



APDUSA VIEWS

ISSUE No. 54

JULY 1994

HISTORIC ELECTIONS

**AN OVERVIEW OF THE
APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS**

A NOTE TO THE READER

This article is based on a lecture, entitled: "An Overview of the 1994 Elections in South Africa." delivered at the Annual General Meeting of Lawyers For Democracy on the 27th May 1994. Due to constraints of time, the lecture, of necessity, had to leave out a number of aspects which are dealt with in this article. Also, where relevant, events and themes have been updated.

The views expressed in this article and in the lecture are those of the writer and lecturer and not of Lawyers for Democracy.

INTRODUCTION - PART ONE

The elections of April 1994 were a culmination of a process of resistance and struggle which assumed many and varied forms over a period spanning more than three centuries.

The significance of these elections and the direction politics has taken in the country must, of necessity, occupy political analysts, students of politics and political organisations for some time to come. In the midst of unrestrained euphoria and compositions of encomiums about "our new South Africa", very little serious analysis is in evidence. Serious analysis is the last thing that the architects of the so-called government of "National Reconciliation" and their supporters want.

Before proceeding to deal with the overview, it will help to locate or classify the events leading up to the elections in terms of recent history and experience of oppressed and exploited people of the Third World.

In 1953, shortly after countries like India and China obtained political freedom, Miss Jane Gool, one of the leaders of the Unity Movement, presented a paper at the conference of the All African Convention. The theme of the paper was to present the two roads which faced the colonial and oppressed people in their political struggles. They could either follow the road of India or take the road taken by China.

The Road of China. By studying the road of China, we will see that this meant the physical overthrow and defeat of feudalism in China; it meant the defeat and overthrow of the comprador class ¹ and, in the end, of the latter's masters, the imperialists. The ruling class was soundly defeated and had to flee right across the sea to Formosa, now called Taiwan.

Because the ruling class was decisively defeated, the changes in society were profound and revolutionary. Liberation in China meant a genuine new dawn. The people could not only see the new dawn, but they could also touch, smell and hear it. Human dignity was restored to, perhaps, the most oppressed and exploited people in the world. Land was given to the landless; women were liberated from the brutal bondage at the hands of society and the males for thousands of years; education, housing, medical care, food, clothing - all these became a reality. For the first time, for many hundreds of millions, it became possible to enjoy happiness.

¹ This class is akin to the merchant class which acts as an agent of imperialism economically and politically. It has no existence of its own and is heavily dependent on imperialism for its existence. It has not hesitated to act ruthlessly against the workers. In China, Chiang Kai Shek was its most notorious representative

The Road of India. There were, up to the late forties, a number of significant similarities between India and China. They were the most populous countries in the world. Both their peoples were amongst the most oppressed, exploited and brutalized in the world. Both countries were controlled by imperialism which worked closely with powerful forces of feudalism.

Yet the nature and direction of the struggles of these countries could not be more different.

India got her independence through negotiation between British Imperialism and the representative of the Indian capitalists, the Indian National Congress (INC). The INC was the most popular organisation in India at that time. Its leaders, too, mouthed radical and socialist rhetoric and thereby won the support of the workers and peasants. The change-over was peaceful and non-violent. There was the extravagant pomp, ceremony and ritual of handing over the reins of power from Lord Mountbatten to his friend, Nehru. There was bonhomie all round between former oppressor and the new government.

In another three years, India will be celebrating the golden jubilee of its independence. It is interesting to note that the INC had always referred to its political activities as the "independence struggle". Independence from what? From British rule. That, incidentally, is the real meaning of the struggle of the Indian people. The Indian poor - the workers, the peasants, the "outcastes", the unemployed - sadly believed that "independence" was the same thing as liberation; that "independence" would see them getting land, getting relief from the tax collector; relief from the blood-sucking moneylender; "independence" meant abolition of the caste system and the boundless power of the rich, the well connected upper caste and all other forces of oppression and exploitation.

In truth, none of this happened to any measure worth mentioning. With the first flush of the honeymoon fading, people began to realise that all that took place in India was a CHANGE OF RULERS. In place of the British Raj, there was the rule of the INC. The rich have become richer and the poor poorer. Rural India is, by and large, what it was 50 years ago.²

² Of the 13 million child deaths every year world-wide, India accounts for almost one quarter, i.e. 3 million children die annually from diarrhoea, pneumonia and other infectious diseases. According to the representative of UNICEF, these deaths would not have occurred if the children were not malnourished (Sunday Times Extra 3rd July 1994). We believe that the number of deaths are much higher since vital statistics will not be obtainable from the remote rural areas.

Yet the people of India have the vote. In fact, India has often been described as the largest democracy in the world. But for the workers and the peasants and the unemployed, that vote is worthless. That democracy is devoid of any socio-economic content.

The South African Road. If we examine the course of events in this country and the political developments up to and including the installation of Nelson Mandela as the latest and newest State President, we cannot fail to notice that the South African Road has many similarities with The Road of India and none with the road taken by the Chinese.

The ruling class in this country has not been defeated physically and therefore its power remains intact. The ANC, not learning from history, or refusing to want to learn, has made the people pay the heavy price of negotiating from a position of weakness.

While the Chiang Kai Sheks, the Batistas, the Shahs, the Somozas of this world, representing oppressive systems, have had to flee from the wrath of the people, the leader of the most hated racist oppressive system in the world, F. W. de Klerk, is not only appointed Deputy President, but is glowingly referred to by Mr Mandela as "one of the greatest sons of this country." Other leading NATS are appointed to the Cabinet.

The South African Defence Force and the South African Police remain intact. The only change is that the SADF is now called the SANDF! The powerful giant monopolies which control the wealth of the country are settling down for what they hope will be a long, long period of stability during which profits galore will be made.

For the people who have been systematically dispossessed of their land since 1652, any claim for restoration of their land by way of equitable land distribution will be met by a fundamental right agreed to by the ANC, namely the sanctity of private property. The sanctity of private property is a sacred law of capitalism. Enforcement of this right will logically reinforce the poverty of the people.

Concerning the interests, plight and position of the toiling masses, the April 1994 elections will do no more than change their condition to be in keeping with that of a modern wage slave, so as to increase productivity and also to inhibit opposition.

