Dear Friends,

Despite ongoing violence, negotiations continue in South Africa. There is hope that an interim government will be installed in the next few months and that elections for a constituent assembly will be held early next year.

But the long years of white minority rule have created inequities that extend to every aspect of South African life. Schools are still effectively segregated, and while virtually all white children are in school, two million black children are not. Economic power is concentrated in the hands of whites, who are less than 15 percent of the population. Whites still control 87 percent of the land. Black unemployment exceeds 40 percent.

The enclosed Perspective by Mike Fleshman, Bitter Inheritance: Overcoming the Legacy of Apartheid documents these inequities. It also reviews the efforts by the African National Congress, unions, civic organizations and churches to counter these injustices by organizing in new ways to ensure that the people of South Africa benefit from the fruits of democracy.

For many years concerned people in this country have played an important role in supporting the struggle against apartheid. We can continue to play a useful role by supporting efforts of the people of South Africa to overcome the legacy of apartheid.

To order additional copies of Bitter Inheritance and other publications please use the order form on the back of this letter.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Davis
Executive Director
RESOURCES

Please indicate number ordered on the line before each title. Please add 15% postage and handling to all orders.

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**ACTION AFTER SANCTIONS -- BUILDING A NEW SOUTH AFRICA** by Jennifer Davis (Africa Fund, 1992) 4pp. (typescript) A briefing paper on the need to support socially responsible investment in South Africa once the ANC calls for the lifting of sanctions. Includes the ANC/COSATU Platform of Guiding Principles for Foreign Investors, which outlines the socially responsible investment principles they support. Single copy free on request.

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**OUR POLITICAL ECONOMY - UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMS** by The Trade Union Research Project, the Economic Trends Group and COSATU (COSATU, 1992), 76pp. A handbook designed for COSATU shop stewards, this book provides an excellent overview of South Africa's economy. $12.00.

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**MOZAMBIQUE -- PROSPECTS FOR PEACE** by Sister Janice McLaughlin. (Africa Fund, 1992), 4pp. After years of destabilization and war, a United Nations-brokered cease-fire may finally bring peace to Mozambique. With FRELIMO the overwhelming favorite to win any election, the RENAMO rebels and their former backers in South Africa may still try and undermine the accord. 35 cents each, over twenty, 20 cents each.

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**BEWARE THE HAND THAT FEEDS YOU -- U.S. AID IN SOUTHERN AFRICA** by Carol B. Thompson. The countries of Southern Africa have been among the largest recipients of U.S. famine relief and thousands of lives have been saved by this aid. But policies promoted by the U.S. Agency for International Development have often added to the burden of natural disasters. 30 cents each. Over twenty, 15 cents each.

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**STOP APARTHEID'S VIOLENCE** (vinyl decal, 5 inches square) (Africa Fund, 1992) This bumper sticker decal expresses support for the STOP Apartheid's Violence campaign. Black, red and white. $1.00 each. Ten through forty-nine, 75 cents each. Fifty and above, 45 cents each.

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**STOP THE VIOLENCE** (video - 14 minutes) (South Africa Now, 1992) This documentary video exposes the role of the South African police and hit squads in apartheid violence as well as government funding for pro-government vigilante groups. Contains graphic footage. $20.00.

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**APARTHEID REGIME -- HANDS OFF LABOR** (poster - 22X26 inches) (Africa Fund, 1992) This three color poster by San Francisco artist Sarah Hodgson expresses solidarity with South African unions. $6.00 each. Over ten, $4.00 each.

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**SOUTHERN AFRICA LITERATURE LIST.** A complete list of publications, posters and videos available from The Africa Fund. Free on request.

I enclose $________ for literature, including 15% postage and handling.

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The Africa Fund
198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038
New Brighton, South Africa. Shantytowns, dirt roads, hunger and disease are the bitter inheritance of apartheid.

