

A NOTE TO THE READER

Please be advised:

- 1. This issue of Apdusa Views is 31 pages. Its theme is the sustained campaign of hostility, vilification and threats of physical violence against Minority groups in South Africa.**
- 2. Apdusa Views has set up a website which will seek to be a repository of literature and writings of the Unity Movement formerly known as the Non European Unity Movement and its various affiliates. A fair amount of material has already been uploaded. More will be done in due course.**
- 3. The website has already uploaded all the issues of Apdusa Views and will do so with future issues.**
- 4. The website address is www.apdusaviews.co.za**
- 5. Should any reader have difficulty in navigating the website, kindly contact the editor and A Guide will be furnished.**



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HALT VILIFICATION AND PERSECUTION OF MINORITIES

APDUSA Views P O BOX 8888
CUMBERWOOD
3235
e-mail: Malentro@telkomsa.net
Website: www.apdusaviews.co.za

HALT VILIFICATION AND PERSECUTION OF MINORITIES

INTRODUCTION.

For all its pontificating about its commitment to non-racialism/anti-racism, the leadership of the ANC, the IFP and other predominantly African organisations have almost always been singularly indifferent/silent whenever there is a racialistic attack on South Africans of Indian origin. The attitude of those in power has been that there are far more important things to worry about than the whingeing about this minority group.

The latest incident that made one indignant was an article by Peter Machen in the section of the Witness called “Weekend Leisure”. It is entitled “The long journey of stropky NGEMA”.¹

Given its ordinary daily meaning, “stropky” is hardly an appropriate description for a person like Ngema. Unless of course the intention is disguise the true nature of a notorious, uncommonly dangerous inciter to racial violence, a profligate who with his accomplices blew R14 million of the tax-payers money on obscene luxuries like a luxury bus, numerous overseas trips etc for a production which did not see the light of day and the purpose of which was to combat AIDS², a man consumed by unbridled covetousness at the affluence of others.

Ngema is also notorious for having composed and distributed for profit the song “AmaNdiya”. In plain language, the song incited the African people to attack and kill South Africans of Indian origin.

We believe that Ngema got his inspiration for “AmaNdiya” from the Hutu genocidal killers of Rwanda. (More on this below). With his song Ngema sought to kill two birds with one song!

Firstly, to literally do so with the Indian community due to his hatred for its members and his covetousness for the affluence of a section of the Indian middle class

Secondly, to promote the sales of his musical album “*Jive Madlokovu*”. For those who knew Ngema and those in the retail music business this was crystal clear. This is how a musical reviewer Buyanim-Afrika Mkhulise put it:

“Despite the fact that many of the songs are sung by guest artists, the listener is likely to get sick of the artist’s self-praise as the word “Madlokovu.”³ is repeated on almost every song on the album...Overall, the album could *easily have collected dust on the shelf as it became forgotten if it was not for the song Amandiya.*”

(The Echo” 13th June 2002) (Our italics and emphasis)

¹ The Witness: Weekend Leisure 11th November 2006

² Had the R14 million been used properly for the purpose for which it was given, how many lives would have been saved? To put it in another way: How many deaths can be laid at the door-steps of those who with criminal irresponsibility disregarded their duty in providing information and inspiration to avoid conduct which leads to HIV/AIDS?

³ Ngema’s clan name

So heinous was the song “Amandiya”, so blatant in its falsehoods, so sinister in its intentions, that it was met with universal revulsion and condemnation by all right-minded and caring people of this country. Even the leadership of political organisations which are undisguised admirers of Ngema were compelled to criticise him. As to how genuine the condemnation was, it will be shown that in the case of the ANC it was simply going through the motions of it.

1. In parliament, there was condemnation by all to the dangerous and racialistic contents of the song.
2. In KwaZulu-Natal, the leader of the ANC undertook a concerted campaign to promote “race harmony”.
3. In all ANC municipalities there was an undertaking to form Anti-Racism Committees.
4. The Broadcasting Complaints Commission effected an air-time ban on the song.
5. The Natal High Court at the instance of an incredibly brave Ramesh Jethalall granted an interim interdict against the sale and distribution of the disc containing the song.
6. The Human Rights Commission, the watch-dog of the Human Rights enshrined in our Constitution, condemned the song and demanded that it be banned.
7. The Censorship Board, not known to have any teeth or even bark for that matter, was compelled to illegalise sale of the song to persons under the age of 18 years.⁴
8. Bishop Rubin Philip of the Indo-African Institute joined the call for the banning of the song.

One got the distinct impression that Ngema somehow expected praise and congratulations for his song.⁵ Instead there was an avalanche of condemnation. In the face of this, Ngema retreated and gave the most improbable reason for composing and distributing the song- he wanted to initiate dialogue on the relations between the African and Indian people!!! One can poke a million holes in that rationalisation. The man’s dishonesty stands exposed when he appeals to Dabulamanzi, a general in Cetshwayo’s army to help deal with the Indians! If it was dialogue he wanted, why did he not appeal to the mild and peace-loving spirit of Chief Albert Luthuli?

Time has shown that Ngema’s professed intention (in composing and publishing that rabble-rousing song) of initiating a dialogue with members of the Indian community on the relationship between them and the African people was a blatant lie. No person who has his reasoning powers intact would address a community in a language, namely the Zulu language, which he knows is neither spoken nor used in daily communication by its members. We have not heard of any serious, sustained and meaningful dialogue between members and /or representatives of the Indian and African communities on the question of race relations.⁶ It was all a smokescreen.

⁴ The logic of the reasoning behind the age restriction escaped me at that time and still does. –Editor.

⁵ We have little doubt that there would have been much back-slapping and cheers by the Indian haters among a section of the African petty bourgeoisie – in private!

⁶ Unless one can count the panel discussion on television subsequent to the distribution of the song when Ngema was cut to ribbons by Ms Gitanjali Pather.

INSPIRATION FROM RWANDA.

We have stated that in all probability Ngema got the idea of “Amandiya” and the inspiration from the horrendous massacre that took place in Rwanda. For all the vile motives which propelled him to compose and distribute the song, Ngema was criminally indifferent to the “reasonable and probable consequences of his actions.” There is a universal legal principle that a person in engaging in an act intends the reasonable and probable consequences of his/her act and must be held liable for such consequences.

A number of writers and commentators have noted similarities between the hate message in Ngema’s song and the hate propaganda which preceded the massacre in Rwanda. The Editor of the “Witness”, John Conyngham has made the comparison between Ngema’s song and the hate propaganda spewed out by Hutu intellectuals like Professor Nahimana and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza. They are both charged in the International Criminal Tribunal set up by the United Nations and which sits in Arusha, Tanzania With these two is a “celebrated singer turned journalist called Hassan Ngeze....In Ngema’s song there are no good Indians, just as in Hassan Ngeze’s song there were no good Tutsis.”⁷

The international community has given full support and backing to the tribunal set up to try as criminals of the worst kind those persons who initiated and promoted and carried out the genocide in Rwanda. In other words, Ngema’s kind are on trial in a UN-constituted court in Arusha for carrying out what Ngema tried to do in this country through his hate-filled song.

Another notorious genocidal maniac who has been arrested and hauled before the Arusha Tribunal is a Rwanda musician Simon Bikindi. We learn about this person from Shyaka Kanuma, a Rwandan, in a very sober but revealing article written by him in the Mail and Guardian of 22nd June 2002.

Bikindi’s Song of Hate was released just before the genocide began in 1994.

According to Shyaka Kanuma:

“Music was one of the handy instruments to convey their message and to whip hundreds of thousands of Hutus wielding clubs, sticks, stones and machetes into a frenzied attack on their Tutsi neighbours or any moderate Hutus who opposed them. What is interesting (or from a Rwandan point of view, disturbing) are the striking similarities in the lyrics of *AmaNdiya* and those of one of Bikindi’s songs, *Bene Sebahinzi*.”⁸ (Our underlining)

Further:

⁷ “The Seeds of Genocide” by John Conyngham “The Witness” 27/7/2002

⁸ We would not be surprised if it turns out that “AmaNdiya” is a South Africanisation of Bikindi’s “Bene Sebahinzi.”

“One should not underestimate the power of music. Rwandan survivors describe the effect of Bikindi’s song, and particularly the lines about the solidarity of Hutu brothers against the Tutsi enemies.”⁹

As if anticipating the facile and irresponsible approach that South Africa is not Rwanda, and, therefore, there was no chance of Ngema succeeding in a pogrom, Shyaka Kanuma warns:

“Take it from a Rwandan: In the right circumstances, a song intended to call on one ethnic group to confront another can be extremely effective in driving home the message of genocide.”

