Buhlungu, 2005:187).

In other words the revolution will take place, while the capitalists still have some of the leaders and structures of the dispossessed, and the oppressed Black majority is still squashed in impoverished rural areas, cramped in labour reserves in the townships, landless and forced to sell their labour for their livelihood at the cheapest rate. (Mthembu, 2005:17; Pheko, 1990:1). The industrial actions are accompanied by civil society action as they also fight the survival wars for better shelter and health services, and basic services such as water, electricity and proper sanitation. (Mthembu, 2005:11). Truly South Africa is the "Rainbow Nation" that is characterised by the following segments: of the poor on the outskirts of the cities who live in slums or informal settlements, unemployed and landless: the working poor Blacks; the rising Black middle class; the few poor Whites; the White middle class, the super-rich Whites and lastly, the roving rich Whites who are mostly related to business; the tourists, and the academics who perpetuate the neo-liberalist agenda. (Mthembu, 2005:18).

In such an environment what can one expect? Peace and harmony or signs of prosperity, despite the suffering of the majority in the country? It depends which team one is on for in these times illusions have great power and reality counts for nothing. Do you think it is worthy for South Africa, the colonised Azania, to revolt in the era of the globalised world?

The paradox of the Azanian (South African) traditional leadership in the post-apartheid era

Introduction

This section will attempt to summarise the role of traditional leadership in governance and in facilitating rural economic development in South Africa. In doing so, it will start by briefly scrutinising the historical emergence of traditional leaders and their role. We will also take a look at the role played by the traditional leaders in the rise and the entrenchment of industrialisation in South Africa, and their function in post-apartheid South Africa. Lastly, challenges faced by traditional leaders and possible solutions will also be examined.

This treatise has been written in a time when normal structures of traditional leadership are being challenged, and this raises concerns as to whether fundamental underlying issues causing the damage will be addressed. Another concern is whether the current debate about the recognition of the 11 chiefs will come up with something different, or whether it is just another ploy geared to acquire legitimacy, or perhaps a fight to be included in the capitalist system. While South Africa remains a shining example that other countries in the same state as South Africa should try to replicate, the previously disadvantaged majority remain concerned. Their concern stems from hopes that 1994 was expected to be the turning point in the suffering they experienced as a result of colonisation. Land dispossession cannot be clearly understood in the absence of traditional leadership, as traditional authorities form part of the leadership of the indigenous population. The effects of colonisation tended to quarantine traditional leadership in the rural areas, which remain intact in the same old apartheid state style. Current mid-2006 estimates in Statistics South Africa show that the country's population stands at over 47,4-million, compared to the 44,8-million reflected in 2001. About 27, 8 percent of people in rural areas are unemployed,

of which 24,4 percent are male and 32,4 percent female. Rural areas also contain 40,1 percent of the non-urban economically active population, of which 29,2 percent are male and 52,7 percent female. (Green Paper, 1995). Africans are in the majority at 37,7-million, making up 79,5 percent of the total population. The White population is estimated at 4,4-million (9,2 percent), Coloureds at 4,2-million (8,9 percent) and the Indian/Asian population at 1,2-million (2,5 percent). South Africa is a country with moderately few major urban centres and a great deal of wide open space, with slightly above half of the population living in urban areas. This may be due to the forced migration to the cities to seek employment or a better livelihood, as the land is dry and arid. Unemployment remains at an alarming over 40 percent, mostly affecting the African people.

Background

In order to be in a better position to understand the reasoning behind the migration of the African population to the urban areas, it will be wise to revisit the historical developments that led people to leave their homes in the first place, instead of developing the areas in which they lived. Firstly, it should be noted that history indicates that traditional leadership in parts of communal societies was negatively affected when White colonisers reached the shores of this mighty continent – Ethiopia/Africa. Communal societies' leadership style was based on religion and family ties. (Rodney, 1973: 22). The communist-like communities operated under the auspices of "ubuntu", which is guided by theocratic principles and values. History tells us that the African people in this part of the continent originated in the north of the continent and migrated downwards in different eras.