On the 27 June 1994, Mr. Walter Sisulu, well-known leader of the ANC was interviewed by Isaac Masemola of Radio South Africa, in the programme called "News Wrap". In response to a question, Mr Sisulu stated that:

"Generally speaking, it can be said that the Freedom Charter has been achieved."

The question to be posed is: What. about all those important demands contained in the Freedom Charter like:

- Land to the Tillers
- Nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopolies
- Work and security for all

These demands were the ones which gave the Freedom Charter a radical texture. These were the demands which indicated a concern and care for the workers and peasants. Yet these are the very demands which have been either jettisoned or placed at the bottom of the list of priorities.

In this all important sense, the most shameful betrayal by persons who have the the 1994 elections marked the culmination of the workers and peasants and unemployed temerity to call themselves Communists and claim successorship to the great revolutionaries and humanists, like Marx, Engels and Lenin.

INTRODUCTION- PART TWO

Notwithstanding what has been stated above, it cannot be denied that the Elections which took place on the 27, 28 and 29 April 1994, constitute the most important and dramatic event in the life of the people and in the history of this country. The elections will constitute a gigantic landmark in our history. Future historians and political commentators will use this event as a time peg to describe events in terms of before and after the first elections based on universal suffrage.

To the overwhelming majority of the oppressed, these elections were proof, at last, of acceptance of their claim to humanity and, therefore, to equality. But stating that they were part of humanity and asserting their equality, was not enough for many people. Some more had to be done.

Something tangible. Some public act for all to see. That act took the form of taking a decision to vote. It meant, if need be, standing for many hours in long and unending queues. When at last their turn came, they performed that act by placing their crosses on the two ballot papers.

The people, in their millions came forth to vote. Census takers and demographers were taken aback when the poor and the aged came pouring out from the rural areas. They came from far and remote areas which are inaccessible to police, sheriffs and

tax collectors. They emerged in order to vote and to vote meant reclaiming the land which had once belonged to their forefathers.

The poor and wretched of this land also voted in order to stake a claim to the wealth and riches of this country which they, as citizens, had a right to and to which they had contributed a lion's share. Yet it was not they, but foreigners, who enjoyed the wealth. Foreigners came in waves from all four comers of the earth. The Dutch came, as did the English, the French, the Indians, the Malays, the Chinese, the Jews, the Germans, the Irish, the Greeks, the Portuguese, the Italians, the Latvians etc. They all came and took chunks of this land which belonged to the indigenous people, who being vanquished, could only watch helplessly. They saw the foreigners settle down, work and prosper. Only the Africans remained impoverished.

Hence the tremendous importance of these elections to the oppressed people.

The great interest shown by the international community in these elections was partly due to the abhorrence in which racial oppression was held by the world. It is true that there is a great deal of racial, ethnic or religious discrimination in this world. But nowhere had racism become enshrined in the laws of a country, like it did in South Africa.³

Condemnation of racial oppression and discrimination had become universal. Apartheid was damned as a crime against humanity. Never had the world so come together on an issue since World War II when the creed of Herrenvolkism i.e. the myth of racial superiority, was espoused by the Nazis.

The hatred for discrimination on the basis of colour was just one of reasons for interest shown in these elections by the international community.

These are some of the dimensions of this all-important event.

BACKGROUND TO THE ELECTIONS

To understand the full import of the elections we need to know, inter alia, the hidden forces at work which had a hand in creating the situation which led to the elections.

Who would have believed ten years ago that South Africa would have a black president and universal suffrage in 1994? Readers will recall how P. W. Botha was almost flayed alive by P. W. Botha when he predicted a black president for South Africa.

³ This refers to the old South Africa, the pre-1994 South Africa - Editor

On the 3rd May 1994, Herman Cohen, U.S. imperialism's chief agent in Africa, was interviewed on Radio South Africa about his views on the elections. The gist of his response was:-

1. If anybody had told him in 1984, that there would be democratic elections in South Africa, he would not have believed that person.
2. The power of the South African Defence Force was so awesome that it gave the impression of invincibility.
3. P. W. Botha was absolutely intractable.
4. The anti-government forces were marked by their weakness.
5. He confessed that he did not realise that there were forces within the Nationalist Party which saw the need for change for economic considerations. (Our emphasis)

From the side of the ANC, there was a posture of rejection of any negotiations without the abolition of apartheid as a precondition. This was to a large measure a bargaining position as well as keeping in tune with the mood and militancy of the people in the country.

Yet negotiations did take place. Former positions were cast to the winds. In a matter of just four years, the process was completed. How was this possible?

Many have regarded the process of negotiations and the elections as a miracle; as a victory of the forces of love and enlightenment over the forces of darkness, hate and racism.

But in the real life of politics, there are no miracles. Politics involves the interaction and conflicts of interest groups which are forever vying for advantage and control. Therefore, to find the reasons why apparently uncompromising groups would commence a process of negotiations and conclude that process to the satisfaction of the main players, we need to search outside the world of magic and miracles.

Due to the constraints of time, there will be an examination only of the patrons and masters of the two principal contenders in the country, namely the South African Communist Party (SACP)/ANC and the ruling class.

The SACP, which is using the ANC as a front, but controlling it at all times, itself was controlled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). With the Soviet Union going into bankruptcy and disintegration, the CPSU made it clear to the SACP

that it could no longer render any meaningful assistance to it; that the SACP had to drop its stance of "No Negotiation" and that it ought to speedily commence negotiations with the South African Government.

This important happening coincided with another equally important one. For some years, there was a growing impatience and anger on the part of world imperialism (U.S., Britain, France, Japan, etc) with the P.W.Botha regime. After a great deal of pressure and arm twisting, P.W.Botha agreed to radical political reforms. The announcement of the reforms was to be made at the Natal Nationalist Party conference in 1985. The speech to be made was called the "Cross the Rubicon" speech. But when the time came for Botha and the Nationalists to cross the Rubicon, he, after testing the water, got cold feet and rapidly backed off. It became a major anti-climax.

The renegeing infuriated the imperialists. They, then , decided to teach the Nats a lesson that they would not forget in a hurry.

