

LAMONTVILLE RESIDENTS RESPONSES TO THE DEBATE ON WHAT SHOULD BE  
THE ROLE OF THE CIVIC, THE ROLE OF THE ANC BRANCH AND THE  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEM, IN LAMONTVILLE.

by

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# INTRODUCTION

A great deal of debate is currently taking place on the role of civics and the ANC Branches and the relationship between them in the present period of transition. I have chosen this debate as the focus of my research because firstly, I am an ANC activist and the questions raised in this debate are questions which I am personally grappling with, as an activist. The field of study of this research, is Lamontville - a black township in Durban. Therefore, the study was also undertaken in the hope that a sociological study of this debate, will contribute to a better understanding of it and hopefully, this in turn will facilitate the strengthening and building of social movements in Lamontville and the rest of the country.

As a result of my personal interest and involvement in the debate, I am not an objective analyst but have conducted the study in the hope of gaining clarity and some answers to the debate, for myself. In view of this, I have chosen to use the research method employed by A. Touraine, (one of the sociologists responsible for designing a method for the study of social movements) - to promote a better understanding of this debate. The research methodology employed was one that the researcher found most appropriate for the purpose of this thesis. In essence what Touraine (1983:7) argues, is that, in order to study social movements, researchers need to consider certain fundamental research imperatives. Firstly, Touraine believes that the essence of social movements can be discovered through the experiences and struggles of small groups within the social movement. Secondly, he argues that an understanding of these small groups can be obtained through group self analysis where the sociologist is an active participant - not an objective analyst. In this light, the thesis relied on discussions with groups of ANC branch activists, Lamontville Residents Association members and a range of residents living in the township as the focus of the study. The voices of the people of Lamontville were therefore pivotal to the research, which through my sociological intervention, allowed them to become analysts of their own actions and in this way create for them and me, a better understanding of the social movement in Lamontville.

Although this case study is not representative of the views of all urban townships residents in South Africa, the issues affecting the community and the type of organisations

which exist taking up these issues are not dissimilar from this township.

In order to understand, analyse and interpret this debate it is necessary to conceptualise civic associations within the framework of social theory. Similar kinds of struggles have been fought elsewhere in the world and a body of theory has arisen to understand social movements. It is therefore necessary to discuss the theorization of urban social movements which will serve as the theoretical base of this papers' conceptualisation of civic associations.

### THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

The civic organisation which emerged in Lamontville is viewed as part of a social movement. The theoretical foundations for this conceptualisation are drawn from the studies done by N. Smelser, A. Touraine and M. Castells. According to Giddens (1989: 624), a social movement can be defined as "a collective attempt to further a common interest, or secure a common goal, through collective action outside the sphere of established institutions." This thesis draws on this broad definition to conceptualise the civic organisation which arose in Lamontville and the rest of the country. The appropriateness of such a conceptualisation of the civic organisation in Lamontville, will become evident in the unfolding discussion in this thesis of the history of the Lamontville civic and struggles they fought.

The first sociologist who contributed to the body of theory around social movements was Neil Smelser. Giddens (1989: 626), points out the six conditions which Smelser distinguishes as underlying the origins of collective action in general, and social movements in particular. Firstly, he points to structural conduciveness ie. the conditions in society which either positively or negatively influence the development of social movements of different types. Secondly, he refers to structural strain ie. the contradictions in society, which produce opposing interests eg. sustained inequalities between ethnic groups which give rise to overall tensions. Thirdly, he talks about the spread of generalized beliefs ie. social movements do not develop simply as responses to vague felt tensions, but rather specific ideologies impact on social movements by shaping the perception of problems experienced and by pointing to possible strategies to resolve them. Lastly, he speaks of precipitating factors which are incidents that act as impulses which activate participants in social movements.

The above four sets of factors combined, according to Smelser might occasionally lead to different forms of actions eg. street demonstrations or outbreaks of violence. However, he points out that such incidents do not lead to the development of social movements unless there is a co-ordinated group which is mobilized to act. What is necessary for a social movement to exist, he states, is leadership and a means of regular communication between participants, together with a supply of funding and material resources. Lastly, Smelser points out that the manner in which a social movement develops is strongly influenced by the operation of social control. This means that the governing authorities may respond to the challenge by intervening in the conditions of conduciveness and strain which stimulated the emergence of the movement.

Smelser's model provides social theory with a useful model for analysing sequences in the development of social movements, and collective action in general. Smelser views social movements as "responses" to situations, rather than allowing that their members might spontaneously organise to achieve desired social changes. In this respect his ideas are the opposite to that of another social scientist, Alain Touraine.

Touraine's (1983:2-6) analysis of Solidarity in Poland is the conception that it is a social movement. He attempts to define a social movement through examining Solidarity. He considers a social movement not to be a response to a situation, because it emerges to challenge that situation. It is therefore collective action carried out by groups who consciously represent this collective action. Although Touraine acknowledges that Solidarity was a trade union, he explains further that as long as it did not have absolute institutional guarantees for its freedom of action it must also have been a political actor fighting for those guarantees. The aims of Solidarity, he argues was to free Polish society from the totalitarian domination of the Party. This freeing of society from the Party-state meant recognising the existence of social relations and conflicts. Touraine also observed that Solidarity knew that its strength lay not only in its numbers, but also in the conviction of every one of its members. In every group each person felt a personal responsibility for the whole movement.

Lastly, Castells (1983) provides us with an understanding of cities and a theory of urban social movements. Economics, argues Castells (1983:xv-xvii), is what determines the urban, while the character of the urban is consumption related for the

reproduction of labour power. For him, in this space, consumer goods like, housing, transport, services, facilities and education are collectively consumed as opposed to individually. Furthermore, he argues that the consumption of these goods revolves around a struggle for the control of and access to resources between the consumers and the providers of the goods.

According to Castells (ibid) during moments of capitalist crisis the state intervenes in it to resolve the crisis. What then follows is a politicisation of the urban and in this way the state becomes a key figure in the conflict which emerges in the urban terrain. Thus, for Castells this the emerging movements become politicized and are a pivot of social change and the conflicts assume the proportions of an urban social movement.

What is of crucial importance in Castells' (ibid) schema are the nature of issues which lead to mobilization and the nature of the effect produced. At the same time he asserts that because the organisations' existence expresses and articulates structural contradictions, it is of essence to the theory of urban social movements. Castells (1983:xviii-xix) developed a typology of urban social movements based on similarities that exist within the case studies of urban social movements examined in his work. Accordingly, he stated that a typology of urban social movements must display an inter-connection of three basic goals if they are to bring about significant change in the urban environment. These goals are:

- demands focused on collective consumption
- territorially based defence of cultural identity
- political self management

Furthermore, in the mobilization for these goals the movement must be conscious of its role as a urban social movement. It must also be linked to society through organisational operators, especially media, professionals and political parties. Urban social movements must, however, maintain political and organisational autonomy from any political party they might be linked to.