THE CONSTITUTION VIOLATED

Any person who has followed the disgraceful Ngema saga will come to the conclusion that no matter what Ngema says to avert denunciation, the objective intention was to initiate an anti-Indian pogrom. This, on its own constitutes a violation of our Constitution in a number of ways:

1. The preamble states, inter alia:

“We, the people of South Africa.....Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. “

2.The Founding Provisions state, inter alia:

1. The Republic of South Africa is one democratic state founded on the following values:.....

(b) Non-racialism and non-sexism

3. There are various sections in the Bill of Rights which:

a) Protect human dignity

b) Protect security of person

c) Protect freedom from all forms of violence

4. High on the list of rights flowing from the Constitutional’s Court’s interpretation of the Constitution is the RIGHT TO LIFE.

Ngema’s song violated all these rights.

What action was taken against this violator? NO PROSECUTION! NO OSTRACISM! NO SAYING TO HIM: YOU ARE A MENACE TO SOCIETY. NO INTERACTION WITH YOU UNTIL YOU HAVE SHOWN ADEQUATE REPENTANCE!

If none of these measures were taken, how did the Mbeki government, the ANC leadership and black elite subsequently interact with Ngema?

⁹ It is no coincidence that the AmaNdiya opens and closes with the words: “**Oh brothers, Oh my fellow brothers.**”

Believe it or not, but as follows:

1. He was invited to perform and did so at the “Ten Years of Democracy” celebration held in front of the Government Buildings in Pretoria. It was also the occasion of Thabo Mbeki’s second inauguration as President of our country.
2. Dr Pallo Jordan, the Minister of Arts and Culture announced in December 2005 that Ngema and Jonas Gwanga would receive an “eight figure sum” to create a musical celebrating Nepad.
3. In 2004, at the holding of the Steve Biko Foundation annual function, where Nelson Mandela delivered the lecture on Walter Sisulu, Ngema was invited to perform.
4. He has received financial backing to the tune of an amount which is reported to be R4 million rand for being engaged by the office of KZN premier’s office.¹⁰

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

In plain language, this means that Ngema the aspirant genocidal maniac is accorded the respect of an acclaimed artist and his attempt to incite the Zulu-speaking Africans of Natal against South Africans of Indian origin is clearly forgiven and forgotten by those very people who have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution so blatantly violated by Ngema.

How does one explain this behaviour? The reasons for this bizarre conduct is complex and multi-faceted. We do not claim to understand all of it.

1. “Dancing, music and burlesque” is deeply embedded in the culture of the African (used in the narrow sense) Whereas in the past there were numerous impediments, not least of all resources and access to venues, today things have turned around. There is a lot available to cater for the tastes of the new elite. Money is no object. Today millions are being looted from the state coffers to cater for those tastes. They indulge themselves to the fullest to satisfy all their newly acquired wants. “Dancing, music and burlesque” is one of those deep desires.

2. As with all other newly acquired wants, only the best will do. Nothing less will satisfy. So only those artists, playwrights and choreographers who are best at dazzling with sound, movement and colour will do. Nobody less. So what if a million of their countryfolk feel hurt and betrayed? Not to worry because there are thousand millions more from where come! We are not going to deny ourselves the greatest pleasure just because of whingeing.

3. Great is the esteem in which Ngema is held by the new elite. Listen to the encomiums:

By Bongani Madondo in Sunday Times “Lifestyle” 13th June 2004:

“As an artist- actor director musician, choreographer - he continues turning mundane stories and songs into ...whats the phrase so loved by sucking up entertainment scribes? GOLD”

“a gifted choreographer with a visual aptitude and an ear for bewitching music...”

¹⁰ “The Witness” 5th December 2006 – a review by Margaret Von Klemperer

“I suspect that the man’s overall appeal lies in his pop/cultural split personality. To the liberal press, Ngema is Idi Amin reincarnated; while to theatre lovers and neo-Africanists – South Africa’s “renaissance children” – he is a hero, a cultural historian and a peerless entertainer.”

It has become fashionable for the new elite to adorn itself with fancy and appealing names like neo-Africanists (so as not to give credit to the Pan Africanist Congress) or “renaissance children”. It is all part of an effort to slough off the burdensome inferiority complex and to assert equality or increasingly even superiority over other peoples of the world. The tremendous publicity given to the finding that Africa was the cradle of humanity, more especially a place like “Sterkfontein, Taung, Swartkrans and Kromdraai” is more than just tourism-orientated. It makes the “indigenous”¹¹ African feel more important than other people.

In reality, the garb of neo-Africanists” or “Renaissance Children” is worn ritualistically only. If one were to invite a debate and discussion on these terms, including that of “African”¹², the overwhelming probability is that one gets entangled in a web of undigested thoughts and invariably no consensus is reached. We say ritualistically because for all practical purposes this elite is capitalistic through and through. Its culture is predominantly consumerist and slavishly follows the culture of the affluent in the USA and Europe.

But there is another reason which is menacing. The hatred, or at the very least, a coldly non-caring attitude that a section of the elite have displayed towards members of the Indian community. How else can one explain the adulation for a person like Ngema by ordinary decent persons who strive for a non-racial democracy? The answer, or at least a part of it may lie in a feat of moral acrobatics. This how Bongani Madondo put it in his article referred to above:

“..there’s something that always propels one towards Ngema the theatre virtuoso and *not Ngema the political animal*” (Our Italics and emphasis)

This is the acrobatic feat. You want so much to enjoy what he is offering, you simply discard from your mind anything repulsive or ugly about him. That then gives you a clean conscience and frees the way for you to patronize his shows. Can the reader imagine Simon Bikindi and

Hassan Ngeze touring South Africa and drawing large crowds? When asked how can they justify support for two notorious genocidists from whose hands there is an incessant

¹¹ The term “indigenous” has been appropriated by a section of the elite (both new and old) as belonging exclusively to it so as to give themselves greater title to the land of the country or even sub-saharan Africa, presumably on the basis of first come, first claim. In reality those claiming to be “indigenous” came to this part of the world AFTER the San people and the Khoi-khoi but before members of the other racial groups.

¹² The new Auditor General was described in Parliament as the first African appointed to such post, forgetting that his predecessor Shauket Fakie was born and brought up in South Africa and has no home other than this country. But then he is not “indigenous” and does not deserve to be called “African”!!

dripping of innocent blood? The answer is then given: “Oh! We do not support their role in the massacre. But we enjoy their music and admire their talent!!”

However, not everyone in the world of performing arts is enamoured with Ngema’s talents. According to Gitanjali Pather, a leading theatre personality and activist::

“Ngema’s work has none of the intellectual depth or morality of truly great theatrical practitioners *because he plays to popular sentiment*. While his play *Asinamali* can be labeled a true artifact of the theatre of conscience, he betrays that history with his recent diatribe that he wishes to pass off as art....He has dragged the arts into the gutter and symbolises the worst kind of egocentricity imaginable... All Ngema has done with the rabid racism of his song is to reveal the paucity of his own soul and his disconnection with the realities of this country.”¹³

“Ngema” we are told “did not launch a genocide.”

That is true, but it was not through lack of trying on his part!

WHO IS INDIGENOUS?

A section of the African elite (old and new) seek to appropriate exclusively for the African people the claim of being “indigenous”. The obvious intention for this is to lay greater claim and title to the land of this country, if not the entire continent.

The concepts of “indigenous” and “native” are interlinked. While *indigenous* has the “implication of NOT having been introduced from elsewhere, a *native* “belongs to a particular place by birth. So those who are born and brought up in South Africa can in one sense claim to be “indigenous” since they did not originate from outside South Africa. Their ancestors did but not them. And all persons living in this country and who were born here are the natives of South Africa.

What is deliberately and conveniently omitted by this section of the elite is the fact that before the arrival of the Bantu-language speaking people (The Nguni, the Sotho and Tswana) to this part of the continent, the San people and the Khoikhoi were already here. So if anybody can make the claim of ownership of the land on the grounds of first come, first claim, it would be the San and the Khoikhoi and not the speakers of Zulu, Xhosa, Southern and Northern Sotho and Tswana. In the course of many years the latter “conquered, absorbed or annihilated the San and Khoikhoi.”¹⁴

The claim to exclusive employment of “indigenous” becomes somewhat ridiculous in the light of the latest findings that the original female ancestor of all humanity came from Africa.

“AFRICAN”

The use of the word “African” to describe the majority of the inhabitants of this land was politically motivated. None of the languages of the African people had an acceptable

¹³ An article by Ms Gitanjali Pather :”Ngema’s dragged arts into the gutter” which appeared in the weekly paper “POST” dated 29-31 May 2002

¹⁴ “Time Longer than Rope” by Edward Roux, Second Edition 1964 page 4

word to describe the descendants of the San, Khoikhoi and speakers of the Bantu Languages. The Zulu and Xhosa speakers used the word Abantu which means people. But because of the tribal connotations, it had no place in modern politics.