Thus, for the first time, South Africa faced REAL sanctions. Not the hitherto game of hide and seek with petty sanctions involving sardines, KOO jams, peanuts etc. These took the form of financial sanctions. The complex and involved process of setting into motion these sanctions are described in a well researched article by Paul Trehwela in the journal "SEARCHLIGHT" of February 1994. According to Trehwela, the "sanctioners" were led by the Chase Manhattan Bank and the sanctions took the form of blocking capital inflow; the stoppage of further credits and a refusal to allow extension of time in respect of loans which had become due. South Africa was thus compelled to renege on her commitments. By so doing she was hurled into the pit with other bankrupt nations.

The immediate result was a very severe financial crisis in South Africa. Anthony Sampson, renowned internationally as a serious writer, made the same point in the weekly magazine "Newsweek" of the 9th May 1994. He goes on to add that it was the Chase Manhattan Bank which precipitated a massive loss of international confidence in South Africa, which in turn caused the collapse of its currency. This also led to a new wave of international demand for the release of Nelson Mandela.

It was this crisis which brought about the downfall of P. W. Botha and ushered in the short but history-making era of the De Klerk regime.

It will, therefore, be seen that it was the confluence of these two processes, namely, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the defeat of the Communist Party of that country on the one hand, and on the other, the imposition of hurting sanctions, which necessitated negotiations, which in turn led to the elections of the 27th, 28th and 29th April 1994.

It will help to understand events of the future if we keep in mind the nature of these processes and the forces behind them.

THE PROBLEM OF LEGITIMACY

De Klerk and the Nationalist Party agreed to a historically unprecedented arrangement, namely, to hand over the reins of government voluntarily. Voluntarily, in the sense of doing this without being physically overthrown. It was the inability of the Nationalist Party to win legitimacy that lay behind this move.

The revolt of the people in the African townships had become a permanent feature. The revolt had escalated from "Soweto 1976", when for the first time, there was a direct physical challenge to the armed might of the State. The youth occupied the front line. It was they who had to face the sjambok, the teargas, the gun and the tanks. They were tortured and beaten and killed. But they were irrepressible. They took the leading role at a time when the adults had been overcome with fear and timidity. This will explain how the youth came to occupy a dominant position in township life.

The extreme militancy of the youth gradually infected the adults who then embarked on campaigns which would have been considered inconceivable a few months before. Reference is being made here to the massive boycotts of rent, electricity and mortgage bonds repayments. This was so out of character of a people renowned for their sense of honour and their strong sense of fulfilling their obligations to pay for what they owed.

The salvage operations by the P.W.Botha regime was a case of too little, too late. The offer of a South African Indian Council, the Coloured Representative Council and the Urban Bantu Council was rejected by all except the sell-outs who were all set to gorge themselves at the expense of the public. Botha then pulled out what he believed to be his ACE OF TRUMPS. This was the Tricameral Circus. The underlying strategy behind this move was to draw the Whites, the Indian and the Coloured people into a light brown laager against the African people. Although the Tricameral Circus impressed a number of people including the eternally gullible Archbishop Tutu, the broad liberatory movement rejected it. The elections which followed were boycotted decisively.

Thus the Circus failed to win legitimacy.

It is a well known fact that no ruling class can rule for any length of time without the consent of the ruled, i.e. without acceptance of the system or legitimacy of the ruling

class. Where there is no legitimacy, there will be no stability. Without stability, capital investment will not be attracted.

Without investment, there will be insufficient economic growth. And without sufficient economic growth, there will be no employment for the many thousands entering the labour market. Unemployment in turn breeds crime, dissatisfaction, political militancy and social ills, i.e. it aggravates instability. Here we see a country trapped in a vicious cycle.

It was to break that cycle that De Klerk and the Nationalist Party, with the full encouragement and consent of their imperialist masters, decided to hand over the reins of power to the ANC.

It will thus be seen that the new constitution and the elections which followed were a direct result of the failure of the Tricameral Circus. Had the Circus succeeded and the laager formed, events may have taken a different turn and Mr. Praveen Gordhan and his colleagues may not be sitting in the National Assembly.⁴ The objective was to have a government which would be able to do all that the Nats would like done and still be given legitimacy by the affected people. Legitimacy would create stability. Stability would, in turn, attract investment and then economic growth, employment, reinforcement of stability and more investment.

It was to create this new cycle that made De Klerk and the Nationalist Party take the unprecedented step.

WERE THE ELECTIONS ISSUE-ORIENTATED?

It has been claimed by the media that these elections were not issue orientated. This claim is not correct.

What can be more issue-orientated than the ANC's Election Manifesto which was a string of promises - homes to the homeless; work for the unemployed; land to the landless and peace to victims of a ten-year internecine war.

Inkatha was able to swing significant support of Zulu-speaking Africans on the issue of a Zulu Kingdom and the position of Zwelithini, the king.

⁴

It is one of the ironies of the situation that if Mr Praveen Gordhan and members of his cabal succeeded in getting the UDF to participate in the Circus, Mr Mandela and his comrades may still be sitting in prison. The Circus would have been home to Mr Gordhan.

The NATS based their campaign on at least two major issues:

- a. Anti-communism;
- b. They, the NATS alone, could stop the ANC⁵ from doing what it wanted to do. They exploited the deep fear the non-African people have for the African people.

BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE ELECTIONS

No person with a modicum of political knowledge would have doubted an ANC victory. The major issues in question were:

- a. Would the ANC obtain a two-thirds majority?
- b. Who would win Natal- the ANC or Inkatha?
- c. Would the NATS succeed in winning in the Western Cape?

There was little doubt that the NATS would win the Northern Cape. It, therefore, came as a shock to the NATS when they were beaten there by the ANC.

Were the elections free and fair? Free and fair elections in their pristine form do not exist anywhere in the world, not even in the allegedly most democratic countries. How much less in South Africa?

1. The freedoms of conscience, association and assembly did not and still do not exist in large areas in the country. The existence of "NO GO" areas have denied people the right to canvass views which differ from those of the organisation which controls the area.

2. Prior to the elections, there was a marked increase in political violence. We will always remember the slaughter of the young ANC cadres in the Creighton area who were being trained to engage in the essential work of voter education. There was the all-pervading fear right up to the elections.