In this research the researcher has drawn on the theories of all three theorists, in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the civic organisation in Lamontville. However,

the theories of Touraine were drawn on more extensively because of the researchers' view that the social movement, of which the civic was a part of, emerged as a challenge to the status quo. This challenge emerged through collective action in organisations established outside established institutions. Touraine's work is seen as more appropriate precisely because the researcher views the social movement which developed in Lamontville as not merely a response to the situation in Lamontville but rather, as a creative challenge to conditions there seeking to achieve certain social changes.

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

Touraine used a particular methodological approach in his research of Solidarity which corresponded with his theoretical conceptualisation of the organisation. The research methods used in this study are similar to Touraine's because of the similarity in conceptual frameworks.

Because Touraine (1983:6) asserts that a social movement emerges to challenge a situation, he feels that the research methods employed must capture this conflictual form of challenging behaviour. He goes on to state that the primary principle of the method is that it works with a number of collective actors organised in groups; and these groups represent some collective action. Because a social movement is collective action, the study of it should therefore concentrate on a collective body of individuals.

Touraine (1983:7) also argues that this research method demands that no actor is a disinterested analyst but rather intervenes more directly. By this he means that the researcher must identify not with the actor's struggle itself, but with the highest possible meaning of that struggle ie the social movement - the element in a struggle which challenges the general orientations of a society and of the social systems for controlling the use of the main resources, cultural and in particular economic. Furthermore, he points out that sociological intervention has two phases: the direct intervention of the researchers, during which they help the militants to move towards self analysis; and the corollary of this, which is called the "conversion" of the group, ie. the moment it moves on to analyse its own practices and those of the movement of which it is a part on the basis of the hypotheses introduced by the researchers, which may be accepted



or rejected.

Thus, the techniques employed in this research were contact and interaction with the organisation as well as an indirect mode which entailed an analysis of literature, journals, media etc. Initially interviews were carried out with two groups; one representing the Resident Association and the other representing the ANC Branch in the area. Within each of these groups the individuals were part of other structures in the township eg. Womens' organisation, Youth and the SACP. There were also ordinary rank and file members of the civic and ANC branch members and executive members of these structures.

Thereafter, interviews were carried out with a representative of the Youth Organisation in the area and also individuals with different interests ie. taxi owner, business person, owner of a house (who is also a pensioner), tenant and unemployed person. The latter were targeted in order to get a random sample of the points of view of ordinary residents in the township on the debate.

The researcher presented herself to the group as an ANC member whose interest in the debate was not merely academic but also as a concerned activist who was grappling with some the questions arising out of the current debate. She stated that she hoped that the questions raised during the course of the research and the discussions would assist the groups to clarify their own conceptions and views on the debate. The researcher further indicated to the participants that it was her intention that the process as well as the completed research would help build and strengthen organisations in the area. So the researcher was not an objective analyst in the process but rather identified with the social movement.

The questions asked in the interviews were drawn from the issues raised in the current debate by ANC activists. The discussion also included the researcher putting forward her own views and concerns about the issues in the debate and allowed the participants to respond to these from their own perspectives. The questions asked, also attempted to identify nature of the issues which led to the mobilisation of the movement in the area and nature of the effect produced. Lastly, the interviews attempted to see whether the typology outlined by Castells' was appropriate to the social movement in Lamontville.

## CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has served to focus on firstly, the scope of the study. Thereafter the theoretical foundations of the study were established through conceptualising the civic organisation in Lamontville as emerging within the context of a social movement. This conceptualisation drew on theorists such as N. Smelser, A. Touraine and M. Castells who have studied social movements. It was necessary to theoretically contextualise this debate drawing on the works of these theorists, in order to get a better understanding of the debate under study and to interpret it from a sociological point of view. Lastly, the introduction looked specifically at the research methods employed in this study and attempted to justify this methodological approach by tying it appropriateness to conceptual framework employed.

Having stated the research problem, established the theoretical foundations of this study and elaborated on the research methodology employed to analyse this particular social phenomenon - Chapter 1 begins with a elaboration of the research problem by summarising the different views on the debate (drawn from a literature survey). Chapter 2 then gives the historical evolution of apartheid in South Africa and ties this to the emergence of the township of Lamontville. This discussion on the historical context of the research problem is necessary because in this study, the theories of N. Smelser are drawn on. He speaks about "structural conduciveness" as being one of the six conditions which underlie collective action. By this he means the structural conditions in society which either positively or negatively influence the development of social movements. So in order to get a better understanding on why a social movement arose in Lamontville, the study looks at the structural conditions, that is separate development and apartheid policies and how they positively or negatively influenced the social movement there.

Chapter 3 proceeds to look at the historical evolution of organisations in Lamontville as organisations which arose within the context of the social movement. The organisations, as part of a social movement, are viewed as emerging to challenge the manifestations of the states' policies of separate development and apartheid in the Lamontville. The emergence of civic organisation in Lamontville and the rest of the country is seen as having arisen out of particular socio-economic conditions in South

Africa. This discussion draws on Smelsers' theories relating to six conditions which influence social movements, for example "structural strain" eg: inequalities between the race groups , "generalized beliefs" eg: liberating ideologies of the UDF and ANC and "precipating factors" eg: rent increases, transport increases and incorporation into Kwazulu - to get a clearer ide of all the conditions which influenced the social movement in Lamontville. The particular approach used to present this information is through oral history provided by the residents of Lamontville.

Chapter 4 focuses on the interviews carried out in Lamontville which reflect the residents views on the debate under study. This information is presented in this chapter (mostly through the direct voices of the people) as the raw data of this study. The concluding chapter, chapter 5 evaluates and analyses this data and points to the significance of conclusions arrived at with regard to aims of this study.

# CHAPTER 1

In order to analyse and contextualise the views of Lamontville residents on the debate, it is necessary to briefly summarise the key positions within the debate as expressed by members of civic associations and ANC branches in other townships in the rest country. The following summary is drawn from a literature survey.

## SUMMARY OF KEY POSITIONS WITHIN THE DEBATE:

Essentially the present debate centers around a few key questions -:

1. What should the role of civics and ANC Branches be in the present period?
2. What should the relationship be between civics and ANC Branches?
3. Should civics be independent and non-partisan or "watchdogs" of the ANC or politically aligned?
4. What should be the role of civics in the post-apartheid South Africa?