Therefore, South African has experienced five eras of tribal and state formation that have marked modern history. The pre-industrial era can be considered as the formative years of the ancient em-

pire, up until the rise of King Shaka. The subjugation years of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of a colonial state and the reworking of ethnic identities tied to tribal political structures within an imperial context. The 1920s saw the rise of segregation and “retribalisation” as set out in legislation such as the 1920 Native Affairs Act and the 1927 Native Administration Act. Such legislation furthered the bureaucratic state administration of Africans and moved the country towards territorial segregation, which is defined by some scholars as a system of “decentralised despotism”. The fourth era began with the Bantustan policies (such as the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act) of imposing apartheid, where the former reserves would become sovereign nation-states. Apartheid was a system of tribalist social engineering and bureaucratic authoritarianism. The fifth era of ethnic and state formation began several years ago, with South Africa’s first democratic elections. The new government inherited colonial tribal structures, some well over a century old. They also inherited a weakened economy, diminished state resources, and a host of seemingly intractable problems. (Crais, 2006:721).

Map of Monomotapa (South Africa).



Source: Shwabede A. Collection.

The early kingdoms' history cites that iron-using and state-building people existed in the southern region of this continent (known today as South Africa) as early as the first millennium AD, which eventually led to the emergence in the fifteenth century of the empire which Europeans called Monomotapa. The term "Zimbabwe" is used here to define the Zambezi/Limpopo cultures in the era before the arrival of the Europeans. Societies whose most characteristic feature was building large stone palaces, known collectively as Zimbabwe Residue (Rodney, 1973:54), flourished here between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. It is believed that the inhabitants of Zimbabwe during this time were Sotho speaking but by the time the Portuguese arrived, a Shona-speaking dynasty had taken control of most of the region. This was the Rozwi clan, which established the state of Mutapa, between the Zambezi and the Limpopo Rivers. The ruler was known as the Mwene Mutapa, which apparently meant "the great Lord of Mutapa" to his own followers, and formed a single empire. Mwene Mutapa reigned from about 1415 to 1450 AD, but the dynasty was already growing prominent before that date. The capital was at first sited at Great Zimbabwe, only moving north at a later date. What was important was that Mwene Mutapa appointed governors to rule over various localities outside the capital, in a manner similar to that of the Western Sudanic empires or the inter-lacustrine "Bachwezi" states. (Rodney, 1973:58).

The early Africans in the southern part of South Africa, who were spotted in this area before the arrival of White colonists in the seventeenth century in what is today called Cape Town, were known as Khoisan. Accounts of the early history of the indigenous people in the African continent show that it was ruled by kings and queens. (Magama, 1998; Callinicos, 1990: 5). The Imfecane Wars destroyed these early kingdoms, whose fate was later sealed by the arrival of Western colonisers. The nineteenth century saw the rise of the victorious King Shaka ka Senzangakhona Zulu "who forced other Kings to abdicate their power" or face the might of the King.

Those kings who decided to abdicate were given the status of chief or main representative of King Shaka's newly forged Zulu Empire. These people in this area of 12,000 square miles eventually became "Ama-Zulu", abdicated their clan kingship to second place.

In addition, the victorious kingdoms had power of control over the spoils of war, such as people and land, and to select chiefs/indunas, who later became the aristocracy, as they enjoyed more power and privileges (see Callinicos, 1990:5; Giddens, 1971:27). During the raging of the Mfecane Wars, the Dutch settlers emerged in the 1600s with a colonisation programme that further altered the African subsistence society. When the Africans returned to their places from their areas of refuge, their territories were occupied by White trekkers, which started another bitter war for land dispossession and alienation. This was first experienced in the Cape between the Dutch and later the British, and then in Natal between Zulus and the Dutch and the British (Wrong, 1946; Callinicos, 1990).