⁵For "ANC" one must read "the African people." That was the thrust of the NAT propaganda. It was the old racist "Swart Gevaar" tactic.

While they were saying that they were the only ones capable of stopping the ANC, the message they were conveying was: The Nationalist Party is the only force standing between the civilised Whites, Indian and Coloured people and the horde of black bloodthirsty savages.

3. During the campaigning, the IFP and ANC did not hesitate to use violence against persons whom they regarded as political trespassers.

The latter phrase is a euphemism for fascist intolerance. You will recall the brazen slaying of ANC campaigners in Ulundi just prior to the voting days⁶. Equally, you will not forget how Tony Leon was driven from the so-called University of the Left by ANC and PAC supporters who behaved like crazed fascists.

4. There can be no rational decision-making when fear dominates thinking. Yet fear was what the NATS generated with their "Swart Gevaar" tactics which has been described above.

5. The Independent Electoral Commission was pronounced, by unanimous decision, to be a national disaster. It is a valuable lesson in how NOT to apply affirmative action, which, apparently, was the basis of the choice of its thousands of personnel. The monumental arrogance and pomposity of the IEC chief, Johann Kriegler, was only matched by the equally monumental and uninterrupted blundering by the IEC. Although it cost the taxpayer over one billion rand, the antics of the IEC may yet be captured in a comedy for posterity. If that is done, there can be little doubt that it will surpass the hilarious slapdash comedies of the likes of Laurel and Hardy. It is common knowledge that the IEC was invaded by ANC members.

Some, a decided minority, went from a genuine desire to serve democracy; others to cheat and undermine the true results, and a large number, because there was big and easy money to be made.

The IFP's cheating strains credulity at the naiveté, clumsiness and ineptitude.

6. On the actual election days, there were long and unending queues.

Visitors, observers and reporters commented on the patience of the voters, especially the African voters. They all joined a chorus of "oohs" and "aahs" about the patience and good nature with which they bore their ordeal.

There is something patronising and insulting in these remarks which were intended to be compliments. These people believed and expected large scale fighting among the voters; they expected queue jumping and stampeding. In short, wild and riotous behaviour. It must have been quite a disappointment. No blood-splattered headlines; no gory pictures with the useless warnings to non-existent "sensitive" viewers. All those sophisticated cameras - all for nothing.

Yet the reasonably skilled reporter would know that:

a. Patience and long queues are not peculiar to the African oppressed. It is quite common to find people queuing from the night before, i.e.

⁶ That incident will partly explain the ANC's opposition to Ulundi being the capital of KwaZulu-Natal.

camping, for tickets for an important sporting event.

b. Long queues and patience have become woven into the psyche and culture of the people. It is as much a part of their lives as is the sky, the sun and the moon. People, especially the poor, wait in endless queues all their lives. They do so in hospitals, . in railway stations, in bus and kombi ranks, in post offices, in pension payout places etc.

Compliments of good behaviour on the part of the African voters is yet another insult. The implication is that good behaviour is not the normal pattern. Therefore, when it does happen, there should be a reward by way compliments.

The gracious attitude shown by the black voters towards the whites, has led to the erroneous conclusion that that was reconciliation. Our attitude is that, while it is true that there was not taunting of the whites or gloating or threats of "it is our turn now", there should be no confusing of politeness and graciousness with reconciliation. The courtesy and politeness of the oppressed is legendary. Only in recent times, with the advent of the brutalised youth and the very intense fratricidal political conflict, has that reputation been tarnished.

Reconciliation and forgiveness are extremely profound processes. But basic to these processes is the abolition of inequalities. There can be no reconciliation between oppressor and oppressed unless oppression IS eliminated. Real reconciliation will only begin to take place after the homeless are provided with decent homes; when the millions of unemployed are given decent employment; when the sick and ailing are taken care of and provided with proper medical care and when food is given to the hungry and starving.

Reconciliation will only be possible when humanity is restored to those who r had been dehumanised by the oppressive system. Hence it will be seen that reconciliation is not a simple process, nor is it easy to come by. Neither will it be cheap.

OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION

The ANC victory by a simple majority was predicted by all. And so it happened. No prediction from a serious source contended otherwise.

THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS IN THE WESTERN CAPE AND NATAL

Although most surveys predicted that the Nationalist Party would win in the Western Cape, politicians, analysts and political scientists, local and foreign, watched, with fascination a section of the oppressed vote for their oppressors of the very recent past

and against the most popular and most powerful organisation in the libratory movement, the ANC.

Like wise was the case with the Indian people. One estimate is that a percentage as high as 75, in Natal, voted for the Nationalist Party.

The massive vote from both these communities for the NATS constituted clear victory for the NATS. The NATS, incidentally, were the only party which received more votes than they should have in the normal course of things.

How does one account for the unnatural pattern of voting? It helps nobody to rail against the people who voted for the NATS. It will be far more profitable to make a thorough study of this phenomenon of the oppressed voting for their recent oppressors than to blame the people for voting as they did. One thing is clear. If people have voted for their former oppressors, the leadership of the libratory movement is to blame. It means that the leadership failed in its duty to prevent people (by force of argument and not by force of threats) from voting in that manner.

1. There was nothing that the ANC, through its Election Manifesto, could really offer to these communities. Offering jobs to the employed; housing to the home-owners and medical care to those who already have it, is not going to sweep them off their feet and convert them into ardent ANC supporters.

2. Commencing about 15 years ago, the NATS had embarked on an ambitious and massive campaign of reforms. Some of the more important reforms were:

- * Trade Unions for the workers.
- * Abolition of job reservation.
- * Equal pay for equal work.
- * Deracialising schools, universities and other institutions of learning.
- * Deracialising cinemas, hotels, holiday resorts and other social amenities.
- * Abolition of so-called petty apartheid like separate entrances, benches toilets etc.
- * Repeal of the hated Group Areas Act.
- * Repeal of the hated pass laws.
- * The doing away with the permit system for the use of venues for sporting events, meetings, etc.

Nobody in her or his right senses can dismiss these radical bourgeois reforms as cosmetic or simply as scratching the surface. The direct beneficiaries of these reforms have been the petty bourgeoisie amongst the oppressed people and the better paid working class. For many of these people, the universal suffrage will not make any real difference to their standard of living and life-style.