From the dusty, windblown cemetery on top of the hill, the wretched plastic and plywood shanties of New Brighton stretch as far as the eye can see. Ragged Black children play in the rutted mud tracks that pass for streets, racing past great mounds of rotting garbage, stinking refuse pits and unemployed men drinking beer. Four heavily armed white policemen in a “Hippo” armored car guard an intersection, ignoring — for now — the occasional clenched fist or shouted insult from the passing children.

Unplanned by urban architects, unrepresented in local, regional or national governments, unserved by electrical, sewage or transport systems, crippled by poverty and neglect, this vast Black ghetto — and the dozens of other New Brightons outside the gleaming cities of white South Africa — forms just part of the terrible legacy of apartheid...

This legacy of white domination and Black disenfranchisement extends to every aspect of South African life. Beginning with the arrival of the first European settlers in 1652, South Africa’s white minority sought absolute control over the riches and the peoples of the region. In 1948 the ultra-racist National Party won the white elections on a platform of apartheid ("separateness" in the Afrikaans language of Dutch-descended whites), and deliberately set out to create two separate and grossly unequal societies. Whites would own the land, enjoy the wealth and exercise absolute political power over the Black majority. Blacks would lose even their citizenship to become powerless migrant workers.

Forty five years later the criminal enterprise called apartheid is nearly at an end — defeated by generations of resistance led by Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress, and cut off from Western money and arms by international sanctions. But its devastating inheritance of racism, poverty and social injustice will live on. In this Southern Africa Perspectives we examine the legacy of apartheid, and meet South Africans who are working to build a democratic, just and nonracial society in its place.
Land

The theft of African land characterizes the fundamental injustice of apartheid. The whites reserved 87 percent of South Africa for their sole and exclusive ownership, driving 3.5 million Black people from their homes in areas designated “white” since 1960 alone. The remaining 13 percent of the land, mostly barren and isolated rural tracts, was fragmented into ethnic reservations called bantustans and declared home for the three in four South Africans deemed African. As the table below shows, the distribution of land between Blacks and whites is nearly the reverse of their presence in the population.

A future democratic government will be under enormous public pressure to return the land to its rightful owners, but redistribution will not be easy. In many cases, white seizure of land goes back to the 1800s, and the heirs of the rightful owners are long since dead or scattered.

Modern day land theft is easier to document, but can be just as difficult to redress, as the plight of the Mfengu people shows. For generations the Mfengu lived a modestly prosperous life in eastern Cape Province, farming land deeded to them by the British government during the British colonial period. In 1977 the South African government removed the Mfengu at gunpoint, seized their land and leased it to white farmers. Because the government still owned the Mfengu’s land, it should have been a simple matter for the state to cancel the leases and return the property to the rightful owners. Instead the “reformist” De Klerk government rushed a special bill through the white parliament in 1992 to allow the white farmers to buy the disputed farms as “Black.”

Wealth

It wasn’t until after his 30th birthday that Joseph Tease, a Black resident of the Lebowa bantustan, came into possession of a bed — a sagging, second hand mattress inherited from a sister. It sits on the dirt floor of his otherwise empty hut, mute testimony to the absolute poverty inflicted on Joseph and more than half of all Black South Africans by the economics of apartheid.

Economic power in South Africa is even more concentrated among whites than income. A single firm, the Anglo American Corporation, owns almost half of all corporate stocks in South Africa. Anglo, together with three other giant companies, control over 80 percent of all stocks traded on the Johannesburg stock exchange. By contrast, all Black owned businesses combined account for less than 1 percent of South Africa’s total economic output.

The other economic giant in South Africa is the apartheid government itself, which owns nearly half of all fixed economic assets — power plants, ports and harbors, etc. — in the country. State companies and agencies dominate key enterprises as transportation and communications, electric power generation and gas and water supply.