The era for racial subjugation

Prior to the South African industrial revolution of the late nineteenth century, British and Dutch colonists participated in bartering exchange trade, but once they had established themselves, traders began to demand money, which led to the beginning of the monetary system (see Terreblanche, 2002: 155; Callinicos, 1990: 2; Giddens, 1971:162; Rodney, 1973:18). To control the influx of African immigrant workers, legislation was passed by the state in 1760 to make pass laws compulsory for early slaves in the Cape. These eventually applied to workers throughout South Africa, forcing indigenous people to live in one place and possess a pass. (See Callinicos, 1990). Durkheim argues that the development of the modern form of society is related to the expansion of "individualism": this is associated with the division of labour that produces a

specialised occupational function, and fosters the development of particular skills, capacity and attitudes that are not shared by everyone in society. (Giddens, 1971:73). The idea of formally providing industrial education to Africans in South Africa was first debated in the mid-1800s.

These changes were facilitated by the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand, which made it necessary to acquire capital for special machinery for deeper level mining.

In 1896, deep-level mining needed more cheap labour and the government passed legislation to assist mine owners to have more control over the supply and movement of Black workers in the mines. The two forms of coercion introduced (the first being the forced removal from the land through legislation such as the Land Act of 1913 and Trust Act of 1936) eventually made it compulsory for adult men to work for “usual wages, for at least one year”. This became known as cheap labour and became the norm for wages in all other sectors. This is still practised today. The second form of coercion, which although more subtle was much more far-reaching in its implications, was the imposition of the taxation system – (Black people were expected to pay hut tax and poll tax of one pound in the form of money: this was the equivalent of two rand for every 18 years of age). These taxes were enforced upon indigenous people as an obligation to enter the cash economy in order to earn cash wages to pay the taxes. In addition, changes led African people to adopt other means of gathering that had never been utilised before by the subsistence society, such as looking for jobs. Traditional leaders also played a role in collecting tax for the government and organising labour supply for mines (see Callinicos, 1990: 7; Popenoe, 1998:424; Lund, 1998; Rodney, 1973:26; Wrong, 1946:373).

This era has been defined as a period of underdevelopment of Africa, as the first four centuries of Afro/European trade represented the roots of African underdevelopment in a very real sense. Colonialism flourished rapidly from a European viewpoint, because sever-

al of its features had already been rooted in Africa in the preceding period. One of the most decisive features of the colonial system was the presence of Africans serving as economic, political and cultural agents of the European colonialists. The agent/“comprador” status of the chiefs came after the subjugation and imprisonment of the kings in isolated areas like Robben Island and St Helena Island. (Magema, 1979:134). Those agents or compradors were already serving European interests in the pre-colonial period. The impact of trade with Europe had reduced many African rulers to the status of middlemen for European trade, and raised ordinary Africans to the status of commercial middleman role. Africans traditional leaders conducting trade on behalf of Europeans were not just commercial agents, but also cultural agents, since inevitably they were heavily influenced by European thought and values. The search for European education began in Africa before the colonial period. (Rodney, 1973:80).

Early Chiefs faced imprisonment (with informal shelter – huts at Robben Island). *Source: <http://www.freedom.co.za/history2.html>*

Therefore capitalism, under which the greatest wealth in society was created, not through agriculture but through machines in the factories and mines, came into being. Like the preceding phase of feudalism, capitalism was characterised by the concentration of the means of producing and owning wealth in a few hands, and by the unequal distribution of the products of human labour. (Rodney, 1973:7). When it comes to examining the situation of the modern worker and peasant classes in Africa, the indispensable component of modern underdevelopment is that it expresses a particular relationship of exploitation. All of the “underdeveloped” countries in the world are exploited by others and are products of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist personal development. This corresponds to the state of the society as a whole. For example, the further scrambling of Africa in 1885, and the carving up of Africa at the Berlin Conference table, saw huge fortunes made from gold and diamonds in

Southern Africa by people like Cecil Rhodes. In the present century, both investments and the outflow of surplus have increased. (Rodney, 1973:19).