3. The deliberate implementation of the policy of divide and rule has been a major cause of the resurgence of racialism. This has caused untold harm to the cause of unity of the oppressed.

There was the rigid enforcement of the separation of the various racial groups. Areas of common activity which were so promisingly being developed oppressed in the 1950s between the racial segments of the oppressed, became fewer and fewer until all social contact was almost wiped out.⁷

4. When political violence exploded on the scene, it was a terrifying spectacle. There was no history or tradition of political opponents among the oppressed, falling upon one another in a most brutal manner. With the escalation of that violence, went indiscriminate carnage. There was calculated and cold-blooded slaughter of innocent people, of defenceless people, of women, the aged, children and even babes in arms.

With this kind of violence becoming a permanent feature and covering a whole decade, erroneous and racist conclusions were drawn about the African people. These conclusions were to the effect that Africans, by nature, are a violent people who go berserk over trifles and then go on rampages of killings.

5. In addition, there was tremendous pressure building up in the African townships and the squatter communities. The principal causes of that pressure were the political violence, the desperation generated by massive unemployment, the emergence of the phenomenon of brutalised youth in their hundreds of thousands, the appearance of many firearms, including an alarming number of AK47's. Organised crime became increasingly sophisticated and engaged in frequent actions. The unorganised crime consisting of single individuals or small numbers proliferated at an alarming rate. These areas truly became war zones.

As the pressure began building up in the townships and in the areas occupied by the homeless (referred to as squatters) and when there was no further outlet, the violence breached the invisible walls surrounding these areas and flooded into the white, Indian and "Coloured" areas. Burglaries, murders, hi-jacking of kombis and motor vehicles, armed robberies (given the mild-sounding, but misleading name of "mugging"), hold-ups of shops, banks and building societies, factories for the payrolls and so on. Armed robberies were often accompanied by murders of the

⁷ In this respect, SACOS' contribution was outstanding. This was at a time when the liberatory movement was silenced and politicians, by and large, considered it prudent to keep their views to themselves.

victims who offered little or no resistance. This is evidence of a large number of psychopaths or sadists.

The manifestation of violence in the manner described above caused terrible fear in all peace-loving communities, especially those who had not previously experienced such violence. To these communities, the source of that violence was the African people. They did not pause to think that the overwhelming majority of the African people are as peace-loving as any other peace-loving community. They did not examine the cause of that violence. Had they done that they would realised that the principal source of that violence was the system of oppression and exploitation which was represented by the National Party, the very party from which they sought protection. It is the protection racket all over again, except that it was organised on a national scale. The victims were not just the small shopkeeper but millions of people.

Certain incidents played right into the hands of the NATS. There was the case of homeless Africans occupying empty homes which had been allocated for members of the Coloured community in Cape Town. Then, there was the case of homeless Africans who, with the full connivance of the pro-ANC Chesterville Residents Association, occupied about 800 homes set aside for members of the Indian community. This was an unprecedented act of spoliation, by one section of the oppressed against another, carefully planned and executed in the secure knowledge that there would be no retaliation from the victims who have a reputation of being timid and relatively peace-loving.

In the face of all this violence, members of the Indian and "Coloured" communities felt gravely threatened. They feared for the safety of their wives and children and themselves. They feared looting and destruction of assets acquired over long years of hard work and of skimping, saving and sacrificing. The ANC did nothing to allay their fears. The few words of assurance by Nelson Mandela and the "Indian Squad" of the ANC - Mac Maharaj, Praveen Gordhan, Kathrada and others - did nothing to remove those fears. Those words sounded empty because no public act was done to back those words.⁸

⁸ There is no basis for accusing the ANC of racialism. The ANC failed to act out of opportunistic reasons. There are splits and divisions in the ANC. One, therefore, had to tread carefully how membership was handled. Disenchanted members can switch allegiance to Inkatha or if Albert Dhlomo is a Jacob Zuma supporter, they may choose to support Mr Gwala if the houses were forcibly taken away and handed to the original allottees. Mr Dhlomo is the Chairman of the Chesterville Residents Association.

Thus the dominant demand of the majority of the members of the Indian and Coloured communities was safety and security. All other demands took second place. THE ANC FAILED TO SATISFY THAT DEMAND

But the shrewd NATS realised the importance of these fears and capitalised on them. They presented themselves as the only force capable of keeping the ANC in check. As stated earlier, the NATS used the name ANC, but knew full well that they were holding themselves out to be the only force which is capable of keeping the Africans in check. They were, thus, able to provide hope and assurance to these terrified communities.

The above are some of the factors which caused large numbers of members of the Indian and "Coloured" communities to vote for their oppressors against the largest and most popular organisation in the liberatory movement.

ELECTIONS IN KWA ZULU NATAL

As was the position in the Northern Cape, the results of the elections in the province of KwaZulu/Natal defied political pundits and pollsters. Inkatha and Buthelezi were by no means the favourites of the English speaking press. Buthelezi was portrayed as a local Savimbi, a spoiler and a born loser. He was fair game for editors and reporters. They all took shots at him. With the approach of the elections, he was consistently described as a played-out politician; that he was marginalised; that he refused to take part in the elections, because if he did, the results would expose his diminished support base. Surveys (presumably scientific) vied with one another to predict an ANC victory. In time, these newspapers even took to calling Jacob Zuma as the Natal premier-elect.

It, therefore, came as stunning shock when Inkatha won the elections by an overall majority. Newspaper editors, reporters and pollsters, all ended up with red faces. They had grossly under-estimated the Inkatha support, especially in the rural areas. It is there that tribal structures and values still prevail strongly. Perhaps the most important factor which had a powerful last minute influence on the voting was the master stroke played by Inkatha.

This was when Zwelithini, the king of KwaZulu declared independence of the Kingdom of Kwa Zulu. This declaration rekindled the pride of the Zulu speaking Africans of Kwa Zulu/Natal in the glory of the Kingdom of Kwa Zulu prior to its defeat at the hands of the British in the 19th century.

It took some time for the significance of this stroke to sink into ANC consciousness. Nelson Mandela had tried desperately to meet Zwelithini alone. He was denied that opportunity.