A future democratic government should be able to use these state assets, together with its legislative and regulatory power, to restructure the economy for the benefit of all. But as the date for democratic elections comes closer, the white minority has begun to sell off government-owned factories, power stations, transpor-

Population* Versus Land Ownership in South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks</strong>: 85%</td>
<td><strong>Whites</strong>: 15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| *Apartheid established four legal race classifications for all South Africans: African, White, “Coloured” (mixed race) and Asian. The democratic movement describes all victims of racial discrimination as “Black.”

Monthly Household Income By Race, 1988-89

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Brackets</th>
<th>African Proportion</th>
<th>Coloured Proportion</th>
<th>Asian Proportion</th>
<th>White Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-399 ($167)</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400-699</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700-1199</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200-1999</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2499</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500-3999</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000-5999</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6000+</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conversion basis: in 1989, $1 = approximately 2.27 Rands

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations

Only 10 Percent of Africans In Urban Areas Have Electricity

Source: Congress of South African Trade Unions
Without access to electricity, Black South Africans spend precious time and money on costly and polluting fuel for heating and cooking. Through this “privatization” strategy, white business and political leaders hope to ensure that a Black majority government will not be able to end the white monopoly of wealth and economic power.

Corporate Concentration in South Africa:
Ownership of Shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange

Housing and Urban Development

For many years it was official policy to prevent Black South Africans from moving from the countryside to the white cities in search of a better life. The notorious Pass Laws, requiring Black people to carry a government permit to live in urban areas and in effect until 1986, was part of that effort. The apartheid government also refused to build houses in urban Black townships on the theory that, without houses, people would not be able to move to the cities.

Apartheid failed to stop the movement of Black people to the cities, but it did create an urban housing crisis of staggering proportions. Today an estimated 7.5 million Black people in urban areas — more than the entire white population of South Africa — live in self built shanties and tents without electricity or running water. Yolisa Cqirana’s search for housing is typical. When she and her two young children moved to Cape Town in 1991 they found that all they could afford was space in a room already occupied by two other families. There are three beds in the room — one for each family. The children sleep on the concrete floor.

In 1990 the nongovernmental South African Housing Trust put the housing shortage at 3.4 million units. With the urban population expected to double from 15 million in 1980 to 33.5 million by the year 2000, the nongovernmental Urban Foundation estimates South Africa must build 174,000 affordable houses every year for the next 20 years just to eliminate the backlog. In 1991, however, just 30,000 new homes were constructed — and most of these were priced beyond the means of the impoverished Black majority.

Black incomes are so low that it is virtually impossible for the private sector to build affordable housing at a profit. For this reason the provision of decent low income housing will be largely a public responsibility, involving government, non-profit agencies, and the rapidly growing network of democratically controlled, community based civic associations affiliated to the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO).

Construction of such basic services as electricity, sewage and drainage systems, plumbing and clean water supplies in Black communities lags equally far behind housing itself. In places like Alexandra township near Johannesburg, hundreds of thousands of people must use buckets to dispose of human waste and obtain water from a handful of public water taps.

In Black townships nationally, only one in ten persons has access to electricity. As a result, Black South Africans must use costly and polluting coal and wood for heat, and candles and lanterns for light. In Soweto and other large townships during winter, pollution from hundreds of thousands of coal fires actually blots out the sun.

Health

A democratic South Africa will inherit a national health system riddled with the cancer of institutionalized racism and overburdened to the point of collapse. There are two separate and unequal health care systems for Blacks and whites, and no provision for national health insurance or coverage. Many whites participate in Racial Distribution of Housing in South Africa
the private health care system, which accounts for 44 percent of all health spending despite the small percentage of the population it serves.13

Responsibility for public health care, where the vast majority of South Africans go for medical treatment, is balkanized into 18 separate ethnic departments, with per capita spending for white health care twice that for Blacks. The situation in the bantustans is even worse. Per capita health expenditure in the KwaZulu and Transkei bantustans is only a quarter that of the white communities around them. Despite the formal desegregation of hospitals in 1990, white hospitals reported nearly 12,000 surplus beds that year, while the Black hospital in Soweto reported that during one week alone, over 1,600 patients were forced to sleep on the floor for want of space.14