### 1. Role of Civics

In an article in *Mayibuye* (the official mouthpiece of the ANC) Vol 1 No 3, Dec (1990:31) - civic associations are seen as organisations which are located at a local level, which organise in specific communities around conditions in the townships. With regard to the history of civics, it is stated that the Cradock Residents Association (Cradock), in 1983 dramatically transformed the role of civics. Street committees were set up and methods of struggle used which severely challenged apartheid authorities. This approach to organisations, it is stated spread rapidly and became the main defence of the people during the State of Emergency. These structures allowed for the full participation of residents in discussions about transforming their communities. It also enabled people to defend themselves.

However, they claim that in the present period, despite the unbanning of the ANC, organising civics still remains a priority - with the need for focussed struggles on local issues to be intensified. The article views the transformation of South Africa to mean the placing of power in the hands of the people. Further, it claims that an important aspect of peoples power is the ability of the people to run their day-to-day lives. Thus, it concludes that the best way to achieve all this is by strengthening civics and street committees. In looking at the types of issues that civics should be taking up the article sees civics as representing residents against injustices of local

government. It claims that civics can operate best and are most responsive to local problems, if they are firmly located in a specific locality.

Similar sentiments, were expressed by Z. Ibrahim in Mayibuye Vol2 No 5 (June, 1991:11). She viewed the UDF as having played a major role in the formation of civics and pointed out that many civics in that period had adopted the Freedom Charter as a guiding document. But she states that, given the political climate then, it was understandable that the civics had an overtly political character. However, according to her, civic associations had as their primary objective the improvement of quality of life of the community as a whole. The issues taken up by civics included rents, the local authorities, electricity, water, etc and had involved people regardless of political affiliation. Thus, victories won were for all people in the community regardless of political affiliation.

For Z. Ibrahim, the task at hand is to work towards a Civic Charter which would articulate civic rights and demands without alienating the aspirations of civic members who adhere to existing charters. She states further that civics would also have to contact political organisations in order that civic demands be addressed in the struggle today and in negotiations. In the present period Ibrahim (ibid) states that, at a national level, clear demands on local government and recognition of civics will have to be made to the state. The campaign against councillors will have to be intensified and there is a need for the state to release land for housing and to return land to the dispossessed.

Another aspect to the debate on the role of civics was introduced by Collinges' article in WIP (May, 1991:8), where she pointed out that "Development" has now been linked to the future role of civics. In this article she quotes Lephunya (co-ordinator of the National Interim Civics Committee), as saying that education in organisational skills is central to the role of civics:

*"We want to empower people to deal with the everyday problems that confront them."*

For Lephunya, civics are seen to replace authoritarian, top-down planning with a process of consultation in which the will of ordinary people will prevail as far as is practicable. He argues further that, civics are development agents, setting up community-accountable structures to carry out projects in areas such as housing, transportation and health. Therefore, for Lephunya, the challenge of the civics is partly to deliver the goods to the people, to ensure that there are real improvements in their harsh living conditions. He refers to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in

attempting to illustrate this point:

*"You may have very good revolutionary theories, but without delivering material returns to the people you will never remain in power."*

Gugile Nkwinti, Eastern Cape ANC secretary (who has had a long standing involvement in the civic movement) elaborated on the potential democratic nature of civics and drew lessons from Eastern Europe in his attempt to illustrate the role that the civics could play in South Africa. He claims that Eastern Europe shows us that social movements can be very powerful, once they have ceased to be the "conveyor belt" of the party, and can effect radical change swiftly because of the power of the people. For him: "The success lay in the fact that whatever was done was done through civil society." He argued that there therefore is a need for grassroots democratic organisation in all societies, that social movements - because they relate directly to social issues that shape people's lives, and are not mediated by the necessity of holding or attaining power - are best placed to answer this need.

With regard to the present role of civics relative to its role in the 80s, he further commented that:

*"The basic role of the civics is not changed in my view. This role is building peoples power and it is something that must play itself out in civil society."*

However, he acknowledged that shuffling the past was not as simple because although in the past, the civics within the UDF were dominated mainly by the concerns of civil society, the fronts' overall role was largely political. Pulling the civic movement clear of the political net is not so easy - and overlaps of personnel make that very clear.

The view expressed by Nzimande and Sikhosana in Mayibuye Vol 2 No 5 (June 1991:37), completely counterposes all the above ideas. They believe that issues taken up by civics like rents and electricity - are political issues. They therefore feel that ANC branches should work closely with civics where they exist. However, where civics do not exist, energy should be put into strengthening ANC branches there and not creating civic structures.

To summarise then, the majority of ANC activists and Civic activists believe that civics are the best structures to take up local grievances of the people on the ground. They see civics as representing civil society and being characterised by grassroots democracy. This characterisation therefore leads them to conclude that civics are necessary structures in the present phase of

the struggle. Furthermore, because civics are rooted in the community, they are viewed as having the ability of bringing about effective change quickly and structures to empower the community.

However, the other position in the debate, held by Nzimande and Sikhosana (ibid), is that now that the ANC has been unbanned, it is the role of the ANC to take up local grievances which they believe to be political in nature. For them, the ANC needs to take up these issues which affect the masses on the ground, in order to win the support of their base. These two views then are what comprise the two sides to the debate. What underlies the different viewpoints, are the activists' characterisation of local issues ie if they are viewed as political, then the feeling is that they need to be taken up by a political organisation (ANC) - if they are not seen as political, but rather as issues confronting "civil society" then, they need to be dealt with by an organisation representative of civil society.

## 2. Role of ANC Branches

Given the view held by Nzimande and Sikhosana (ibid) with regard to civics, they go on to comment on the role of ANC branches. They believe that the strengthening of ANC as a National Liberation Movement depends on branches being able to respond to and take up people's demands at local, regional and national level. They point out that civics are limited to local demands and the failure of the ANC to take up local issues will weaken it locally and nationally. For them then, in the present phase of the struggle, the priority should be to build strong mass based ANC branches which will take up community issues. The question that they raise is that if civics take up community issues then what will ANC branches do? They claim that the position which states that the civics take up issues like rents, electricity and roads - and that the ANC takes up political issues (undefined) - will lead to the ANC being separated from its base. For them rents and other issues are political issues. Lastly, they argue that one of the most important ways of ensuring the accountability of an ANC dominated state - is to build strong democratic branches.

The voices of organisers in the different ANC regions could be heard in Mayibuye (Vol 1 No 2, September 1990:19), as they spoke about what they saw the role of ANC branches to be. These views, surprisingly, in many ways coincided with those expressed by Nzimande and Sikhosana. In this article organisers felt that ANC branches were organs of struggle and branches were expected to be the political centers capable of providing direction and leadership to entire



communities. For them, the urgent task of the day, was the transformation of the large following and support that the ANC enjoyed into active grassroots organisation. The article points out that the main activity around the formation of branches has been the recruitment drive - but that this recruitment campaign tended not to be located within the political struggles and campaigns, but around the day-to-day demands and the unfolding process of negotiations. Therefore, given this shortcoming, the organisers felt that branches needed to be built in such a way that they become active political centers that provide guidance and leadership at every level of the struggle. Branches were seen to have a crucial role to play in the building of the ANC because they are viewed as the basic units without which there would be no ANC.