When the significance of the declaration was finally realised, it was too late.⁹

There is no doubt that there were many irregularities in the voting in Natal/KwaZulu, as there were, undoubtedly, in most other areas. As stated earlier, the clumsiness of Inkatha irregularities, defied credulity. But the ANC, too, engaged in irregularities.

What is of importance is that regardless of what Inkatha members are alleged to have done, that still does not explain the ANC's poor showing. As reporter Farouk Chothia, of the Weekly Mail, asks: "Why was the ANC only able to muster 1,2 million votes for the whole province?"

WERE THE ELECTIONS FREE AND FAIR?

The first elections in this country based on universal suffrage, were pronounced free and fair by all observers, local and overseas, and the various monitoring groups.

The truth of the matter is that the decision to declare the elections free and fair was taken even before they had begun. The cynicism of politicians knows no bounds.¹⁰ In

⁹At a rally in Umlazi, Nelson Mandela tried to break the link between Inkatha and the king by stating that Zwelithini was also his king.

¹⁰ One of the most shocking examples is the case of that pious mouthed hypocrite, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the secretary-general of the UNO. He backed the verdict by the UN special representative in Angola, Margaret Anstee, that the 1992 Angolan elections were free and fair. By so doing, he plunged Angola into a resumption of the civil war because Savimbi refused to accept the verdict of free and fair. For this, Savimbi has been pilloried by all and sundry. Yet a day before the announcement of the verdict, Margaret Anstee was presented with a report from the Provincial Investigative Committee set up by the UNO. This Committee found wide spread irregularities to the extent that the elections could be declared invalid. The report was swept under the carpet. Because of this cynical act, tens of thousands of lives were

lost in the resumed civil war. Their blood lies on the hands of Margaret Anstee and Boutros-Ghali and others like them.

the name of "practicality", the most amazing decisions are taken. Nobody would have had the nerve to declare the elections anything but free and fair.

Many do not believe the elections to have been free and fair. There was unbelievable inefficiency on the part of the IEC; there was too much of blundering; there was massive intimidation; there was too much of cheating and too many irregularities.

But having considered all that, it has to be conceded that had the elections been truly free and fair, the results would not have been markedly different. The end results, because of a series of compensatory acts of cheating and irregularities by the ANC and Inkatha, more or less reflect the true voting strengths of these parties.

Had, for example, the NATS won 12 million votes and the ANC only 4 million, then it would have been clear that there was something radically wrong. So, in a circuitous manner and like the judgement in Brecht's "Caucasian Chalk Circle",¹¹ the results are more or less true.

THE MAGIC OF SIXTY SIX AND TWO THIRDS PER CENT

The percentage of $66 \frac{2}{3}$ had people tantalised for those 7 heart constricting days while the IEC danced on the eggs of inefficiency. In theory, a victory by obtaining two thirds of the votes would have allowed the ANC virtually to write its own constitution.

Thus, as the ANC national votes began to climb towards the magic percentage, the share prices began to fall. Serious analysts and political commentators are not as fickle and sensitive as the share market. We saw this on television when panel discussions took place on this question.

We offer a few propositions for consideration:

1. Constitutions, in a sense, are mere pieces of paper on which are recorded agreements between contending political forces on how their country will be governed and spells out the relationship between group interests inter se, and with the State.

¹¹Based on King Solomon's famous judgement of awarding the child to the real mother who was also its biological mother, Brecht's hero awards the child to Grusha who really loves the child and not to the child's biological mother who is only interested in laying her hands on the vast estate of her deceased husband. This she can only do through the child.

2. As lawyers, we know how fragile agreements can be. If parties to agreements honoured the contents of such agreements, our profession would really fall on hard times.

3. As constitutions go, more are violated than honoured. In Africa, about 50 % of the countries are military dictatorships. Yet like babies, they were all born beautiful, at least constitution-wise. What, then, happened to those constitutions? They were tom up and thrown into the waste-paper baskets. Now, even if there was a judge who valued principles, but not his life, granted an order against the military junta, for the restoration of the constitution, where would you find a Sheriff who would have the power to enforce that order against the junta?

4. In the end, a constitution is only as strong as the armed might of its upholders and defenders and their commitment to lay down their lives in its defence.

5. Political majorities have little to do with the upholding or undermining of constitutions. Even if the ANC gained a two thirds majority, the interim constitution would stand as long as the NATS wanted it to stand. For the NATS have the real power in the country. They have the support of the army, the police force, the civil service, the powerful monopolies and the imperialists.

The failure of the ANC to win two thirds of the votes caused despondency amongst its rank and file members and supporters. But that failure must have come as a relief to a section of the top leadership of the ANC/SACP.

If the ANC had attained the two thirds majority, it would have faced pressure from the radicals in its ranks for fundamental changes to the constitution. The alternatives which the ANC would have faced, would not have been easy of resolution. They would have been: Either to ignore the demands of the radicals and face splits and disaffection OR accede to their demands and face economic sanctions from the imperialists and a real possibility of a military coup.

Hence Nelson Mandela admitted on the 6th May 1994, after the announcement of the final results, that he was relieved that the ANC did not win two thirds of the votes because of the tensions which had been building over the possibility that the ANC would be able to write the constitution of its choice. (The Natal Witness - 7 May 1994).

Not unexpectedly, Mr. Mandela said something totally different when he met the delegation of the National Land Committee. To those delegates, he gave the assurance that had the ANC won two thirds of the votes, it would have changed the constitution. (Weekly Mail 13-19 May 1994.)