A collective name/s for the African people was first chosen by the colonialists and oppressors. They were “Caffres”, “Kaffirs”, “Native” “Bantu” and “Black”. The founding fathers of the ANC found the word “Native” acceptable¹⁵ and hence the first name of the ANC was the South African Native Congress.

When the politics of the liberation struggle became radicalised, the name “African” became popular. But it was used in two senses:

- a) To describe the descendants of the San, Khoikhoi and speakers of the Bantu languages.
- b) All inhabitants of the continent of Africa as one would describe an inhabitant of the continent of Asia as “Asian”

In 1951 when the Society of Young Africa was formed, its membership was open to all youth regardless of race, colour or creed. All its members considered themselves as Young Africans. Likewise was the position when APDUSA (African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa) was formed. In his presidential address delivered in April 1962, I.B. Tabata put it very simply:

“The Organisation stands firstly for democracy for all those who accept this country as their home and therefore regard themselves as Africans.”

It will thus be seen that the word: “African” was given a wider and an all inclusive meaning to embrace all inhabitants of the country who regarded Africa as the continent on which they set up home.

Notwithstanding the very clear and logical reasoning behind the word “African”, a section of the African elite have sought to set up racial barriers. This is how Kaizer Nyatumba, journalist and editor put it:

“I certainly have no quarrel with those less-darker-hued South Africans who wish to describe themselves as Africans, *as long as they don't expect me to call them African*”.¹⁶ (Our italics and emphasis)

This arrogance is reminiscent of the racist descendants of the Dutch and others when they arrogated for themselves the word AFRIKANER. They alone considered themselves worthy of being called Afrikaners which, as the reader knows is “AFRICAN” in Afrikaans!! Here we have two brands of racism, each claiming exclusive right to be called “African”- the white racist and the black racialist!

In his “I am an African” speech on the occasion of the adoption of the Constitution on 8 May 1996. Mr. Thabo Mbeki, then Vice President sealed this matter, hopefully for always:

¹⁵ For a while at least

¹⁶ Daily News 22/3/2000 “One in Your Eye” Presumably he would have no objection if a descendant of a South Indian who is dark as the darkest called himself “African”!

“The constitution whose adoption we celebrate constitutes an unequivocal statement that *we refuse to accept that our Africanness shall be defined by race, colour, gender, or historical origins.* (Our italics and emphasis)

It is a firm assertion made by ourselves that South Africa belongs to all who live in it.”

ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE OR HAVE BEEN VICTIMS OF RACIAL OPPRESSION AND ABUSE ARE THEMSELVES CAPABLE OF RACIAL PREJUDICE OR BLIND AND SENSELESS HATRED?

It is claimed by a section of the African elite that no matter how abusive an African may be towards a member of another racial group, that conduct will not constitute racial prejudice because they are incapable of it. This is a wild, extravagant and dishonest claim meant to exonerate racialism or racial prejudice. Given a certain set of circumstances, no group or people will escape blind and senseless racial hatred.

There is hatred towards a person, not because that person has done anything to earn that hatred. It is simply because that person happens to belong to a particular group which the hater believes has certain characteristics so repulsive and so hateful that all its members have to be destroyed or at the very least be inflicted with pain.

The basis of the hatred could be racial, religious, tribal, language, cultural, the degrading and hateful caste system in India or any number of reasons that a fertile but destructive human mind can manufacture.

In South Africa, the section of the population which suffered most from racial oppression has been the African people. Can it be said that because of their experience of oppression they are incapable of oppressing others or of inflicting hurt and pain on one the grounds mentioned above.

Hereunder are examples of conduct which shows the contrary.

1. THE SAN PEOPLE:

To this very day, we read about the struggles of the San people for recognition and for land restitution and justice. The biggest culprit in this regard is the government of Botswana. The oppression of the San by the Batswana goes back a long, long time. Here is description of how the San people have been treated by the Batswana:

“Children learnt it from their parents. Their parents spat on the ground as a member of a filthy, low nation passed by. Children went a little further. They spat on you. They pinched you. They danced a wild jiggle, with the tin cans rattling: Bushman! Low Breed! Bastard!...

Some time ago it might have been believed that words like “kafir” and “nigger” defined a tribe. Or else how can a tribe of people be called Bushmen or Masarwa? Masarwa is the equivalent of “nigger”, a term of contempt which means, obliquely, a low filthy nation.”¹⁷

¹⁷ Bessie Head: MARU, Heinemann, London, 1971 pages 11 and 12

2. Are the people of Botswana the only people who say and believe derogatory things about the San? No! Hereunder we set out an extract from a very revealing and moving article written by Zanele Mkhwanazi which appeared in the Natal Witness of the 10th October 2003. Ms. Mkhwanazi grew up in the house of her grandmother who was a member of the SAN. She clearly adored her grandmother and allows the reader to get a glimpse of this very interesting person. But Ms. Mkhwanazi had to pay a price for being the descendant of a San. She herself was small in size and said her clicks too loudly – like the San.

“When I was in Grade 4, our teacher told us about Bushmen:
‘They lived in trees and were very short, as short as
Zanele. They were more like animals than human beings and people killed
them, so you don’t find Bushmen anymore.’

The schoolchildren teased me after that and called me ‘Umthwa’ (Bushman). I cried a lot.”....

I learned that there are many Bushmen living in our area near the Ukhahlamba Drakensberg National Park but that they are in hiding because they are ashamed and fear victimization. After my experience in school that reaction is not surprising.”

RACIALISM AGAINST THE SO-CALLED COLOURED PEOPLE

1. Very talented writer and TV producer, THULI NHLAPO is the daughter of a White father and an African mother. The identity of her true father was kept from her until she made the effort to find out. Hers was a sad childhood. Her yellow skin worked against her amongst the children of her age. The children, like children elsewhere learnt the prejudice from the adults. She describes a scene when her mother’s sisters would receive their pay and come home with sweets for the children i.e. children except for Thuli Nhalpo. She was told in plain language: NO sweets for the “Boesman”¹⁸.

2. Former Cape Town mayor, Nomaindia Mfeketo saw the need to have a media officer and appointed a certain Mr Blackman Ngoro for the job. It is claimed that this was a case of job for pals because he was a chum of the mayor. Mr Ngoro felt confident enough to make certain extremely derogatory remarks about the Coloured people. He asserted, inter alia that Africans were culturally superior to the Coloured people . He then made the prediction that unless the Coloured people underwent ideological transformation, they would “die a drunken death”.

In fairness to the former Mayor it must be stated that the offending remarks were made before he became media officer in his website. But as Rhoda Kadalie maintains those remarks were retained in a website under his name *after* he got the appointment. From our side, we add that for as long as there was no withdrawal of those remarks from the website and no appropriate apology tendered, Mr Blackman Ngoro is guilty of blatant racialism.

¹⁸ Thuli Nhalpo: “COLOUR ME YELLOW” Mail and Guardian November 17 -23 2000

Is he the type of person that a leader of the ANC associates with and gives important jobs to?

3. One of the ugly stereotypes of the Coloured people is that they are spendthrifts. It is claimed that on pay day (usually Fridays) the worker spends all his money on delicacies and alcohol and spends the weekend gorging and drinking. By the time Monday comes, there is no money left. Hence Fridays are called “Boesman’s Christmas.”¹⁹

TRIBAL HOSTILITY

1. In 1950, our Standard 8 English set work was Percy Fitzpatrick’s classic: “Jock of the Bushveld.” One of the memorable characters in this autobiographical work was a Zulu warrior, Jim Makokela, an employee . He also captured a young lion (not a cub) with his bare hands. A formidable man by any standard. Among his weaknesses was a most particular contempt for Shangaans. “ They could neither fight nor handle animals and the sight of them stirred him to contempt and hostility.” Jim Makokela spent many hours tormenting and mistreating the Shangaans he came across. Not only that, he also taught the dog Jock to do likewise. The Shangaans did him no harm, but the mere sight of them was provocation enough.

2. Lest we be accused of over-generalising, it is well known fact that the Zulus are reputed to have this contempt for the Shangaans. This fact was confirmed by Mr Govan Mbeki on Robben Island on an occasion when we were discussing the impending installation as FRELIMO as government of Mozambique. Mr Mbeki made the observation that one of the salutary consequences of FRELIMO’s victory would be a change of attitude of the Zulus towards the Shangaans. Here were the Shangaans, reputed to be cowardly, engaging in a successful war of liberation against Portugal!

But that was 30 years ago. What is the position at present?