Some organisers stated that people would have confidence in the ANC only if it takes an active interest in their problems. They felt that branches in the different regions would have to locate the process of building the ANC in the context of regional and local priorities. To illustrate this point they pointed out that a branch in Natal would place the peace process at the top of its agenda. Furthermore, the point was reiterated that the ANC fights against apartheid in all its facets. In order to carry out this task, the organisers stated that the ANC branch needed to become the voice of the people on every issue, and to lead the general assault against all manifestations of apartheid. They went on to say that for all citizens, wherever there was an ANC branch, should feel that the movement was concerned about their plight and was prepared to take up their grievances.

Thus, in this article the ANC organisers felt that the key task of the ANC branch was to take up every issue affecting its constituency. No distinction was made between political issues and issues of "civil society" .

In Mayibuye (Feb 1991:13), similar sentiments were expressed, in that that the movement (ANC) should reflect the desires, hopes and wishes of the people. The ANC branch should direct the energies of the people to achieve their goals. This would then entail, according to the article, that economic, legal, constitutional and other policies should emerge from the people. What was considered as essential was that the branch should maintain contact with the masses. People must be able to identify and be positively disposed towards ANC personnel. The article went on to say that every issue which affected the people should be known by the branch and that the branch should be involved in addressing those problems with the relevant mass organisations. However, there was a subtle difference in the view expressed in this ar-



ticle. The latter statement suggests that there are certain issues which should be taken up by other mass organisations and not solely by the ANC. It does not say categorically that the ANC should be taking up every issue affecting the people, but rather that it should know about them.

In an article entitled "Centrality of mass action" Mayibuye (Vol2 No 6, July 1991:13), the tasks of the ANC in the present period are spelt out with an emphasis on mass action and democratic participation of the masses. Here, a Mayibuye correspondent argued that mass action today remained central to the ANC's struggle. This was the case because as a mass organisation that embodied the national and democratic aspirations of the majority of people, the ANC had the responsibility of mobilising, organising and uniting people in the process of their own liberation. The correspondent focused on the issue of democracy at length and stated that the substance of democracy was the direct and active involvement of people at all levels of social life. Furthermore, mass action was seen as aiming to achieve specific goals and also to build organisation through the process of involving people in action. Therefore, the correspondent concluded that the role of leadership in building the conditions for mass action entailed identifying the issues that would win and unite majority support and articulate those demands in terms that would capture the imagination of the masses of people. For him, it was particularly important that leadership should link local demands to national demands and co-ordinate mass struggles taking place at various levels.

Thus, the correspondent pointed out that whatever happened at the negotiating table was a product of struggle on all fronts and of mass struggle in particular. For him, the content and outcome of negotiations inevitably reflected the power of contending forces. Therefore he viewed the power of ANC as laying in the organised masses who were prepared to engage apartheid at all levels. In essence then this article attributed mass action as playing a central role in ANC branches in this period of transition.

On the other hand, an ANC organiser in an article in Mayibuye (July 1991:20), calls for a more flexible approach to building branches, given the different conditions in the different parts of the country, under which they have to be built. In the article the ANC organiser argues that, the diverse membership of the branches is a reflection of the broadness of the appeal of the ANC. He points out that because of this diversity and the different conditions facing branches, the role of branches cannot be strictly prescribed. However, he states that few branches have adapted creatively to their conditions and that branches have not become the fighting force that

supporters and activists of the movement had hoped and expected they would be.

He claims that the shortcomings of branches has been that they have failed to respond to the burning issues in their communities. He ascribes the confusion over the respective roles of branches and other mass formations, particularly civics, as the main reason for this failure. For him, the ANC branches have not provided the political leadership necessary to unite and organise people on a mass scale at community level. The only way to do this, according to the organiser, is for ANC branches to win their political leadership on the ground around issues, demands and campaigns. This perspective supports the views of Nzimande and Sikhosana (1991), in that he argues that branches must be responsive to the needs and demands of the community on a daily basis. However, for the organiser what is significant concerning the way in which the ANC takes up these issues, is that they are linked to the final abolition of apartheid and the demands of national liberation. Thus, he notes that local level struggles take on an added dimension when "politicised" in this way and the political consciousness of the people is heightened.

In further supporting the Nzimande and Sikhosana (June, 1991) view, the organiser stated that ANC branches are direct links with communities. Therefore, he argues that the strength and popularity of the ANC as a national liberation movement depends on the success of the branches in winning the active support of members and the community in general. This organiser also endorsed the view of the majority of activists that branches were the primary organs of the ANC. For him, branches should provide for a two-way communication process between members and the leadership from local to national level. Once again, in support of Nzimande and Sikhosana's view, the branch was viewed as a guarantee for the building of democracy and accountability in practice. Accordingly, it was posited that branches should build a broadly accountable and consultative relationship with the community. The organiser argued that branches should strive to build general support into active support. For him, the best way to do this was to involve the people in political activity led and organised by the ANC, in support of their interests.

Thus, it becomes clear that activists believe that the role of the ANC branches should be to take up community issues and local demands. The branch can only win support and recruit if it reflects the interests of the people. These views were stated in the context that the ANC had to fight apartheid in all its facets. Another feature ascribed to the ANC branch was that it was to

act as a guarantee for accountability and democracy within the ANC - because of its close link to members on the ground.

### **3. Character of civics \ Relationship between ANC branches and civics**

Further support for the idea of independent civic structures but a working relationship with ANC branches was cited in an article by Jeremy Seekings in Indicator SA Vol7 No 3, Winter 1990. He stated that Swapo's electoral experience in Namibia should serve as a warning to any national political movement not to neglect their membership and grassroots base. According to him, in South Africa there has been a resurgence of civic politics due to the return of the ANC to legal internal activity. But he goes on to observe that the major impetus is largely related to local grievances which have remained acute.

According to Seekings' analysis, the struggles of the 1980's were concerned about local grievances. However, protest around them was underlined by national political disenfranchisement. In this way local and national concerns were bound up together as conflict generalised and state repression increased. He observes that in the 1990's township politics again concern both national and local struggles. It is this, he states that underlies the current debates about organisational structures and party-political affiliations of civic or residents associations.