The South African government followed the tradition of legitimising capitalism by utilising certain groups within the oppressed people to oppress the rest of the oppressed population. For example, Britain, who was the major colonialist in Africa, is characterised by a big city or metropolis, which utilised the manpower of the colonies. (Rodney, 1973:32). The Romans used soldiers that subjugated their nationalities to conquer other nationalities, as well as to defend Rome against its enemies. Britain applied this to Africa from the early seventeenth century, when the West Indian Regiment was sent across the Atlantic to protect British interests on the West African coast. The West Indian Regiment had Black men in the ranks, Irish (colonials) as NCOs, and Englishmen as officers. By the end of the nineteenth century, the West Indian Regiment also included many from Sierra Leone. The African regiments supplemented the metropolitan military apparatus in several ways. Firstly, they were used as emergency forces to put down nationalist uprisings in the various colonies. Secondly, they were used to fight other Europeans inside Africa, notably during the First and Second World Wars. Thirdly, they were forced to defend European battlefields or theatres of war outside Africa. The colonialists used the African continent and her people in diverse ways to advance their military strengths and techniques. (Rodney, 1973:64; Callinicos, 1990:60).

Therefore, South African traditional leadership was no exception in following this practice, as it was and still is a significant 'colony' for the supply of raw material reservoir for the whole of imperialism. The economic and political partition of Africa gave Britain the bigger portion of the mineral wealth, while the Boers retained the political power necessary to institutionalise white racism. As capitalists of other nationalities entered into relations with South Africa through investment and trade, these capitalists agreed to and strengthened

the racist/fascist social relations in South Africa. (Rodney, 1973:71). This inequality in exchange worsened throughout the colonial period, a process economists referred to as the deteriorating terms of trade.

The unequal nature of trade between the metropolis and the colonies was emphasised by the concept of the “protected market”, which meant that even an inefficient metropolitan producer could find a guaranteed market in the colony where his class had political control. Furthermore, as in the preceding era of pre-colonial trade (Rodney, 1973:20), colonial governments were (and still are) repeatedly talking about “the maintenance of law and order”, by which they meant the maintenance of conditions most favourable to the expansion of capitalism and the looting of Africa. European colonisers ensured that Africans paid for the upkeep of the governors and police who oppressed them and served as watchdogs for private capitalists. Taxation and customs duties were levied in the nineteenth century with the aim of allowing the colonial powers to recover the costs of the armed forces, which they despatched to conquer Africa. All expenses were met by exploiting the labour and natural resources of the continent; and for all practical purposes, the expense of maintaining the colonial government machinery was a form of alienation of the products of African labour. (Rodney, 1973:26).

On other hand, the limited social services within Africa during colonial times were and still are distributed in a manner that reflected the pattern of domination and exploitation. For example, vast hectares of land remain in the hands of the white minority colonialist group, the majority of whom came from a poor background, and had their sights set on a new “promised land”. We need to note that White settler expatriates wanted the standards of the bourgeoisie or professional classes in the big cities. They were all the more resolute to have luxuries in Africa, because so many of them came from poverty-stricken backgrounds in Europe, and could not expect

good service in their own homelands.

For example, in countries like Algeria, Kenya and South Africa, it is an accepted fact that Whites created an infrastructure in which they could afford to lead leisured and enjoyable lives, which is proven by the manner in which the number of amenities provided to them in any of those countries cannot be compared to what Africans got out of colonialism. (Rodney, 1973:183).

In South Africa, the foundation of the gold and diamond empire for colonialists was already established as early as 1912. This is witnessed by the increase in the number of informal settlements and further deterioration of the horrifying living conditions, while the government committed itself to pursuing the cruel policy of apartheid, which meant separation of the races so as to better exploit the African people. Many Africans left the punishing conditions in the reserves in the hope of a better life in the towns, but urban life offered little more than it did in the country. (Rodney, 1973:3).

Colonialists 'modernised' Africa by introducing the dynamic features of capitalism, such as private property of land, private ownership of the other means of production, and money relations. Dependency syndrome was fostered in various ways among African people. For example, in the early years of colonisation, the few African businessmen who were allowed to emerge were at the bottom of the ladder and cannot be considered as 'capitalists' in the true sense. They did not own sufficient capital to invest in large-scale farming, trading, mining or industry, and were dependent both on European-owned capital and on the local capital of minority groups. (Rodney, 1973:20).