The cost of eliminating the racial gap in health spending would be staggering, requiring that nearly one in every five government tax dollars be spent on medical care. A democratic South Africa is likely to shift the health system away from costly, high technology curative care to low cost preventive services. There will need to be an effort to train more Black health professionals, and relocate more doctors out of the cities into the rural areas, where person-to-physician ratios sometimes exceed 60,000:1.15

**Percentage of Underqualified Teachers in South African Classrooms, 1989**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Congress of South African Trade Unions*

Education

After 40 years of separate and unequal "Bantu Education" for African students, a democratic South African government will inherit a population that is 45 percent illiterate,16 and an education system sliced into 15 individual ethnic departments and crippled by desperate shortages of trained teachers, classrooms and schoolbooks. Education for whites, long a compulsory obligation, has never been mandated for Black children. In 1991 South African government statisticians found that over two million Black adults had never received any formal education. In 1992 nearly two million Black children aged 6-17 were not enrolled in school due to overcrowding and political violence.17 In that same year the apartheid government still spent four times as much per capita on white education as it did on Black education.18

To meet the demand for education, many schools in Black communities run double sessions, with children forced to share textbooks, desks, even chairs and pencils. But a 1993 government study found that South Africa would have to open a new school every day simply to keep pace with the annual increase in the Black student population — let alone reduce the existing waiting list.19 "It's very discouraging to come to a school that resembles a war memorial" said one teacher. "Classes have no doors and windows. In some cases girls take notes on their tights."20

The legacy of Bantu education will haunt all of South Africa's people for decades to come, greatly slowing efforts to train the technicians, doctors, administrators and skilled workers so desperately needed to redress the economic and social effect of apartheid. Crash programs in adult literacy, vocational and teacher training, school construction and remedial education appear certain to be introduced by a democratic government. But the magnitude of the problem suggests that civic, students' and teachers' organizations will be centrally involved in solving South Africa's education crisis. Increasingly, progressive educators and activists speak of a "lost generation" of frustrated and angry Black children, who, in their millions, lack even the most basic skills to participate in a post-apartheid South Africa they did so much to free.

**Women**

Black women have suffered double oppression, both of race and gender. Their emancipation from these twin yokes is critical to the success of democracy in South Africa. Very few statistics on the status of women are collected by government and academic researchers. But by every available measure of economic and social well-being, from income to education, Black women are the most disadvantaged of all South Africans. The single largest employer of women, for example, domestic work, is also the lowest paying. It was only in late 1992 that South African labor law was even extended to include domestics.

Abortion in South Africa is almost entirely illegal, forcing countless thousands of poor women to seek dangerous backstreet abortions every year.20 Figures for rape, notoriously unreliable even in the United States, run as high as 1,000 per day in a country with just one crisis and intervention center.

A democratic South African government would be able to move quickly to eliminate some of the most oppressive abuses of women, via legislative changes and affirmative action. But the under-representation of women in leadership positions within the democratic movement itself makes it less likely that women's issues and concerns will be a priority. The main thrust for women's empowerment is likely to come from women themselves, organizing within the political parties, the unions and the community.

A rural school in South Africa. Without rapid and fundamental changes in separate and unequal "Bantu education" these children could join the "Lost Generation" of South African youth.
Xoliswa Tom is the Field Director for Development and Training at the Border Council of Churches, an affiliate of the national South African Council of Churches. Her work focuses on rural women in the Ciskei bantustan, where 28 people were killed in September 1992 during a peaceful protest against apartheid. Xoliswa was one of the key organizers of the protest, which resulted in the tragic Bisho Massacre. Since then, the BCC offices have overflowed with refugees from the area.