1 Mr Visicelo Jikela in an argument, unfortunately called his adversary a “Shangaan”. The adversary considered this description a mortal insult. So he took a spanner and struck Mr. Jikela on his head and killed him. This incident was reported in The Witness of the 3rd May 2005.

2. Fred Khumalo, well known columnist of the Sunday Times wrote on the 8th May 2005:

“Over the years and because they are in a minority, Shangaans have been the butt of many bad jokes. It’s been said that they are stupid... An inferior form of polony/sausage sold in the townships is called Shangaan wors.”

GENOCIDE

In 1994, almost a million people were literally butchered in Rwanda. The genocidists were the Hutus. Of those killed, most of them were Tutsis, but there were also so-called moderate Hutus. Political analysts have not yet come forward with a plausible

¹⁹ Fred Khumalo: “So this Shangaan walks into a rooinek bar..” Sunday Times 8/5/05

explanation of the genocide since the Hutus and Tutsis lived together for centuries; they intermarried, spoke the same language and had the same culture. Even the present President of Rwanda, Mr Paul Kagame attributed the phenomenon to bad leadership.

“Why should Hutus and Tutsis who share the same language and culture fail to live together?”²⁰

It is our view that insufficient consideration was given to past conflicts between the Hutus and the Tutsis, including the Tutsi overlordship over the Hutus which lasted about 500 years. We do not believe that the Hutus had forgiven the Tutsis the past relationship between them. Accounts were set to be settled once the Hutus gained political and military power.

SAME RELIGION REGARDLESS

One assumes that belief in the same religion, performing the same rituals, seeking to live in accordance with the tenets of the same religion would bind people together and minimise conflict.

Not so. In Iraq, the Sunnis and Shi-ites are both Muslim; both obtain the religious directives, guidance and teachings from the Holy Koran. How inconceivable it must seem to an outsider that they should be locked in an embrace of mutual annihilation.

It has been reported that the Sudanese Government or National Islamic Front has slain as many as 200 000 of its black co-religionists, known contemptuously as ZURGA, i.e. “niggers”²¹

We catalogued instances of racial and tribal acts of discrimination and abuse by Africans of Southern Africa and further north to show that the African people are like other people all over the world. They are not a nation of angels. They are not a master race, superior morally and politically to other groups for the reason that they were once oppressed and because of that experience they have become incapable of racial or other forms of blind and senseless prejudice.

SYSTEMATIC EXPRESSION OF HATRED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICANS OF INDIAN ORIGIN.

Introduction.

. For 90 years since the arrival of the Indian indentured labourers to this country, there was no incident of any significance showing hostility between the Africans and the South Africans of Indian descent.²²

1.The situation changed in 1949 when the predominantly Zulu speaking Africans of Natal launched a pogrom, i.e. a racial assault on members of the Indian community. There was a mini repeat of the pogrom in 1952. Thereafter there was a long period of peaceful co-existence between the two racial groups extending over three decades. The period shortly

²⁰ New African: “Paul Kagame: The Stern Commander” September 1994

²¹ The Witness 12/10/05 The article claims the number of deaths to be 400 000

²² Instead of using a five word description, we should perhaps follow Fanon and use the word “Afro-Asiatics”

before the 1994 elections was one of great violence between the State sponsored killer squads and the people. Many thousands of lives were lost. Natal was overflowing with violence. An off-shoot of that violence was the eruption in Inanda and Phoenix areas near Durban. The African people turned against the Indian people, most of whom were linked with shops and other commercial ventures. Not even the Gandhi Settlement was spared. The Settlement had a Clinic, a library and a museum. Fire did substantial damage.

2. Sadly, with the advent of democracy in this country, there was a marked rise in acts expressing anti-Indian sentiment. This is a matter for sociologists, social psychologists and Conflict Resolution Specialists to work out. What is the link between democracy and the increase in hostility against the Indian people by a section of the African people, initially in Natal, but now spreading to the Free State?

A CATALOGUE OF ACTS OF HOSTILITY AGAINST SOUTH AFRICANS OF INDIAN DESCENT

1. The first act of any significance were the so-called riots of 1949 where mobs of Africans went on rampage, killing and destroying homes and shops belonging to the Indian people. There was a grim price to pay. Over 100 Africans were killed by the armed forces of the State. When the turbulence subsided and facts emerged, it transpired that this was manipulated by the Nationalist Party government as a reprisal for the Passive Resistance campaign launched by the Indians. It further transpired that the incipient business class amongst the Africans also incited the people since there was a call for a boycott of Indian shops and a demand that there be a transfer of Indian trade and transport services in African areas²³, presumably to African entrepreneurs.

2 .In 1990, Mr Archie Gumede, one of the Vice Presidents of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and prominent leader of the ANC launched a broadside against the Indians, claiming that they felt more at home in India than here and that they imitated the whites in discriminating against the Africans. He equated them to Indians who were expelled from Uganda.²⁴

3. In 1999, the Editor of the Inkatha owned newspaper, ILANGA, Amos Maphumulo sent the public reeling with wild allegations that Indians were responsible for the “black-on-black” violence; that they furnished arms to African school-children so that they should “fight one another and thereby exterminate the black nation”.²⁵ Maphumulo went on to praise Idi Amin for driving out the Indians from Uganda²⁶. He wished God would send an Idi Amin to South Africa.

4. The principal of a Kwa Dukuza School in North Coast of KwaZulu-Natal was driven out of his school by pupils who objected to the employment of Indian teachers. “A source, who refused to be named said the black (African) teachers had allegedly instigated the boycott after the redeployment of three Indian teachers to the school. This,

²³“The Oxford History of South Africa, Edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson Volume II 1975 pages 461-462

²⁴ Natal Witness – 9th August 1994

²⁵ The Leader, 2nd April 1999

²⁶ Racialists like Maphumulo who rush to praise Idi Amin have not done their homework. While there is no record of the Ugandan dictator causing the death of any Ugandan Indian, he did subject his country to a prolonged massacre in which he killed over 300 000 Ugandans who belonged to tribes different from his.

notwithstanding the fact that the principal had enlisted the aid of many organisations to improve the facilities at the school and notwithstanding the fact that under his principalship, the pass rate increased from 12% to 58% in three years.²⁷

5. During the second round of local government elections, the ANC went all out to get the support of the Indian voters. No effort, time or money was spared. Not even threats of stirring the anger of the Africans if they did not vote ANC.

As it happened the Indian voters had other ideas – quite erroneous. They believed that their best interests lay in voting for the Democratic Alliance. And this they did. The ANC received a trouncing in areas predominated by Indian voters. The ANC went into paroxysms of anger. Not being able to control his own rage, the leader of the ANC, Mr. S’bu Ndebele lashed out:

“To all the Africans, coloureds and Indians who voted DA, be warned that there’s going to be consequences for not voting ANC. When it comes to service delivery we will start with people who voted for us and you will be last.”

Yet all people did was to exercise their vote the way they wished and which is guaranteed by the constitution. Ndebele’s blatant intimidation was clearly highly illegal. But there is more.

The real target of the threat was the Indian people. Ndebele did not have the courage to openly say this. Probably fearing an accusation of racialism, Ndebele engaged in a clumsy subterfuge by claiming to direct his remarks to the African, Indian and so-called Coloured voters who voted DA. Why do we say this?

a) Who in his sane mind would have believed that a significant number of African people in Natal would have voted for the DA?

b) The population of so-called Coloured people in Durban is relatively very small that it is unlikely that their vote would have made any difference in the overall outcome of the elections.

The real target, we repeat, was the Indian people. His lack of honesty made him resort to the subterfuge.

Ndebele’s lack of honesty was soon exposed when he denied that he had made the threat. But luck was against him. There was a tape recording of his remarks which was played back to him.²⁸

6. At a board meeting of the Durban Playhouse Company, chaired by a Mr. Edmund Radebe, an attorney, racialistic remarks were made by him and other members about the Acting Managing Director of the Company Ms. Gitanjali Pather. These remarks were made in her absence. Those involved were not aware that their remarks were being tape recorded or if aware, omitted to erase the recording. Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr. Ben Ngubane was “absolutely shocked and disgusted” by the excerpts from the recording. He demanded an investigation.²⁹

Ms.Pather resigned after spending seven years with the company. She has since been with the Market Theatre in Johannesburg.