For Seekings, the general impression given by the ANC and from within the Mass Democratic Movement is that ANC branches must coexist with the other structures. He cites a statement made by an ANC NEC member Jackie Selebi to illustrate this point:

*"We think that the civic associations and some such structures dealing with local matters - water, electricity and such matters - must remain. Some members of the ANC will also be members of civic associations because they live in the particular township. So there will certainly be some sort of relationship between different civic associations and members of the ANC on the ground... In the ANC they will deal with broader political issues, but when it comes to local issues like drainage and water, that will be left to the civic association. Of course with the ANC making its contribution through its members who are part and parcel of the civic."*  
(New Nation, 23/02/90)

With regard to the present role of civics in relation to their role in the 80s, J. Selebi further commented that:

*"The basic role of the civics is not changed in my view. This role is building peoples power and it is something that must play itself out in civil society."*

However, he acknowledged that shuffling the past was not as simple because although in the past, the civics within the UDF, were dominated mainly by the concerns of civil society, the fronts' overall role was largely political. He stated that because of this it would be difficult to pull the civic movement out of politics - and overlaps of personnel make that very clear.

The article in Mayibuye (Vol 1 No 3, Dec 1990:32), sees civics as an integral part of the liberation struggle. This is so because issues facing local communities are a direct result of the system of apartheid - thus the politics of civics are intertwined with those of the liberation movement. However, the view is that civics should not be political organisations, they should not ally themselves with the ANC or any other political organisation. The article points out that within broad liberation politics, the actual alignment of civics should emerge democratically. It is believed that the work of political organisers on the ground will determine the political direction of civics ie. their actions, initiative, ability to persuade etc. The argument in this article is that residents of different political persuasions should not be excluded, because a civic association is first and foremost a broad community structure representing the interests of all members, irrespective of political persuasion. With regard to the political composition of the leadership structure of civics, it is felt that the wishes of the majority, established in a democratic manner, would determine this.

The view is that, in the present period, civics political involvement should be limited because political organisations can now take up more openly political campaigns and civics can thus more deliberately focus on day-to-day community issues. Thus, this article points to the need for two distinct, independent and separate structures to exist, taking up different issues. However, the article argues that it would be a disaster for civics to separate themselves from the struggles for one-person, one-vote because this is what the community needs in order to change its material conditions. Thus, the view is that while apartheid still exists they cannot escape this role; problems of rents and services cannot be separated from the apartheid power relations. Therefore, the article concludes a closer working relationship between civics and the ANC is needed where campaigns of mass action are undertaken jointly. Another reason given for this close working relationship was that issues to be negotiated with the government affect the local communities directly, therefore a mandate from the civics is necessary.

Nzimande and Sikhosana in Mayibuye (Vol 2 No 5 June 1991:37) respond to the above article. They challenge the notion that the political non-alignment of civics, will facilitate the participation of people of different political persuasions in them. They reject this notion because for them, most civics are ANC aligned and their leadership drawn from ranks of ANC cadres. They claim that ANC Branch executives are often the same as the civics' executive - this is duplication and overtaxing of cadres. However, they do acknowledge that there are a few strong and functioning civics which consist of ANC, Azapo, Inkatha, councillors and PAC members. For them the best way of bringing people of different political persuasions together for joint strategy and action is through alliances between organisations and united fronts. Therefore, they reject the view that non-aligned civic structures are the way to unite people of different political persuasions.

They also challenge the view that independent civics - are necessarily to act as watchdogs of the ANC. For them this is ironical, in that it calls for the ANC to look for structures outside itself (over which it has no control) to ensure that the ANC is democratic - given that it is striving for democracy within its own ranks and in society. Their whole argument hinges on their conception of the ANC - for them the ANC is not a government nor a political party but a mass-based national liberation movement. However, they acknowledge that the possibility of an ANC dominated government is real, but for them, this does not justify building "watchdogs" because this slows the process of building a strong democratic ANC. They therefore argue that the accountability of an ANC dominated state can be ensured in a number of ways which will further strengthen the ANC. One of the most important of these is the building of strong democratic ANC branches. For all the above reasons, they argue for more emphasis being placed on building ANC branches rather than civics. For them the ANC branches, now that they are unbanned, must play the role which civics previously played. They imply that if civics do exist, they should be and already are, ANC- aligned.

However, Zohra Ibrahim of the National Civic Movement, in Mayibuye (Vol 2 No 5, June 1991) supports the idea of independent civic structures. But for her, independence does not mean non-alignment nor does it prevent tactical alliances being formed from time to time, particularly if these alliances facilitate the realisation of civic demands. She stated that:

*"Civics are not political liberation movements. Civics would make demands like affordable and accessible housing, land and services regardless of what government is in power. This what*

*is meant by the independence of civics."*

The position for the independence of civics is further supported by activists in an article entitled "Civics: Local government from below", WIP 74, May 1991. In this article, Jo-Anne Collinge observed that as a result of the challenges of the political transition, the pressures to negotiate on service provision to entire communities and to confront bitterly divisive violence, a conception of the long-term nature of civics has been shaped. This for her, has largely influenced the civic movements position to avoid party-political affiliation.

The article also points to comments made by Pat Lephunya (Co-ordinator of the National Interim Civics Committee), that a number of long term options were considered in the light of the UDF-linked past of civic associations. Some of the options included the possibility of civic organisations simply being replaced by ANC branches or becoming ANC resident's organisations. Also discussed was the notion of civic associations preparing themselves to take over the administration of towns and cities. However, the strongest position was that the civic movement should remain autonomous, a broad mass-based structure, which will not attempt to take over local government.

The latter position according to Lephunya, is the one formally adopted by a number of civics. This is so, he says, because:

*"Firstly, the African experience of liberation movements that present themselves as true democrats but when they take over things change."*

Furthermore, he added a warning from Eastern Europe about the abuses that are perpetrated when "people's organs become conveyor belts of the ruling party".

Also cited in this article is the opinion of Gugile Nwinti (ANC Eastern Cape secretary), who said that it is imperative that civics "come clean vis-a-vis the political parties". He warned, however, that the need for this may not be immediately clear, since at present "there shouldn't be a contradiction between a social movement and the liberation movement." This he felt would change when liberation movements acceded to power because civics are the "most appropriate shoulders for the mantle of a social movement". However, he argued that this could only be so if civics were truly grassroots organisations - and this for him differed in regions.

Further comment clarifying the position of the independence of civics was given by Sekgopi



Malebo (interim chairperson of the Southern Free State Civics Congress\SOFRECCO) - he stated in the WIP article, that it was an oversimplification to interpret the civics as invariably in opposition to the ruling party simply because they have elected to stay outside of party politics. With regard to SOFRECCO, he stated that although they would like to remain autonomous from any political party, they would have the right to decide at any moment with whom they align themselves politically - however, not necessarily in opposition to the ruling structure.