South Africa and Africa in general saw a transition from the phase through which all continents passed in the phase of communalism. When it ceased to be transient and became institutionalised in Africa, development came to a halt. African colonialism created conditions that led not only to periodic famine, but also to chronic malnutrition and decline in the physique of Africans.

A brief overview of the role of traditional leadership between 1600 - 1994

Various people view the role of traditional leaders differently in the years before 1994. Some saw them as collaborators with the apartheid regime, since they were key players in supplying labour to the mines, and the industry played a role in keeping stability in the reserves. (Callinicos, 1990). In the late 1980s, traditional leaders formed the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRELESA). During the negotiations for a new constitution in the 1990s, CONTRELESA demanded a significant role for traditional authorities within the new South Africa, new policies and on-going discussions concerning customs and traditional authorities, and the transformation of communal land tenure. Changes in customs resulted in the passing of Act 41 of 2003, the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act. The legislation establishes the processes for reworking traditional rule and for providing “traditional communities” with limited sovereignty. Under the legislation, traditional councils or traditional leaders may have a role in issues ranging from land administration, health and the administration of justice, to economic development and arts and culture.

The old tribal reserves and the former homelands were given some degree of sovereignty as before. The degree of sovereignty was granted to undemocratically elected officials but to so-called “traditional authorities.” The fundamental issue of the politics of traditional rule centres on the question of political sovereignty, in particular the historical consideration of how sovereignty was lost and how it should be regained. Typically, the modern doctrine of sovereignty is based on the notion that someone was in “supreme command” and presumed the existence of a state exercising dominion over a given bounded territory. Modern political theorists argue that the indivisibility and independence of the state of the nineteenth century is based on the “Westphalian regime” that has become en-

trenched within European international law, at the centre of which was the sovereign state. Various thinkers argue that the rise of the modern nation-state presented sovereignty as an ontological given and as territorially defined, for example, historical formations in a colonial setting like South Africa.

Therefore, in the issue of sovereignty, the power is enclosed and exercised, built into the formation of the state, as opposed to something taken for granted as a 'political given'. Sovereignty is formed as a significant part of the claim to power and emergence of political rights. Bourdieu argues further that there is a vital need for understanding the ways "the state establishes and inculcates common forms and categories of perception and appreciation, social frameworks of perceptions, of understanding or of memory, in short state forms of classification". Bourdieu focuses his argument on the formulations and the level to which state effects, and state formation itself can be seen as negotiated, and that the naturalisation of the state's classificatory schemes, which included sovereignty, as a kind of political monotheism that emerged out of historical processes of negotiation as well as conflict and confrontation. (Crais, 2006:722).

In 1994, South Africa changed governments. A Black majority parliament came into power, adopting a constitution dedicated to equality and human dignity. The role of traditional leaders in post-apartheid South Africa remains almost the same as pre-1994, as most Black South Africans living in rural areas are headed by hereditary kings or chiefs, and headmen and sub-chiefs, and still follow customary practices in their daily lives. Chiefs are still regarded as major players in keeping and promoting culture, and as political leaders. Traditional leaders also play a significant role in delivering large numbers of votes during electioneering time. (Daedalus and Chambers, 2000). Furthermore, labour supply and conditions in the reserves forced Africans to live a dual livelihood: one life as a cheap migrant worker in towns and the second with a family. (Callinicos,

1990; Wrong, 1946: 376).

These factors subjected Africans to a vicious cycle of poverty, as illustrated below by the sketch. Currently, reserves are impoverished; the majority of people are unemployed and new patterns of migration have emerged, where everybody (and not only the men as before) migrates to town to seek employment. Most rural areas are currently left with grandmothers, children and unemployed youth, who are often affected by alcohol. HIV/AIDS also terrorises communities in various ways. The first concerns funeral costs, which are generally not easily met and sometimes require the community to wait longer periods before burying their loved ones. In the second, in many households children have been left on their own, as family members have succumbed to HIV/AIDS, leaving no older people at home. The traditional leader's role in meeting these challenges is not significant – if they have done anything it has not been publicised. *Working life. A People's history of South Africa* (Callinicos, 1990: 30).