²⁷ THE POST 22-25 March 2000

²⁸ Sunday Times: “Party Bosses refuse to condemn revenge threat against voters.” 10th December 2005

²⁹ Sunday Times 18th February 2001

7. Newark, on the outskirts of KwaDukuza in the KwaZulu Natal North Coast hit the headlines when a mob of its residents threatened to rape Indian school girls of that area. The cause was an allegation that a pastor had raped an African school girl. The pastor happened to be an Indian. When the accused appeared in court there was a demonstration. One placard read: “We are a rainbow nation but Indians rape our children.” One of the participants in the demonstration was an ANC regional secretary, Studio Gumede. He was also the Mayor of Kwadukuza. When confronted about his actions, Gumede sought refuge in that blatantly dishonest and unprincipled position: ***“I did it in my personal capacity”***³⁰

8.. They say that lightning never strikes twice in the same place. Well, it did – in Newark. Two weeks before the incident mentioned above, the police at Newark were involved in a shootout with armed robbery suspects. Three of the suspects were killed. As it happened, members of the police involved in the shooting were Indians. A section of the African community saw the shooting as something racial and threatened revenge against the Indian policemen. What was forgotten was that in the shootout, a policeman, an Indian was also shot dead.

Indian policemen had to move their families to safe houses because of threats and the circulation of a hit list containing the names and addresses of some of the policemen.³¹

9. Reverend Alex Fakude described as a top organiser of the Inkatha Freedom Party came out in support of Ngema’s song “AmaNdiya. He took up this position after three Indians tried to defraud him of R4 999,00 on his credit card. According to him:

“Indians have taken employment from Africans and they breed like flies. The day Africans revolt there will be a bloodbath.”³²

10.. Mr Abdul Khan and his family opened a business in the Ntha Location in Lindley near Bethelam in the Province of the Free State. They traded in peace with the local inhabitants for two years when tragedy struck. Mr Khan had gone to Johannesburg on a fateful day and left the business in the care of his daughter, Mariam, who also had a shop in the area. According to Mr Khan, for about a month before, tension developed between the African and Indian communities.

During the course of the day a fight took place between a customer and one of the residents of the area who was also an employee in the shop. The customer was killed. Rumour spread that the customer had been killed a member of the Khan family. A mob soon assembled and sought to attack members of the family. The Khan family locked themselves in the buildings while the mob laid siege to the family from 8:30 p.m. to 1 a.m. when the police arrived.

The employee, Japi, told the police what had happened, namely that it was he who had caused the death of the customer. This the police explained to the mob without any visible effect. The police managed to secrete the family out from the backdoor and they fled in a bakkie driven by Miriam.

³⁰ Sunday Times 2 June 2002

³¹ ibid

³² Natal Witness: 9th July 2002

Mariam must have been terrified because she caused the bakkie to roll fifteen kilometers outside Lindley.

The result :

a) Mariam was killed

b) An unnamed employee was also killed

c) Mariam's sister, Fatima had both her legs broken

d) Mariam's 2 month old daughter Zaynab, had to have one of her legs amputated.

A mob goes beserk. Innocent people are blamed. In the end, innocent lives are lost and those who survived are mutilated. What sort of amends are going to be made? Who is to make the amends? Will those responsible ever be brought to face justice?

When Mr. Khan returned to his shop, he found it looted. Was that the real intention of a section of the mob – to drive the members of Khan family out and then loot? Where were the police?

According to Mr.. Khan: How can we call South Africa a democracy when people are still being forced to flee their homes?³³

The sequel to this unconscionable deed was a visit by a reporter of the Tribune Herald. He was told by a resident of Ntha Location:

“You've heard Mbongeni Ngema's song , AmaNdiya. It is all true. You can't run away from that. These Makula³⁴ ...What happened will spread. Coolies have got it coming to them, also in KwaZulu-Natal.³⁵

11. Professor Aaron Ndlovu, the Vice Chancellor of Mangosuthu Buthelezi Technicon launched a racial tirade against Indian and White employees of the institution. Amongst other things, he accused the Indians of having no respect for the black people. As an example, he related how an Indian girl in a shop failed to place his change in his hand but chose to put it on the counter. According to the Professor; “The girl is sick.” He stated that the attitude of the Indians on campus supports Ngema's public statements on the attitude of the Indians towards the Africans.

Benign looking Mayor of Durban and also chairperson of the technicon's council, Obed Mlaba, who was present, also spoke and said that he supported what Ndlovu said about the DA and the Indians. Mlaba is mayor of a city which has the largest concentration of Indians in the country.³⁶

Some interesting facts to put things in perspective

- Mangosuthu Technicon is the smallest tertiary institution in the country

³³ Tribune Herald – 18th April 2004

³⁴ Term of hatred and abuse when referring to . Indians. It is derived from the word “Coolie”

³⁵ Tribune Herald; 2nd May 2004

³⁶ Mail and Guardian November 19-25 2004

- It is one of the worst performing institutions
 - Professor Ndlovu in 2003 earned nearly double his nearest mega-earner
- Professor Ndlovu earned R3 000 000 in 2003 compared with R1 735 000 earned by Professor Ngcobo of Pretoria Technicon and R1 543 000 by Professor Mokadi of Vaal Triangle Technicon
- By November 2004 Obed Mlaba had still not signed the 2003 financial statements.
 - Ndlovu, it is claimed, sat on the council sub-committee that determined his salary³⁷

12. During February 2005 the townships of Ventersburg and Phomolong were in turmoil. Firstly it was Ventersburg. Mobs went on rampage looting the small shops owned by Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and Chinese. This caused the Premier of the Free State to visit the area. The visit angered the people of Phomolong because the premier did not visit their township. According to them, they went on rampage against shop owners (also, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and Chinese) *to attract the attention* of the premier so that she would visit their area. If that was the real reason, then why the looting, the vandalism and why in the end were these shop owners forced to leave their businesses and the area? Actually, it is clear that the racialists and looters were waiting for an excuse to go on rampage. The premier's failure to visit their area provided the excuse. Their hatred for these shop owners had reached a boiling point.

Listen to the words of Sinda Nhlapo, the local chairman of the Democratic Alliance:

“I hate these people, They harass our bambinos (the small children) Their intention is to disturb the local economy . They don't bank their money; they don't pay tax. Really, I don't like them. They don't wash and if you enter their shop you have a problem breathing because the smell closes up your nose.”

It is to the everlasting shame that our country and its allegedly ubuntu-imbued people can drive out of their midst people of great courage and enterprise who have left their country, family and friends and travelled many thousands of miles to set up their little businesses to make a living. Instead of being imbued with ubuntu, it is intolerance and hatred which eats them day in day out. Hence their xenophobic outbursts against fellow Africans from the north – the *makwerekwere!*

12. Richmond, a small town in KwaZulu-Natal is to be found in very pleasant rural setting amidst rivers, farms and groves of citrus fruit especially oranges. Its peaceful atmosphere and beauty must have incited the jealousy of some vengeful and capricious god. Since the 1980s Richmond has been engulfed in violence and turmoil of one kind and another of the worst kind.

The most recent furore erupted at a meeting of the Municipality of Richmond. The background is a fratricidal conflict within the ANC.

It was reported that

- a) Advocate Theminkosi Nene a prominent ANC member and the Municipal Manager of the Richmond Municipality is reported to have referred to Indians as “coolies.”
- b) He said that Mbongeni Ngema was on the mark with his song *AmaNdiya*

³⁷ ibid

c) He also said that he was a Zulu and that he was not going to stand for this from an Indian
(being asked to recuse himself from a meeting by the Speaker Ragavaloo)
When confronted about his remarks, Nene denied having used the word “Coolies” or that he had made any reference to Ngema.

The accuracy of Nene’s denial has been placed in question because:

- a) Members of the anti-Nene faction of the ANC, including the speaker of the Council, Andrew Ragavaloo
- b) A number of councillors from the Democratic Alliance, Inkatha Freedom Party and the United Democratic Movement who were present at the meeting
- c) The reporter from The Witness who was also present

ALL confirmed that Nene DID make the statements attributed to him.

The MEC for Local Government, Mr. Mike Mabuyakhulu undertook to institute an inquiry. A certain Mr. Wills, an attorney conducted the inquiry. We learnt from “The Witness” of the 24 th March 2006:

- a) The report cleared Mr Nene on a balance of probabilities that he referred to Indians as “Coolies”.
- b) The report, however recommended that Nene must be censured by the council for the antagonistic manner in which he referred to people of Indian descent.

The report was not made available to “The Witness”. The account of the findings reported by “The Witness” was what the MEC claimed was in the report. It is incredible that in the face of such clear evidence and evidence from so many different sources as to what Nene had said, that such evidence be rejected. Is the MEC saying that there was a conspiracy between the Ragavaloo faction, the DA, the IFP and the UDM to fabricate allegations of “Coolies” and Ngema’s song? Is it also being claimed that Mr. Duma Pewa, the reporter for “The Witness” was also recruited into the conspiracy??
To us there is a stench of a **cover-up!** And precisely what is meant “referring to the Indian people in an *antagonistic manner*? Why were the words he used antagonistically not reported by the MEC?