Further support for the non-aligned position for civics was given in an article titled "Civics' Line of March" in New Nation (23\03\91). Here it was observed that civic leaders were arguing strongly for political non-alignment and autonomy. Popo Molefe is quoted as saying that non-alignment was crucial for a number of reasons:

*"The first is that civic organisations, by their very nature, articulate the interests of a broadly-based community, and it does that across the political spectrum."*

He went on to say that:

*"If a civic organisation becomes partisan, certainly it would limit its ability to mobilise the majority of people in the community. It cannot unite the community under a political banner."*

Lastly, Molefe concluded that the civic movement should remain at the forefront of building organs of people's power in the communities through which residents can influence the way in which the country is run.

The point of view of a unionist, Sydney Mafumadi (Cosatu's assistant general secretary), on the issue was that:

*"I think that there are still things that our structures could continue doing, not necessarily as part of the ANC, but as civics, student organisations, etc. I think, if we are serious about the notion of people's power, we cannot straight-jacket that into one organisation - even if it is a political organisation." (New Nation, 02\03\90)*

The majority viewpoint then on the character of civics is that of an independent, non-aligned civic movement. The reasons given for this were that civic issues affect all members of the community and therefore needed the participation of all of them to effectively take them up. Because of the broad-based community nature of civics, they were also seen as the most appropriate "shoulders for the mantle of a social movement." A very important motivation given

for the independence of civics was the uncertainty about the future government and how it would relate to community struggles. The minority view was for a more politically aligned civic, but this view did not see the need for independent civic structures because it held that the ANC branches were to carry out all the tasks which civics had been ascribed by the proponents of independence.

#### **4. Role of civics in the post apartheid S.A.**

An article in Mayibuye (Dec, 1990:32) states that civics are not merely concerned with opposition, but with enhancing the quality of democracy at a local level and other levels in society. Like the trade unions, they are independent formations. Therefore, the article maintains that their independence now and in the future is crucial and this means ensuring the widest possible community representation.

Although they are central to the struggle for democratic local government, it is argued that they cannot be seen as local government structures of the future because these structures will be formed on the basis of votes won by organisations in local elections. The feelings in the article are that it is insufficient to merely have democratic structures of local government. What is pointed to is the need for organisations in which a maximum number of people can participate; organisations representative of the broader community. Civics are seen to be these organisations where they are able to act as "important watchdogs of the community".

Lastly, Z. Ibrahim in Mayibuye (June, 1990:12), put forward the position that in the post apartheid society civic rights must be enshrined in the laws of a democratic South Africa.

Briefly then, most civic activists see the need for civics to exist in the post apartheid S.A. because they represent the broadest possible community representation. Because of this characteristic it is felt that they can act as watchdogs of society.

#### **CONCLUSION**

To summarise then, in the above survey of the literature, the key questions raised in the debate are:

- Should civics assert their independence and become "watchdogs" of the ANC?
- Or should all energy be focused on building strong ANC branches which would take up the bread and butter community issues like housing, electricity, rents etc so that the ANC ensures its mass support base?



- What about uniting the whole community, irrespective of political affiliations to successfully take up issues?
- Should the ANC be involved in "purely" political issues, while the civics deal with community issues and maintain independence from the ANC while still aligning themselves with the ANC?
- Can you separate political issues from community issues?
- Are civics an alternative power base to the ANC?

The next chapter looks at the development of apartheid in South Africa as the historical and objective context of the above debate. It also looks more specifically at the history of Lamontville within the context of the historical development of apartheid in this country. The reason for this historical discussion is because the researcher views the existence of certain structural conditions in Lamontville as influencing the emergence and development of the social movement. This discussion is also necessary because the researcher believes that the answers to the questions raised in the debate are related to structural conditions in Lamontville. For it is the opinion of the researcher that these structural conditions crucially impacted on the nature of the organisations which emerged to challenge these conditions. These structural conditions thus relate to the policies of separate development and apartheid as outlined in the next chapter. This perspective used by the researcher ie. the significance of historical developments and structural conditions, is influenced by the works of N. Smelser as discussed in the introductory chapter of this study.

## CHAPTER 2

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the history of Lamontville in the context of the evolution and development of apartheid ideology and urbanisation in South Africa. It is necessary to do this because separate development and apartheid policies were the context for the creation of Lamontville and the subsequent growth of the residents' protest in the area. Thus, separate development and apartheid created the structural conditions which influenced the emergence of social movements, in the township. This perspective is influenced by the theories of N. Smelser who distinguishes six conditions which underlie the origins of collective action and social movements. One of these conditions is "social conduciveness", which relate to the structural conditions in society which influence the development of social movements. In this study the structural conditions identified as playing this role are policies such as separate development, apartheid and urbanisation. These policies have also had a crucial impact on the nature and character of the organisations which arose within the social movement.

In trying to understand social movements Touraine (1983:5) points out that it is important to understand the context in which people live and how they relate to their history. The history of oppression of the people of Lamontville can be traced back to the introduction and implementation of separate development and controls on urbanisation. The creation of the black township of Lamontville itself can be seen as an effort by the state to control all aspects of urban black life. Still further, the successive shifts in the administration of Lamontville have led to inadequate provision of housing, poor living conditions and increased service charges. The combined effect of this history has led to discontent amongst the residents, which has subsequently spawned a social movement as a response to these grievances. Let us now look at the evolution and development of apartheid in South Africa and how it impacted on the development of Lamontville and the lives of people there.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Various social analysts from different political and ideological perspectives (ranging from liberal to radical), have looked at the development of apartheid in South Africa. The researcher will draw on these different perspectives to create a picture of the socio-economic context for this study.

Murray (1987:3), states that territorial segregation in South Africa was strictly enforced through

legislation as part of apartheid ideology. The **1913 Natives' Land Act** set aside an estimated 87% of the land for exclusive occupancy by whites. The remaining 13% consists of a number of pieces of land grouped into ten units formerly referred to as Bantustans, but now known as Homelands. This legislation has historically constituted the statutory foundation for the essential features of apartheid. In additions, the **1950 Group Areas Act** declared that the cities and towns were divided into separate and segregated residential areas for each "population group".

However, in Smits' (1985:117) view, black urbanization was perhaps the most important socio-economic phenomenon in South Africa during the post-1948 apartheid era. By the 1980's, more than 300 separate black townships were located in close proximity to white cities and towns. He argues that urban black residents account for approximately 50 per cent of the total metropolitan population of South Africa.