Furthermore, traditional leadership still has more curtailed power in the so-called tribal authority areas, which are for the maintenance of reserves of the labour supply. Traditional leadership currently provides advice to the national government and make recommendations in matters relating to traditional leadership and its role, customary law, and the customs of communities observing a system of customary law. They also investigate and present the available information on traditional leadership, traditional authorities, customary law and customs, at the request of the President in connection with any matter referred to in this section. (Council of Traditional Leaders Act [No. 10 of 1997]). Traditional leaders (House of Chiefs) in other parts of Africa like Ghana and Botswana are almost on the same par as their South African counterparts, as they have adopted the dual approach leadership style of dealing with matters relating to traditional or indigenous questions, and have the power to debate and arrive at decisions. They have also

adopted a governance model based on the principles of inclusion, equality, and responsibility, with matters concerning all citizens dealt with by their parliaments. Canada's first nations are considering in adopting the same approach as Africa's Houses of Chiefs to get it into order. (Ray, 2001).

The absence of a critical approach by traditional leadership tends to subscribe to the ideas of Western origin or what Alatas (1974) terms as the "captive mind", which refers mainly to the theoretical and institutional dependence of traditional leadership on Western thought, leadership and the non-critical and imitative manner in which such knowledge is assimilated and disseminated, which Abdullah and Low (2005) noted when they argued that intellectual imperialism has resulted in a lack of attention, or diverting attention from issues that should be of critical concern to non-Western societies. This relates especially to exploring the critical theory that aspires "to identify the unresolved tensions in existing social reality and thereby cause a change of consciousness". (Snyman, 1997).

Lukacs argues further that because of the history of capitalist 'civilisation', that offers us the opportunity to learn about rectification from the inside out for the first time, the dispossessed become a saleable commodity, which leads to dehumanisation. Furthermore, the Snyman (1997) critical theory is needed because it is "guided by analysis of the historical process that has an interest in the future". (Mthembu, 2007).

In order for the colonised African majority to be able to deal with past injustices fairly and justly, they need to start being serious about the future or survival of the race or else vanish in the world memory, or take a stand. This raises the need to start considering Welsing's suggestion (1991) of adopting the linear thought approach, which advocates the progress from problem perception towards problem solution. Any changes or alterations should be made on a step-by-step basis in the process in order to achieve a total problem solution. The critical theory calls on all the means

we have at our disposal, and poses a great challenge to leaders, scholars and “think-tankers”, especially from previously colonised countries, and in particular the African continent, to start moving away from what Welsing (1991) terms a circular thought of analytical pattern that tends to move away from problem solving by adopting a diversionary route, which results in coming back to the same approach to the problem.

Perhaps the dispute about the demand by 11 provincial Amakhosi (chiefs) in KwaZulu-Natal to be granted the same status as King Goodwill Zwelithini might indicate an awakening from the slumber of submissiveness to White supremacy ideals. (Khumalo, 2007).

The case concerning the 11 chiefs in KwaZulu-Natal comes to mind. They are currently attempting to rectify what they perceive as having limited power over their subjects and secondly, they realised that they retain complete sovereignty over all of their subjects between periods, when the subjects returns to the reserves. Lastly, colonisation manipulated the earlier subjection to suit its new set-ups. This type of set-up shows that traditional leadership is free in a sense of the word because they are agents for higher powers – in this case the government of the day as it used be in the times of Botha and the likes. In other words, chiefs do not have power over the whole of the country and remain under the control of the president. In other words, the power of the president is primary and the kings’ or chiefs’ power is secondary. A dilemma that faces chiefs today is how to practise a form of leadership style that is meant to be collective and independent on its own with a monopolistic and individualistic capitalism (a system that effectively functions outside rhymes of faith but on rhymes of democratic materialism). This means that chiefs have attempted to forfeit the basis that set the foundations of traditional leadership, which is the “ubuntu” that prevailed under bartering economic system guided by the theocratic values.