13. a) 2007 started off, inter alia, with the killing of Mr. Sidney Sikhakhane, the acting Municipal Manager of Greytown, near Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal

b) Mr Sihakhane went to the scene of his death in response to a call by from Security Guards at Lake Merthley about a problem they were having with some members of the public. There followed an altercation between Mr Sikhakhane and five male Indians. The altercation ended in the death of Mr Sikhakhane.

c) The reaction of a section of the African population was one of extreme anger

d) The reaction was not directed against the five suspects but against the entire Muslim business community.

- i) Muslim businessmen were threatened and told to leave town
- ii) Muslims have been called “crooked Iraqis, Afghanistans and dirty Arabs.”
- e) A number of Council members joined a March organised by SAMWU, a trade union of Municipal workers.

The council members taking part in the march were reprimanded by the Council Speaker Maharaj.

The consequence of all this was that fear gripped the Indian community especially the Muslims. They had to close their shops in anticipation of attacks. The question must be asked: What did this community do to earn the rage of a section of the African community. The Muslim had nothing to do with the killing of the Municipal Manager. The suspects were arrested, placed in police custody and have been charged for the crime and the law must be allowed to take its course.

The facts of what really happened at Lake Merthley have not been established. They will come out during the trial when evidence of witnesses will be tested under cross examination. There will be a judge, hopefully a judge with the expected experience, skill and wisdom of proper judges. Then only will the public know what really happened.

But before that has taken place the suspects have been found guilty by the mob. Not only the suspects but their parents as well and the entire Muslim business community. Have these people not heard of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa often vaunted as the best in the world? Have they not heard of the presumption of innocence, fair trial and the whole judicial process? Clearly not! The blame must be laid four square at the door of the political organisations like the ANC and IFP to which many of participants of the mob in all probability belong. They are too busy making money, racketeering and jockeying for positions to make money to take time off and politically educate their members about important things like the Bill of Rights in the Constitution, respect for the rule of law and not taking the law into their own hands.

SAMWU which was a highly respected trade union in the 1980s for its militancy, the high degree of discipline and political consciousness of its members has now become a tailist. Hence their succumbing to hysteria and mindless accusations and organising a march designed to instill terror in the Indian community, when only three of its members have been charged with the murder of Sikhkane.

A SUMMING UP OF WHAT HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOVE

(A)

1. The adoration of a failed genocidist, Mbongeni Ngema, triggered the need to write this .article.
2. We have shown the clear link between Ngema and his song and the genocidist intellectuals and song writers of Rwanda.
3. We showed how Ngema’s song was met with universal condemnation in this country
4. We showed how that song violated important sections of the Constitution.
5. We then showed that instead of being treated as an outcast for his vile and abominable act, he was treated as a celebrity and an artist deserving great acclaim.
6. We mentioned the highly lucrative venture waiting for him.

(B)

Since the thrust of this article is to expose racial prejudice and hatred shown by a section of the African people towards the Indian people, it was necessary to clear the way by debunking the myth that people who were victims of racial oppression are incapable of practising racial prejudice themselves. This we have sought to do by showing mindless and racially/ethnically motivated prejudice practised by a section of the African population.

N.B. This does not at all mean that we hold that other sections of the population are free from racial prejudice or mindless and senseless hatred and prejudice. Much to the contrary! We believe that all sections of the population practise and preach, in some form or another, racialism and mindless prejudice. But we must bear in mind that the theme of this article is the racial prejudice practised against the Indian people by a section of the African people. The racial attitudes of the other sections of the population is not under discussion in this article and therefore not dealt with here.

(C)

We then presented a number of incidents over the years showing acts and words of extreme antagonism and hostility by sections of the African population towards the Indian people. These incidents show a certain mentality among a section of the elite and there is A PATTERN of conduct which is becoming alarmingly frequent. What also emerges with alarming clarity is that, apart from a few exceptions, the leadership of the African people are really unconcerned about the psychological terror the members of the Indian community are subjected to.

A VERY SICK SOCIETY

After more than 350 years of land dispossession, subjugation, oppression and economic exploitation; of repression of the worst kind; of a process of dehumanization and brutalization of very large sections of the population, the nett result is that we have before us ***a very sick society***. Add to this the fiendish policy of “Divide and Rule” which sought to turn one section of the oppressed against the other. The rulers depicted the Africans as wild, savage and uncivilised. The Indians were presented as cowards, crooks and fraudsters. The so-called Coloured were presented as a drunken lot of half castes. In turn the oppressors sought to flatter each section of the oppressed. The Africans were told that they were a proud warrior race who fought with distinction. The Indians were told about how cultured and advanced they were, having come from a civilisation which was 5000 years old. The so-called Coloured people were told that they had the blood of the Whites in their veins and they belonged to civilised religions of Christianity and Islam. The Africans were further divided on tribal grounds, the Indians on religious ground and the so-called Coloured on religious grounds. For generations the propaganda enforcing the policy of “Divide and Rule” was drummed into the oppressed people in the schools, in the church, mosques and temples and all other public forums.. These racist values and attitudes were inculcated in children by their parents and their elders. While the oppressed remained in psychological kraals each section believing that it was superior to the other, the ruling class ruled in comfort and safety. For as long the oppressed remained divided, there was no prospect of attaining freedom and liberation. It was to counter the

destructive effects of the policy of “Divide and Rule” that “A Clarion Call to Unity” was made by the All African Convention. That then led to the formation of the Non European Unity Movement. That act on its own stands out as a revolutionary act of great importance.

Many decades later, the South African society is still paying a heavy price from the effects of that policy of “Divide and Rule”

1. The hurts, injury and pain suffered by the people as a result of the repressive and exploitative socio-economic system are not excised from the memory and psyche of the people just because a new political era has been ushered in. The acts causing the pain and hurts are related repeatedly and nursed and passed on to the new generations. Nothing is omitted; nothing is forgotten. The new generation carries with it the narrated experience of their parents. To this is added their own experience of repression and brutality. They in turn will pass the experience of the past and their own to yet a newer generation. The size of these memories grows; they literally snowball. The reader will recall us mentioning above, Reverend Fakude the IFP organiser. One of the accusations he levelled against the Indian people is that they “breed like flies.” This accusation was made against the Indians by the Natal Colonial English speaking Fascists in the 1940s and early 1950s because the Indians tended to have large families as a carry over of their peasant culture. But that situation no longer prevails. It changed about forty years ago. Yet the racialistic Reverend had picked up the slur from some source and mindlessly repeated it.

2. A people brutalised for a lengthy period and denied, inter alia, access to culture which nourishes the mind and creates an outlook of decency, a social conscience, delicacy, sensitivity to other people’s needs, will emerge as crude, coarse, ignorant, and without the ability to analyse and reason. Yet that can change as the reader will find:

a) Where the struggle has been a prolonged one AND the organisation leading the struggle is genuinely committed to the upliftment of its people, the backwardness and ignorance of the masses can be changed. The very length of the struggle provides the opportunity for the leadership (local, middle and top) to interact with the people for a longer period of time. The time is put to good use. People become politicized. The bad habits adopted by them due to their environment are got rid of and the cadre is armed with a fresh code of conduct. It has been found that the most committed fighters are usually those who understand the struggle and why they are in it. Therefore a great deal of time and effort is invested in the process of political education. Politicisation is greatly facilitated by the ability to read and write. And this is part of the training of the fighter. The political training does not end. It is an ongoing process.

When liberation comes, a very important component of those who run of the country is a highly trained and disciplined cadreship. One of the most moving scenes the writer read about was when the Ethiopian freedom fighters entered Addis Abba after the downfall of dictator Menghistu. The entry was totally disciplined. These fighters were sons and daughters of peasants who were in the countryside for long years living a Spartan life with no access to commodities found in a city, whether it be clothing, shoes or delicacies. Yet when they made their entry, there was no rush for the good things of life. It was a very controlled entry. Not a single shop was broken into. Nor a single shopkeeper robbed. The most they did was to gaze at the goods in the display windows, goods that were denied to them.

b) On a much bigger and grander scale was the triumphant entry of the Peoples' Liberation Army under the control of the Chinese Communist Party into the major cities of China from the countryside. The people were dumstruck by the absolute discipline of hundreds of thousands of armed soldiers who had marched into their cities. Their previous experience of soldiers, whether Japanese or the Kuomintang, had been that of looting, intimidating, killing and raping.

The conduct and behaviour of the masses after a radical change in society depends entirely on the political leadership which led the change. The latter must take the credit for exemplary behaviour and the blame for dangerous and anti-social conduct.