Giliomee and Schlemmer (1985:3) also speak about this process of urbanisation. They cite the 1950's and 1960's as a period when the National Party systematically refined the existing statutory framework controlling the distribution and allocation of African labour. For them, the blanket prohibition excluding Africans from the "prescribed areas" for more than 72 hours, unless they were exempted on specific grounds - was a crucial piece of legislation which drastically affected the lives of urban blacks. The exemptions, generally referred to as Section 10 rights, were very restrictive and ascribed "privileges" to Africans who were able to obtain lawful accommodation in a particular urban area.

In further tracing the history of apartheid's development, Giliomee and Schlemmer (1985:3) state that, during the 1960's, the National Party embarked on an extensive programme to make the migrant labour system the essential foundation upon which the African work force would be employed in "white South Africa". Between 1960 and 1983, even official estimates acknowledged that over 2 million "surplus" or non-productive black people were removed from the white urban areas, white farms, and so-called "black spots" in white rural areas, and subsequently relocated in the Homelands. Those who were removed included the aged, unfit, widows, and women with dependent children who did not qualify under Section 10 for residence in the prescribed areas, surplus black farm labourers, and credentialled black professionals whose services were not regarded as essential for blacks in urban areas. It was the "pass laws" which prevented the influx of black people from the rural areas to the towns, except in terms of rigidly defined procedures. The pass laws determined the position of black workers,

who were regarded as legal residents of the Homelands.

Thus, apartheid legislation created two categories of workers and Smith (1982:28) distinguishes them into commuters and migrants. He categorizes the commuters into "frontier commuters and migrants\ contract workers". He describes the former as residing with their families in the Homelands and travelling on a daily (or sometimes weekly) basis across Bantustan borders to their place of work in "white South Africa". According to Smith the major flows of these "frontier commuters" are from dormitory townships in Bophuthatswana to the Pretoria area and from parts of Kwa Zulu which adjoin the Durban\Pinetown region.

In contrast, he argues that migrants\contract workers usually enter into work contracts for a year. They are compelled by law to return annually to their assigned Homelands after the expiry of the labour contract in order to register at a local labour bureau for a new contract. By the 1980's, an estimated 60 % of all economically active men in "white areas" were officially designated as migrants. For Smith (1982), migrants differ from commuters in that they are unable to have families with them near their place of work. Furthermore, these migrant workers usually reside in single men's hostels in the city.

It should be noted that the above categorisation and stratification of the black labour force was further reinforced by the state ascribing privileges and disadvantages according to the people who were categorized. In Greenberg and Giliomees'(1985:69) work, they look at the relationship between the legal status of labour and the accessibility this provided people to different kinds of jobs is discussed. According to them, for black people there are "legals" with access to the institutional labour market, larger employers and manufacturers, and "illegals", who are in practice restricted to the informal sector, seasonal and day labour, and smaller, lower-paying firms.

But the black world also includes, on the one hand, permanent (Section 10) urban dwellers with opportunities for training and mobility, and on the other hand legal migrants with access to heavy and primary industry. It includes furthermore, the "commuters" who stand behind the permanent urban residents in the labour queue, but ahead of illegals and those left behind in the more remote rural districts. It includes those in the districts where labour markets are "open", and those in areas inaccessible to the labour recruitment system. And then there are also those who have taken their chances in the illegal and legal urban labour-market, and those like rural women and unskilled labourers, who in desperation must accept very low-wage jobs on the



farms, in municipalities and on road construction. This assessment leads Giliomee and Greenberg (1985) to conclude that the creation of such distinctions between black workers and concomitant hierarchies of "privileges" ascribed to them, has helped the state to construct a strategy of control and collaboration.

Booth (1987) holds a similar perspective when he notes that controls over black urbanisation and employment and residential opportunities began in the nineteenth century. It was in the era of separate development that Lamontville was conceived as Durban's first segregated black location. This signalled the first major thrust in Durban to control all aspects of urban black life. Further curbs on the influx of blacks into urban areas were introduced and the **Native Laws Amendment Act, No 25 of 1930**, provided for the deportation of idle blacks and forced women to apply for permits to enter urban areas. Under the Act over 1000 people were deported from Durban.

It is quite evident from the above brief exposition of apartheid's history that townships were created in South Africa to serve the needs of industry in cities as a stable supply of black labour. Segregationist legislation ie: **Group Areas Act (1950)**, **The Natives' Land Act 1913** and Pass Laws were enacted to control the process of black urbanisation and regulate the supply and movement of black labour in this country. The township of Lamontville was created in this context and a brief look at its' history will clearly demonstrate how it fitted into the grand scheme of separate development. Further, it can be observed how the manifestations of segregationist policies in Lamontville created the objective conditions which contributed to the emergence of a social movement.

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF LAMONTVILLE

According to Maylam (1982), the combined effect of deteriorating conditions in the reserves and economic development in the cities led to Durban experiencing a continuous and increasing influx of blacks from the turn of the century. He further points out that, since no formal housing for blacks was available, the incoming population rented backyard premises and resorted to the construction of shacks on vacant land. Booth (1987:83), indicates that Lamontville was built in response to this growth of 'shack towns' and shacks in Durban, particularly in the Greyville and Point areas.

He points out that initially, despite the local state being pressurized by the white population to

remove blacks from the city, and itself being concerned with occurrence of "crime and disease" resulting from black urbanization, it did little to address the situation. One reason for this lack of action, according to Booth, was the states' belief that white ratepayers' money would not be utilized to pay for the construction of black housing.

However, according to La Hausse (1982), the occurrence of the 1929 beerhall riots led to the local state ascribing the heightened labour militancy to labours' manipulation by the emerging black petit bourgeoisie. He points out that it was with this understanding that the development of a low cost, small housing scheme that could be funded by profits accruing to the Native Revenue Account - was proposed. The small size of the scheme ensured that white ratepayers funds would not be utilized. La Hausse also interprets the reason for the limited number of houses as making Lamontville amenable to the creation of an "elite" village which could possibly be utilized to appease the petit bourgeoisie. He further adds that the provision of this housing, together with the creation of local Native Advisory Board (NAB) was seen as another means of co-opting members of the petty bourgeoisie, and by so doing hopefully effect a degree of "social control" over the then emerging black proletariat.

Torr (1985) speaks further on the states' attempts to attract a particular kind of resident to Lamontville. She argues that in order to ensure that the desired element of the black population was admitted to the township, several selection criteria and means of control were developed. Torr points out that the Nationalists also tightened up the arbitrary qualifications for township residence, for example in Lamontville, the "right type" of resident was someone of Nguni race who had been employed south of the Umbilo River and resident in Durban for at least two years, and preferably who had resided as a lodger in Lamontville for five years. It is quite evident that elaborate measures were employed to ensure that Lamontville served the specific purposes of the state.