Like many women in the democratic movement, Xoliswa works to fight sexism and oppression of women in South Africa. She organizes workshops for women to educate them about their legal rights and to help them challenge oppressive social customs. Currently Xoliswa is engaged in the campaign for a South African Women’s Charter — to be included in a new constitution. This involves working with local women on how they want their lives to change in a “new South Africa.”

Speaking about her work, she said, “The most important thing is empowerment. Women must be able to understand and explain their own situation and to say which needs are most important. Then they must come up with programs which suit those needs.”

Trade unionist Bethuel Maserumule is typical of the new generation of Black South African labor activists. As head of the Wits East region of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, (NUMSA), South Africa’s largest trade union, the 30-year-old Maserumule represents over 50,000 metal workers in the industrial East Rand near Johannesburg.

Since Black workers overturned the ban on Black unions in 1980, organized labor has emerged as a powerful force for political and economic justice. Despite fierce repression by the apartheid government, South Africa’s Black unions now represent over two million workers in virtually every field.

Through collective bargaining — backed by the threat of consumer boycotts and job actions — Black workers have won significant improvements in wages and working conditions. In recent years the unions have brought the economy to a standstill with national strikes against apartheid.

Like many labor leaders, Bethuel Maserumule wears many hats, serving in his local ANC chapter, and as treasurer of his township’s civic association. In this way, labor brings organizing and negotiating skills honed in union battles to the wider community.

With their strong tradition of political independence and internal democracy, South African unions will lead the fight against the tragic legacy of apartheid.

Abie Nyalunga and thousands of other residents of the overcrowded and impoverished Black township of Wattville are not waiting for change to come to South Africa — they are making changes themselves. In 1990, following the failure of white local authorities to alleviate Wattville’s desperate housing shortage, the community took action.

In July of that year Nyalunga and hundreds of other members of the Wattville Concerned Residents Committee occupied vacant “white” land near the township. Dozens of homeless protesters were arrested, and three activists were later murdered.

But the community continued the occupation, finally forcing the white government to recognize the new settlement, and begin negotiations with Residents Committee Chair Nyalunga for roads, plumbing and schools.

Nyalunga and the Wattville committee are part of a growing civic movement that is slowly transforming the face of urban South Africa. In hundreds of Black townships around the country, democratically elected civic associations are giving voice to township residents’ demands for affordable decent housing, water, electricity and sewage service, and equal educational and economic opportunity.

By empowering the millions of South Africans who live in urban areas, Abie Nyalunga and other leaders of the civic movement are literally breaking new ground in the struggle for justice.
Environment

Even the air and land has been scarred by apartheid, as the white minority ruthlessly exploited both the natural and human resources of the country. The widespread use of coal fuel spews over 300 million tons of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere each year — 1.6 percent of the global total. Radioactive and highly toxic mountains of waste from the mining industry dot the countryside. In 1992 the Group for Environmental Monitoring reported that only half of industrial waste was stored in official dumps, and that monitoring of waste sites was lax or nonexistent.

Industrial pollution is also widespread. In one notorious case a British-owned mercury recycling plant in Natal province was discovered dumping untreated mercury waste into a river used by thousands of Black people for drinking, washing and cooking. Over 88 percent of the workers at the plant were found to be suffering from mercury poisoning.

Conclusion

A democratic South African government will inherit a country systematically divided by race, an economy crippled by white mismanagement, outmoded factories, exhausted mines and soaring unemployment, and truly monumental health, education and environmental problems.

Tomorrow’s leaders will somehow have to find houses, schools, hospitals and jobs for a population expected to double in the next 30 years even while it seeks to redress the social inequities of the past.

Against these challenges the South African people will match leaders like Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and their own mobilized numbers — organized into democratic trade unions, women’s and civic organizations, religious bodies and political parties. The peoples’ direct involvement in the struggle against the legacy of apartheid is the best guarantor of final success. But they will still need the help of concerned Americans as they turn to the difficult task of reconstruction.

For information about what you can do to help the people build a democratic, prosperous, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa contact The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.