In conclusion

The bets are high, rules have been written, the ground is prepared, and now is up to the players to finish the game. This time the players are the traditional leaders. Will they continue to stand aside and 'wait in limbo', watching submissively while their inheritance is vandalised in their presence, and continue wasting energy and their precious time fighting over the crumbs (in the form of payment in kind, which is sometimes called income) that fall from the table of Western civilisation, which equals suffering to Africa? The time is now to take the route for self-determination that is guided by some form of order (in this case the ancient Nyahbinghi Order) that will ensure the true liberation of the Black world. Respond to the call for assurance of the total liberation of Ethiopia: Psalm 68:31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God". (Edmons, 2003:59). Alternatively, follow the suit of the president, who has committed himself to be a staunch Knight of the Order of Western world civilisation.

Endnotes:

1. Prominent racist trade unions in the 1922s were Mynwerkers-Unie, which is currently known as Solidarity, and despite being forbidden by the political transition and constitution its membership continues to be strictly racially exclusive. Bell, Terry (17/02/2006: 2).
2. European colonial settlers who came mainly from Holland and Britain.
3. Inside labour – *Solidarity returns to its white-right roots*: Mercury: Business Report. For example, currently Solidarity is opposed to affirmative action, citing it as racism and discrimi-

nation, and its link to Shirley & Banister, a public relations and lobby group that supports the right wing of the Republic Party in the US. Its leadership is visiting Belgium, Netherlands and Germany. Christelijk Nationale Vakverbond (CNV) Cato Institute, which is regarded as the “market liberal” institute that leads the privatisation of government assets in Washington and Italy with a view to forming a “new international forum”.

4. For example in South Africa most trade unions were formed by a particular political organisation, such as Cosatu and the ANC, Nactu and BCM and PAC.
5. Forming trade unions like this was part of protecting workers’ interests although organisation was based on race in line with the White world agenda of entrenching supremacy above other races.
6. Verwoerd was notorious for dehumanising African people with projects such as apartheid and for using concepts such as “Bantu”, which describes the indigenous people of Africa, as a means to manipulate for their own good the forged identity of the so-called “*Afrikaner*”, and inflict self-hatred, confusion, and illusions on “*Abantu*” – which is why today we still speak of “*Abantu and ubuntu*” in the whole of the continent of Africa because that is how the indigenous people of Africa are called. They are a threatened human race and are also under constant attack, in view of the unsuccessful struggles across Africa and the suffering experienced by the indigenous populace. Especially, in view of the indirect continuous torture of the political and socio-political livelihoods of “*Abantu*” all over the world, as they are kept in deadly labour reserves called ghettos or squatter camps or informal settlements or townships or Bantustans, in extremely exploitative working conditions, and now in the advent of HIV/AIDS, which happens to be rife amongst Bantu communities as statistics show. So, I

don't know whether this development suggests or qualifies the argument that says, "South Africa always sounded and looked as though it was to be on the list of genocidal states." (Tatz, 2003:107).

7. The recently founded organisation was formed by communities from the Kennedy Road and Clare Estate informal settlements in Durban. The organisation later opened its membership to other related communities, such as Emaus in Pinetown. The body has become well known for its struggles for housing and land for its members, and also uses its voting "powers" as a negotiating tool with the government, who needs its membership.
8. The division amongst the settlers from Holland, the so-called Afrikanerdom in South Africa, started to be apparent in the 1980s, and resulted in two camps, who personified two former SA state presidents: the *verligte* (enlightened or liberal, which revealed itself through Mr F.W. de Klerk), and *verkrampte* (conservative, which revealed itself through Mr P.W. Botha). These camps differed on issues such as granting trade union rights to Black workers, the introduction of new constitutional dispensation and the extension of political rights to the Coloured and Indian populations. (Zegeye, 2001:11).