Where the circumstances of the struggle are such that there can be no prolonged interaction between the leadership and the masses and thereby being denied the opportunity to politicize the people, there is greater responsibility to do so at the first available opportunity. Squads of volunteers appropriately guided and trained must be sent among the masses to commence the process of politicisation.

A CHANGE AT LAST!!

The people were led to believe that upon the election of the ANC into power, the needs and demands of the people would be attended to without delay. That did not happen. What did happen was that those who held strong positions in the ANC were the first to avail themselves of the rich pickings. Yesterday they were friends, unemployed and battling to make ends meet and sharing simple luxuries like cigarettes and soft drinks. Today the position of the one remains the same. The other has struck gold. He became the tout or sidekick of the chairman of the ANC Branch or some influential politician in the ruling party and through him got a well paying job. He wears designer clothes; he drives a car and now lives outside the location in a former whites-only area. This is the situation throughout the country – in every location, every squatter settlement. As it was bound to happen, resentment was bred and people began demanding for basic necessities - a new house, electricity, water and water-borne sewerage system. These demands were made to councillors who came for their votes and made still more promises. The promises were not kept and the councillors engaged in a strategy of ducking and diving instead of meeting with their voters and listening to their complaints. This is when the townships in the Free State erupted.

There was tremendous anger. They were sick and tired of excuses of lack of funding since those making the excuses appeared not to be short of anything. The funding for their affluent lifestyle seemed to be always available. The eruptions in the Free State threatened at times to engulf much larger areas. In times of great and uncontrolled anger, there can be many unforeseen results. One of the results is to vent anger on minority groups who cannot retaliate.

OPPRESSION OF MINORITY GROUPS

1. This is a world wide phenomenon where the majority, certain of success in view of their numbers take out their frustration and anger on a minority group. This took place in Tsarist Russia in numerous anti-Jewish pogroms. This anti-Semitism was one of the causes of migration of Jews from Russia to the Middle East. It happened in India – Muslims and Hindus attacked one another. In a significant number of cases the victims and the aggressors were neighbours of long standing.

2. After the 1949 anti-Indian attacks by the Africans, the fear of the majority attacking minority groups grew. The leadership of the ANC, SAIC and others were clearly mindful of this fear. Therefore included in the **Freedom Charter** is the following:

“All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride.

The preaching and practice of national, race, or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime.”

3. On the occasion of the adoption of the Constitution on the 6th May 1996, Mr. Mbeki, in his “I am an African” speech, stated:

“It (the Constitution) seeks to create the situation in which all our people shall be free from fear, including the fear of oppression of one national group by another.”

It will, therefore, be seen that the ANC in the national liberation phase and as government recognised the danger of racial pogroms against minority groups. Yet as ANC and the Government it controlled did NOTHING to counter a very discernible tendency of making minority groups the scapegoat for their problems. On the contrary, it nurtured and acted as patrons for the racials and was lavishly generous to them. Its own members engaged in racialism without constraint There was Mr. Archie Gumede; there was Mr S’bu Ndebele and there was Mr. Obed Mlaba. What actions were taken against them for their racialism? None whatsoever! How dare the ANC permits a man like Professor Ndlovu to continue being principal of a tertiary institution which is heavily funded by the Government.

It will thus be seen that the ANC has failed the country in this regard in a number of respects:

- a) No action has been taken against a person making racialistic statements, meaning that as far the Indians are concerned it is a perennial open hunting season.
- b) The ANC has failed to engage in a nation-wide sustained campaign of politicisation of the masses.
- c) The ANC has failed abysmally to satisfy the basic needs of the poor. A community which has its basic needs attended to will live in contentment and peace, even though they may not be rolling in affluence. There will be no need to look for scapegoats in people who are different from them.

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND

Our country in many respects is like a huge minefield. The mines are of massive dimensions. There is a great deal of anger and hatred; there is a dearth of understanding as to which direction that anger and hatred have to be canalized. We know that very often people turn their anger and hatred in a totally wrong way. In times of drought or frequent destruction by lightning, people vent their frustrations on innocent elderly women folk whom they accuse of being witches. One’s own misfortune can be attributed to witchcraft. The Russian peasant groaning under the yoke of feudal oppression often

vented his anger on Jews. We see examples of misdirection of anger in South Africa where non-African shop owners doing business in locations and townships are targeted. It is much easier to target a person who is *different*.

FOREIGNERS

When people want to vent their spleen on somebody for the misery of their lives, it is much easier to target people who are different. In the case of businessmen from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh or those who are from the Indian population of South Africa, the local people do not readily identify with them. They look different; they wear different clothing; they speak a language unintelligible to them; their food is different and their place does smell differently, not from unwashed bodies but from the incense sticks which when lit gives off various odours. When you do not identify with a people, it is much easier to direct hostility and violence against them.

The usual approach is to first demonise them and then to attack them.

But mindless hatred is not limited to one object. It is a mindset. The totally unwarranted assault on the dignity and person of the Shangaans is a reflection of that mindset. Yesterday it was the Shangaans. Next it was the Indians. Mindless hatred knows no bounds. Those who tormented and terrorized the Indians turned on their own. Prior to the 1994, elections, Natal became a killing field. Zulu turned on Zulu with a ferocity hitherto unknown. Many thousands were killed. Like all mindless killings, non combatants, old men and women, women in general and even babies were not spared the massacres.

The mindlessness even reached out, during Zuma's recent court appearances, to the President of this country, a president elected by the majority of the voters. Vile and unmentionable insults were publicly uttered against Mbeki. It did not stop there. Not even the President's mother was spared coarse obscenities, notwithstanding the fact that she is a highly respected elder who was a freedom fighter all her life and notwithstanding the fact that she was nowhere near the political conflict raging within the ANC.

We got a frightening glimpse of what life could be under the presidency of a Zuma with his mass based support of Zulus and the ANC Youth League, during his court appearances. The atmosphere was charged with intolerance, violence and an overwhelming and unmistakable attempt at intimidating the judiciary. Who will forget the placards of "Burn The Bitch" even before the complainant entered the witness box?

TURNING BACK THE CLOCK OF HISTORY

A section of the Zulus yearns for the "glorious" days of the Zulu kingdom of the 19th century. As Tabata put it:

"intellectuals who proclaim themselves as internationalists, rabid African nationalists, or more simply, ardent tribalists, doctors and professors who mouth democratic phraseology but secretly harbour a nostalgic hankering for the idyllic days of barbarism."³⁸

³⁸ I.B.Tabata: Boycott as a weapon of struggle, 1952 page 1. N.B. Tabata uses the word "barbarism" following the use of that word by that great anthropologist, Lewis Morgan and later Marx and Engels as a stage of development of society preceding feudalism. The word was not used in a non scientific connoting rudeness, uncultured, cruel, inhuman etc.,etc.

The late David Rattray (murdered on 26th January 2007) had become an instant hero when he held his audience (both Zulus and the British Tourists) spell-bound with his narration in great detail of the great drama which was played out at the Battle of Isandlwana. The oppressed in general but the Zulus in particular love hearing about how the most powerful nation in the world at that time suffered its worst military defeat and this by people armed mainly with spears, shields of animal hides and a boundless fighting spirit and who had to face rifle power and the cannon.

Rattray has been described as the “Bard of the Battlefield.” This description is at once a compliment and an indication of his limitations. The historian and the politician and the freedom fighter have learnt one thing: ***You may win a battle but you can lose the war!*** And so it happened. Within a few months of the Battle of Isandlwana, the Zulu Empire was destroyed in the Battle of Ulundi and King Cetshwayo was taken prisoner. In the end the Battle of Ulundi was the last of the battles in the process of land dispossession. It was a war between British Capitalism and Zulu Tribalism. The former, being more developed economically, scientifically and militarily, had to win as it did.

It is 130 years since capitalism took control of the economic development of this country. South Africa is by and large a capitalist country. Tribalism has no power except what the British victors and successive Nationalist Party governments allowed it for purposes of ruling the people. Tribalism for all practical purposes is dead and buried. Hankering for it is not going to resuscitate it. Tearing bulls to pieces with bare hands, virginity testing or slaughtering livestock to propitiate ancestors is not going to bring back tribalism. This is the view espoused by the leading and radical thinkers of this country. One such person is Mr. Livingstone Mqotsi:

“Tribalism has no progressive role to play in modern society. It is a carry-over from the past, distorted through history and used to promote the ends and purposes of capitalism/imperialism. As a forward-looking socio-economic and cultural reality it has no relevance. On the contrary, it is an obstacle to the birth and building of a new South Africa and a true South African nation, free and untrammelled by politics of race, colour, gender and creed.”³⁹

However the impossibility of turning back the clock will not prevent the tribalists from seeking and to rally sections of the Zulus who yearn for rebirth of the Zulu Kingdom. It is in the interests of these sections that Mr. Zuma be made the next president of the Republic. Since they and others who want to leave no stone unturned in honouring and glorifying military leaders like Shaka, we assume that they will not be averse to the use of his methods of conquest and rule.