THE POSITION OF THE S.A. COMMUNIST PARTY

1. What appears below must be qualified by the fact that the South African Communist Party (SACP) does not function fully in the open. Its important decisions are not open to public scrutiny. The writer of this article does not have access to first hand information which is not readily available. If there are errors in the assessment on details, their cause is not malice, but a genuine lack of information.
2. The SACP fully controls the ANC which merely rubber stamps decisions taken in secret meetings of the SACP's politburo, or of its central committee or at its conferences.
3. The western nations (the imperialists), Japan and the local capitalists will do everything in their power to prevent South Africa from taking the road to socialism.
4. The western nations, Japan and the local capitalists do not really mind the SACP occupying a majority position in the government. In fact, as far as they are concerned, they have trapped the SACP In a compromise government. Their reasoning, inter alia, is that given a position of responsibility in the running of the most developed economy in Africa, the SACP members would mellow and not seek to subvert society or the economy Since to do that would mean subverting what they themselves are constructing.
5. The western nations, Japan and the local capitalists will use their economic might to make the SACP government entirely dependent on them for political survival by making it possible to implement bits and pieces of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.
6. The SACP/ANC has already taken the key government positions necessary to seize power should it be inclined in that direction. They occupy the strategic posts of defence. ¹² police, transport, radio and television. Recently, senior members of the MK were appointed in high positions in the officer ranks of the Defence Force.
7. The key to an understanding of what is likely to take place in the future, IS knowledge of the intention of the left-wing of the SACP/ANC. If the entire leadership of the SACP/ANC has become respectable, as it is claimed by certain

¹² In view of Joe Modise's alleged "braaing and beering" with top Defence Force personnel, he needed somebody to watch over him. Hence, Ronnie Kasrils has been chosen as Deputy Defence Minister. More so, after Joe Modise was used to launch an application to interdict certain disclosures by former members of the dirty tricks department of the Defence Force.

members of the non-Stalinist left, then one will have a scenario similar to the one in post 1947 India. This where the Indian National Congress dutifully passes socialistic resolutions from time to time and issues vote-catching slogans like: "Poverty must go!", "Injustice must end!", "Disparity must diminish!" The INC has been doing this for the past 50 years.

Rich in slogans and resolutions, but poor in action. That will explain India's poverty.

If on the other hand, there is a section in the SACP/ANC which intends to pursue the struggle beyond bourgeois democracy, (i.e the second revolution) the western nations, Japan and the local capitalists will fight back with all the power at their disposal freezing all capital investments; withdrawal of capital; imposition of effective sanctions; use of sections of the Defence Force, the Police and members of the non-permanent defence force to foment a civil war. In this war, Inkatha could come in as well as an anti-communist section in the ANC.

8. The NATS are the trusted agents of imperialism. They are also their watchdogs. Their function is to observe and to report first hand to imperialism and to organise and to lead opposition to any move to take South Africa on to the road to socialism.

9. As far as can be ascertained, there are at least 4 discernible trends and factions in the SACP/ANC leadership:

a. The Nationalist wing led by Nelson Mandela, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Ramaphosa and others, which works in very close alliance with the right wing of the SACP.

b. The right wing of the SACP represented by Joe Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Kathrada, Jeremy Cronin and others.

c. The left wing of the SACP whose leader is Govan Mbeki, but which is publicly represented by Thabo Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Patrick Lekota and others.

d. The local and regional leaders like Harry Gwala, Tony Yengeni, Peter Mokaba, Winnie Mandela and others. This group works very closely with the left wing of the SACP because of ideological affinity.¹³ But they also have regional or local agendas of their own which may not coincide with the national strategy of the left wing of the SACP.

¹³Mrs Winnie Mandela is a class of her own. She does not have a radical programme of her own. She is not a radical except in rhetoric and then too, on a primitive level like: "With our match boxes, we will liberate South Africa." She appears to be driven by personal vendetta and ambition and is presently being used by the Mbeki wing against the right wing of the ANC/SACP.

In the days ahead, we will see increased public manifestation of the fissures and the politics of those splits will, hopefully, become clearer. The fact of the splits cannot be denied nor can the splits be explained on the grounds of personality conflicts as learned editors and analysts are wont to.¹⁴

Here are instances of clashes, the existence of which have escaped the confines of closed meetings of ANC:

1. The death of Oliver Tambo made it necessary for an election to fill the void. Mr Walter Sisulu, perhaps the most senior top official of the ANC, and who is widely respected and loved by people right across the spectrum of the liberatory movement, moved the name of Professor Kader Asmal to fill Mr Tambo's position. His nomination had the support of Nelson Mandela. Surprisingly, Mr Sisulu's nomination was challenged by Peter Mokaba, who gained notoriety by the slogan of "Kill the boer; kill the farmer". Even more surprisingly, Mokaba's nomination of Thabo Mbeki succeeded by an overwhelming majority. Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu suffered a stunning defeat.

2. When it came to the election of the President of the ANC's Women's League, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the most powerful ANC leader in the country up to the time of the release of the political prisoners and the return of the exiles, was challenged for that position by Mrs Winnie Mandela, with her heavily unenviable record. Yet Mrs Mandela won a resounding victory. It is clear that the victory was hardly the doing of Mrs Mandela. She has no organisational base of her own. Nor can her success be attributed to the trips she makes to the squatter communities in her million rand Mercedes Benz, nor because she has a few water taps installed there. The Women's League Conference is not a rally or a public meeting where oratory or demagoguery can sway decisions. Such conferences are carefully planned; only delegates from bona fide and properly constituted branches can vote; where there would be a credentials committee which will scrutinize persons attending and accorded delegate status. In these circumstances, Mrs Sisulu's defeat was not accidental. It was planned with almost mathematical accuracy. Mrs Mandela does not have the national organisational base nor the ability to carry this through. She was elected because she had the support of the left wing of the SACP, the ANC Youth League, the regional leaders like Harry Gwala, a section of COSATU and Civic Association under Moses

¹⁴ We see Mr Gwala's suspension as a strike by the rightwing of the SACP against one of the most prominent of the leaders of the leftwing of the SACP in the ongoing conflict between the two factions.

Mayekiso. These groups, for reasons of their own, wanted Mrs Mandela and not Mrs Sisulu.

When it came to the appointment of the first Vice President, Nelson Mandela's choice was Cyril Ramaphosa. He was a former AZAPO member, whose present loyalty lies with Nelson Mandela. When Mandela's choice became known, there was a strong reaction from the left wing of the SACP, from COSATU, from the Youth League etc. Their choice was Thabo Mbeki. Supporting Ramaphosa's nomination were people like Joe Slovo, Mac Maharaj and Valli Moosa. Newspapers described this group as the negotiating group, but failed to see its real identity, namely, the right wing of the SACP.