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Molefe, T. (2 October 2003): *Slice of life: we look at them but see nothing...* Sowetan, p. 6.

Interviews Conducted

Mathonsi Dumisani, (17 December 2002): Liaison officer/Human Resources Manager, TMS-Shezi.

Prouce Richard, (19 December 2002): Full-time shop steward, UTATU (United Transport and Allied Trade Union).

Nkosi Eric, (22 December 2002): Booking clerk, Shezi-TMS and President of Dock and General Workers Union (D&GWU).

Ngcobo Joseph, (22 December 2002): Casual worker (outside driver), TMS-Shezi.

Mkhize Dumisani, (22 December 2002): Casual worker (inside driver), Shezi-TMS.

List of Interviewees

a) Focus group interviews

- 1) Phakamani Garden Club Members in Maphephetheni area; rural. (20 October 2003).
- 2) Two groups of unemployed people at an informal settlement in Jadhu Place, Springfield. (20 October 2003).
- 3) A group of unemployed people at a semi-urban township in Ntuzuma (G-Section). (20 October 2003).
- 4) Two groups of job seekers in Durban next to Kwa Muhle Museum. (20 October 2003).

b) In-depth interviews

- 1) Paulos Gwala: Executive Member of Inanda Dam Reparation Forum in Ntuzuma Township; semi-urban. (20 October 2003).
- 2) Else Mphephetha: A community member; unemployed/pensioner.

- sioner; Maphephetheni area; rural. (20 October 2003).
- 3) Eric Mkhize: Job seeker at Wyatt Road/Kwa Muhle Museum; urban. (12 January 2004).
 - 4) Mbutho Mthembu: Unemployed at Jadhu Place; informal settlement. (22 March 2004).
 - 5) Mlungisi Makhathini: A community member; unemployed/job seeker. (10 January 2004).
 - 6) Mzonjani Shangase: A community member; unemployed/job seeker. (10 January 2004).
 - 7) Bayi Khabazela: Job seeker at Wyatt Road/Kwa Muhle Museum. (19 January 2004).
 - 8) Sindi G.: Unemployed in Ntuzuma G; semi-urban. (15 February 2004).

Acronyms

AIDS -	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC -	African National Congress
BCM -	Black Consciousness Movement
CCMA -	Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CD -	Crane Driver
COSATU -	Congress of South African Trade Unions
D&GWU -	Dock & General Workers Union
DOL -	Department of Labour
IFP -	Inkatha Freedom Party
IT -	Information Technology
LRA -	Labour Relations Act
NDLS -	National Dock Labour Scheme
NETU -	National Employees Trade Union
NTC -	National Technical Certificate
OHSA -	Occupation, Health and Safety Act
PAC -	Pan African Congress

PUSEMO -	
S/S -	Shop Steward
SACP -	South African Communist Party
SALSTAF -	
SAS -	South African Stevedores
SATAWU -	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
TMS -	Shezi Total Manpower Services and Shezi (Labour brokerage company formed by Black and White business people as part of a Black Economic Empowerment [BEE] project)
U.I.F. -	Unemployment Insurance Fund
UTATU -	United Transport and Allied Trade Union

Tables

Table 1: Statistics of land expropriated in some African countries.

Table2: Levels of resource consumption and waste generation in South Africa.

Source: Napier, 2004:21 citing Napier, 2000.

Table 3: Dockworkers speak up.

Table 4: Changing forms of employment in key sector.

Source: Naledi Report, 2003.

Graphs

Graph 1: Unemployment rate in South Africa (official definition) by population group and sex: September 2003 and March 2004. Source: Labour Force Survey: October 2004 (Statistics South Africa).

Graph 2: Education level by race.
Source: Netshitenzhe, 2006

Figures

Figure 1: Informal settlements and environmental impacts. Source: Napier 2004:14.

Figure 2: Percentage distribution of households by types of main dwelling. Source: Statsa, 2007

Figure 3: A typology of violence. Source: World Health Organisation's First report on violence and health (2002).