Mbongeni Ngema is one such person. In the interview with Peter Machen (referred to above), Ngema made no bones about the fact that it was time that the presidency of the ANC (and therefore of the country) should fall to the Zulus. In other words, it is not just the Zulu kingdom embracing Zululand or KwaZulu-Natal but the whole country. (Our parenthesis in brackets) This is what Ngema said in the interview:

³⁹ Apdusa Views No 72: “Tribalism An Archaism and a Divisive Myth” page 7

“When Mandela was president, he made the announcement ..that King Zwelithini should not just be the king of the Zulus , he should be monarch of South Africa.. But I don’t think that went down very well with other political forces.... After Mandela retired the door was shut – no one wanted to make King Zwelithini the king of South Africa.”

Ngema goes on to make reference to internecine strife – “..to ignite the fires of tribal wars.” He makes reference to the conflict between Tutsis and Hutus. According to him :

“The Zulu nation is the biggest nation in South Africa, the only one that had a kingdom historically....the ANC was invented here in Inanda⁴⁰ by the Zulus. The last time the president of ANC was a Zulu was Chief Albert Luthuli. I think that it is time that the Zulus reclaimed the ANC, *to start with.*”

(Our italics and emphasis)

There you have it. The man who has been lionized as a playwright, composer, choreographer etc by reviewers and critics is one of those who is striving for the supremacy of the Zulus in South Africa.

We have given instances of intolerance especially by a section of the Zulus. Here is a relatively recent incident:

Four young men of Xhosa origin were “brutally assaulted and robbed of their possessions by persons from Sobantu Location⁴¹ in Pietermaritzburg. Trouble began when the robbers earlier in the evening asked the victims about their Xhosa origins and an explanation of the rites of passage. (the initiation/circumcision ceremony) When the victims explained that they were not permitted by tradition to discuss such issues, the robbers made the accusation that persons of Xhosa origin thought that they were clever and that they have no place in this province⁴²

INHUMANITY

Increasingly, there is evidence of inhumanity sweeping the country. Basic decency is found lacking in instances where it is usually shown. There is growing heartlessness. During the turbulence in Phomolong, Police Inspector Makhoba collapsed because of a heart attack. As members of his unit tried to assist him, the mob of protesters stood jeering.

When the Inspector was pronounced dead and his body placed in a body bag, the crowd cheered.

According to Captain David Victor he was appalled by the crowd’s callousness.⁴³:

Acts of inhumanity are not unusual in this country with its crime record of 19 000 murders last year. Even the dying are not left in peace.

Twelve years ago New Year’s Eve 1994., a German tourist was attacked and robbed on the beach front in Durban. As he lay dying on the pavement in the presence of his

⁴⁰ Near Durban, KZ-Natal

⁴¹ Inhabited predominantly by Zulus

⁴² Public Eye: 17th August 2006

⁴³ Sunday Times 20th February 2005: “Fear and loathing stalk the Free State.

children, people walked past. Some of them kicked the dying man. Then a woman went to his assistance and appealed for help. She was told in blunt terms: “Leave the white man. Let him die.”⁴⁴

But callousness spreads and engulfs. Hence in 2005, it was Inspector Makhoba, not just a “white man.”

A BETTER LIFE - NOT FOR ALL - BUT JUST FOR THE ELITE

A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL is a favourite slogan of the ANC and, of late, is trotted out with increased frequency. But it is also what the overwhelming majority of the population want more than anything

Has there been a better life for all? Decidedly not for the masses! But most certainly for the new elite. One is entitled to ask: What has the ANC been busy doing for the past 12 years since it has come to power? The ANC leadership at all levels has been busy enriching itself. It has gone on a massive extravagant binge at the expense of the taxpayer that would make the old Nationalist Party leadership look like a brotherhood of monks who had taken poverty vows. Their activity has been so self-centred that they had little or no time for that troublesome slogan of “a better life for all.”

Are we exaggerating? Kindly read the following:

“This rot is across the board. It’s not confined to any level or any area of the country. Almost every project is conceived because it offers opportunities for certain people to make money...

The ANC as the party in government is centrally involved in dishing out tenders and contracts.....Once the local ANC meetings were all about policies and strategies – the transformation of SA society according to the ideals the party championed for decades. Now these meetings are preoccupied with business opportunities and who should have access to them.”⁴⁵

This powerful indictment was made by none other than Mr. Kgalema Motlanthe the Secretary General of the ANC in a most remarkable, frank and transparent interview.

So being heavily preoccupied with contracts and tenders and who should get what etc *ad nauseam*, there is no time for delivery of basic services. Further, there are always “insufficient funds” for such services because the new elite in power have gone berserk in a spending and feeding frenzy.⁴⁶

We return to the point made earlier. If the various tiers of government controlled by the ANC had performed their sworn duties to serve the people and had provided the basic comforts of life, including the abolition of the hated “Bucket system” dealing with sewage; if the ANC had concentrated on providing employment for the people; if it took

⁴⁴ The incident was so appalling that The Witness devoted an editorial to it in January 1995

⁴⁵ Financial Mail 19th January 2007- “Soul for Sale” by Carol Paton

⁴⁶ Calling it a frenzy is not an exaggeration. There is the case of Paul Mashatile ANC Provincial Minister in Gauteng who took a group of friends/ associates/ hangers on to a restaurant for a meal at the taxpayers expense. It cost R96 000, 00.

stern and consistent measures to combat crime, we would have witnessed relatively contented and peaceful communities. For as long as people can see visible improvement in their lives as an *ongoing process*, what need would such communities have to engage in rampages and riotous behaviour and look for scapegoats for their misery?

The marked increase in turbulence in society is directly linked to the nation-wide failure to make an improvement in the lives of the people. There are innocent people who pay the price like the late Mariam, the daughter of Mr Abdul Khan who once traded in Ntha, near Lindley in the Free State.

Apart from Mr. Nelson Mandela, no political figure from the ANC - national; or local, has come out and condemned the constant threat to the Indian people. The question is why?

In January 2001, after the ANC faced the humiliation of losing Indian votes to the Democratic Alliance, there was an outburst of anti- Indian feelings;

In an interview...Mandela blasted those in the “arrogant black elite” who “throw their weight around” and breed insecurity among minority groups.

“Some Africans themselves have made mistakes. They now throw their weight around as a majority. There are some Africans who inspire fear in the minorities because of the way they behave.”

He (Mandela) said that he tried several times to assure Indians that they are part of a broader society. “But for some reason they feel that they are not welcome.”

There is no mystery why the Indians do not feel welcome. They have come to the conclusion that the assurances by Mandela are worthless because they are not backed by action against the racialists. No racist to date has been charged or punished or expelled from an organisation for preaching racialism.

THE COMING TOGETHER OF SINISTER FORCES

Any person following, even on a superficial level, the unfolding of events from the time of the Hefer Commission of Inquiry set up to ascertain whether the then Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka had been a police informer, certain forces swung into action. That Commission saw the discrediting of Mo Shaik and Mac Maharaj. It saw the first tentative move to strike at Jacob Zuma. It saw the clear link between Zuma and a person found guilty of corruption, Shabir Shaik. Then there was the rape trial of Zuma and finally the charge of corruption against Zuma himself. This unleashed the bitter fratricidal conflict within the ANC. The forces supporting “Zuma for President” revealed themselves. They were a truly motley crowd.- outright tribalists who want the restoration of the Kingdom of Zulus (for starters), rabid racialists like Ngema, the corrupt and politically dysfunctional ANC Youth League, male chauvinists, large chunks of the Communist Party, almost the whole of the Young Communists, certain high ranking officials of COSATU, a section of the rich new black elite who obviously hope to graze on rich pickings if Zuma becomes president. The latter are the financiers of Zuma’s legal defence and other activities.

Stripped of shades and gradations, these forces boil down in the end to an alliance of Zulu tribalism and a section of the new elite. The most important purpose of the alliance is to capture political power in South Africa.

The Zulu tribalists seek to depict themselves as the new Master Race.

So when members of the Indian community are racially attacked, the forces of democracy and non-racialism must make it their bounden duty to rush to the defence of the victims, otherwise

“A HEAVY SILENCE

*They came for the communists and I did not speak up because
I was not a communist.*

*Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak up because
I was not a Jew.*

*Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak up
because*

I was not a trade unionist.

*Then they came for the Catholics and I did not speak up because
I was a Protestant.*

*Then they came for me – and by that time there was no one left to
speak”*

Pastor Martin Niemoller in Germany 1942