On this occasion the matter was not even put to the vote. Ramaphosa was ignominiously discarded. Smarting from the rebuff, Ramaphosa turned down all other cabinet position offers. When he emerged from his sulk, Ramaphosa accepted the position of Chairman of the Constitutional Assembly. On the day of the announcement of the acceptance, we were repeatedly assured by the radio, all day long, that Ramaphosa's post was equal to a cabinet post.

THE POSITION OF NELSON MANDELA

The role of the individual in history or his or her impact on the train of events has been, often, grossly exaggerated as a result of distortion, falsification or an incorrect approach to history. Only individuals with outstanding qualities (intellect, dedication, discipline, courage, genius etc) have made their mark on history.

According to the "father of Russian Marxism", Plekhanov:

"Owing to the specific qualities of their minds and characters, influential individuals can change the individual features of events and some of their particular consequences, but they cannot change their general trend, which is determined by other forces."

Nelson Mandela is the leader of the ANC by virtue of his being elected as president. He is part of a "collective leadership". He does not steer the organisation of which he is president. The leadership does that. Nelson Mandela does not tell the ANC/SACP what to do. He does what the leadership tells him to do. There is no suggestion that he is simply a puppet. He, undoubtedly, participates in debates and in the process of decision-making which does not fly in the face of decisions already made by the SACP.

It has been shown above, how in the important activity of election of officials, high profile leaders like Mandela, Sisulu and Mrs Sisulu, have had their views disregarded.

THE INHERITANCE

A short while after the return of the exiles and the commencement of the negotiations, Walter Sisulu remarked: "This chap De Klerk is going too fast for us. " Mr Sisulu, with his famed earthiness, hit the nail on the head. He was able to sense the haste with which De Klerk and Co., wanted to get on with the elections and to hand the reins of power to the ANC.

While the office of presidency, televised inauguration in the presence of the political glitterati, local and international, occupying the corridors of lower, earning three quarters of a million rand etc may sound attractive, the price for all this can turn out to be very high.

Mr.Mandela and the ANC/SACP have inherited an insolvent estate, beset with problems which you will not want to wish on your worst enemy.

Here are some of them:

A foreign debt of R200 000 000 000.

Millions of brutalised youth who have grown up in the midst of indiscriminate killings, both as witnesses and participants. They are unemployed, undisciplined and a law unto themselves. They constitute the worst nightmare for the sociologists, psychologists and the rulers of this country, not to mention the population on which they feed like parasites.

Crime, organised and unorganised,(including psychopathic crime) has soared to terrifying heights. Armed robberies have become an everyday affair. The highways have become extremely dangerous, especially at night. Stepping out of one's home at night is like stepping into a jungle full of human-eating predators.

- The abundance of AK47's have made a mockery of the once feared hand guns.
- Millions of homeless are impatiently waiting for the promised homes. The land-takeover movement by the homeless has alarmed Mr Joe Slovo, the Minister of Housing. He occupies a very hot seat.¹⁵

¹⁵Mr. Slovo was booed in Umtata when he urged patience on people who had allocated themselves sites on land belonging to the State.

Daily News - 30 June 1994.

- About 7 million, i.e. 50% of the working population are unemployed.
- 60% of the adult population is illiterate.
- The state of education among the African youth is yet another nightmare. With a matric pass rate of only 38% (inclusive of senior certificates) of the African students who wrote the examination, where will the new South Africa get its intellectuals, technicians and an educated young working class from, to help run a modern and sophisticated industrial economy?

THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The announcement of the existence of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) constituted the election manifesto of the ANC. It is not easy to get hold of the written RDP. Nor have there been substantial summaries of it in the daily press. That it exists, there is no doubt. From what little we have been able to get from the press, the RDP seeks to solve the major problems of housing, employment, land and redistribution of wealth. These are objectives which, not only all committed socialists would readily endorse, but also all caring and decent human beings would support. However, there are two questions to be asked:

1. Was the RDP carefully worked out by persons who are experts in this kind of economics? The public was informed repeatedly that economists, including those from the government and the universities were consulted. Apparently, the ANC even consulted Harry Oppenheimer, doyen of the big capitalists and monopolies.
2. Will there be enough money to pay for the RDP? Where will the money come from?

Concerning the second question, we earnestly hope that the answers would be far more convincing than the pathetic effort by Dr Pallo Jordan, the ANC Minister of Information, when he was engaged in a panel discussion on television on the 13th April 1994 with Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party.

Soon after the elections it came out that there was shoddiness in the drawing up of the RDP. There was a serious error on a very basic calculation, namely, the cost of the RDP. Leading up to the elections, the public was told that the RDP would cost R39 billion. After the elections, the estimated cost was increased to R90 billion. According to one of the ANC economic experts, Mr Ben Turok, the error was caused

because the ANC did not have access to State Statistics. Within a week after the announcement of the figure of R90 billion, the public was told that the RDP would cost R135 billion!!

This sort of behaviour is unlikely to inspire confidence in anybody, whether it be the public or the potential investor.

CONCLUSION

With the elections over, the ANC will commence its probation of five years within which time it has to satisfy the imperialists and the big local capitalists that it is capable of managing a complex and modern capitalist economy. If it succeeds, then the need for a government of reconciliation will become superfluous. If it does not succeed, then the government of reconciliation will be prolonged or more drastic measures will be taken.

What is novel about the present situation is that for the first time since 1652, the oppressed people are directing their anger and protests against their own elected government. When the civil servants toyi-toyed and waved placards in Mmabatho, it was against the elected government of Mr Popo Molefe and not against some Afrikaner appointed by the NATS.

When certain ANC-created Self Defence Units defied control and made death threats they did not direct these against Inkatha or NAT stooges and puppets, but against the popular Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC premier of the PWV region. When Derek Keys resigned and sent shivers in the stock market, it was not the representative of the Whites Only government who had to rush around soothing ruffled feathers, it was Nelson Mandela who had to calm both local and overseas investors.

So, for the first time in the history of this country, the oppressors are sitting back and, no doubt, relishing the spectacle of the newcomers scurrying hither and thither as they confront crisis after crisis.

Now we know why that "chap" De Klerk was "going too fast" for the ANC.

Published by APDUSA (natal) P.O.Box 8415Cumberwood 3235, Pietermaritzburg
and P.O.Box 3520 Durban 4000