With all these motivations in mind, land was purchased in 1931 for the development of Lamontville, and the location opened in February 1934. However, Torr (1985), indicates that Lamontville was not immediately occupied due to distance and transport costs, lack of facilities (schools and shops), and regulations which prevented residents from earning income from informal activities. This was contrary to the states' intentions, which were according to Booth (1987:80), to create in Lamontville a "model village" which would provide housing for married Africans employed in Durban, develop communal life among township inhabitants, and to pro-

vide the necessary amenities generally associated with the self contained society. Reintges (1986:37), endorses the view that Lamontville failed to attract the elite petit bourgeoisie (which was the states'intention) because they did not wish to live in the small council-type houses.

Reintges (1986:37) elaborates on the failure of Lamontville to fulfill the functions for which it was created. She states that another reason was that the plans for the township were further exacerbated by the emphasis on minimal expenditure which restricted physical units to conform to "council" type housing. This was so because of the unanticipated problem which arose relating to the nature of Lamontvilles' topography which necessitated excavation and the building of retaining walls. Because of the expenses incurred in this area there was a reduction in expenditure in other spheres. Torr (1985) gives further details on this issue: an efficient stormwater drainage system was not installed, houses were not fitted with guttering, communal rather than individual taps were provided and a pit latrine as opposed to the more expensive water borne sewerage system, was installed (Durban Housing Survey, 1952).

The main reason identified by the social analysts for the creation of Lamontville were: to control the rapid influx of blacks to the cities and to create a township which would attract an elite petit bourgeoisie. They argue that the states' reasons for nurturing this petit bourgeoisie, were in the hope that this petit bourgeoisie would be co-opted to the side of the state and thus maintain some sort of social control over the militant urban proletariat. However, the township failed to attract this kind of "element" because of various problems relating to the actual construction of the township ie: inefficient storm water drainage systems, installed in an attempt to keep costs down, resulted in erosion which damaged the houses' foundations. These problems were to be the cause of much discontent among residents in the years to come and to date and this discontent emerged within the context of a social movement in Lamontville. A closer look at the power relations in Lamontville with regard to access to and control over resources, will yet further explain the objectives which are the source of conflict and popular struggle in the area.

### POWER RELATIONS IN LAMONTVILLE

Bekker and Humphries (1985), state that in 1910 four independent provinces amalgated to form the Union of South Africa. The Department of Native Affairs (DNA) was created to assume control over the development of policy and legislation with respect to blacks, but the local Municipalities, which had previously determined all aspects concerning blacks, retained administrative control of this sphere. Legislation created at the central level was not imposed



uniformly on all Municipalities. Adoption of legislation occurred, therefore, at the discretion of individual Municipalities. Thus, for example, Durban's Municipality adopted the (amended) **1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act** only after the 1929 Riots. This legislation, according to Morris (1981), facilitated restriction of access of blacks to urban areas and according to La Hausse (1982), it provided for the creation of Native Advisory Boards - a means to co-opt elements of the black population.

Reintges (1986) further notes that, although construction began in the 1930's, Lamontville was not completed until 1958. In this context, with the coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948, control over black administrative functions became increasingly under central state control. Complete centralization was achieved in 1971 with the "passing of the **Bantu Affairs Administration Act** and the consequent creation of the Administration Boards". Native Administration Boards (NABS) were created to give Africans representation, but their role was merely advisory and they were seen by residents as powerless. In 1962 the Urban Bantu Councils (UBC) replaced the NAB's but these were again considered as unrepresentative and powerless by people in the township (often referred to by the people as the 'Useless Boys Club'). The UBCs were then replaced by the community councils (from 1977) and later by black local authorities (after 1983).

In Natal the Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB) was placed in charge of urban black affairs in Durban on 1 August 1973 and removed from the control of the Durban City Council. On 1 February 1977 Kwa Zulu was declared a "self-governing" territory in accordance with the **Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, No. 21 of 1971**. At this point, a brief discussion on the creation of the KwaZulu government in Natal is necessary because it has impacted crucially on the politics and development of extra parliamentary organisations in this region.

#### **Creation of Kwazulu government:**

The **Bantu Authorities Act** was passed in 1951 and through it the National Party government began a process of establishing separate political institutions for Africans (Mare and Hamilton, 1987:28). This Act provided for three levels of administration - tribal, regional and territorial. Emphasis was now placed on the division of Africans along ethnic lines. The subsequent passing of the **Bantu-Self Government Act** in 1959 added administrative structures to the ethnic "homelands". According to Mare and Hamilton (1987:29), this shift to ethnic fragmentation by the government, was its attempt to deal with the increasing pressures eg: increasing number of



strikes by African workers. The government was attempting to create a system of separate political power for blacks. Mzala (1988:94) speaks about the real reasons behind the creation of the banstustans - for him the bantustans are there to service South African industry with cheap African labour. He points out that the boundaries have been carefully drawn up so that the establishment of large scale industries are not possible in them, thus preventing any competition with South African industries.

According to Mzala (1988:73), in 1960 there was intense resistance to apartheid in South Africa, especially towards the Bantu Authorities policy. This resistance culminated in the massacres at Sharpeville and a spate of bannings of organisations and individuals followed. It is in the absence of political organisations representing the interests of the people (eg ANC) that the **Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970** was passed. It provided for all Africans in South Africa to become citizens of one of the territorial authority areas created in accordance with the **Bantu Authorities Act of 1951**. On 22 May 1970, the South African government gazetted Proclamation no.139 and it is on this that constitution of the Zululand Territorial Authority was based. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was unanimously elected as the Chief Executive Officer of the Territorial Authority.

The South African government held discussions with the Zululand Territorial Authorities in 1971 and drew up a draft constitution for the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. This draft constitution was accepted by the Territorial Authority. The constitution gave wide powers to the Chief Executive Officer. Mzala (1988:95) believes that the task of the KwaZulu government is to administer a poor economy, to keep law and order amongst the unemployed, old people, the disabled, women and children and to ensure the labour flow into the central economy.

However, Lamontville continued to be administered by PNAB until 1 April 1984, when it was succeeded by the Natalia Development Board (NDB). The failure to incorporate Lamontville into KwaZulu was due to the fierce struggles and resistance from the residents through their organisations. Residents resisted incorporation because they feared losing their Section 10 rights, deteriorating services, and being administered by the "illegitimate" KwaZulu Government.

The implications of successive shifts in township administration from white local authorities to the Central Government have been felt particularly hard by the Lamontville residents who have suffered from controls over housing and employment, witnessed deteriorating living conditions,

and regular increases in rents and service charges. For all its "reforms" the Government still restricts the mobility of blacks and controls their employment and housing opportunities. A closer look at the dynamics of political control with regard to political representation in Lamontville will further illustrate the power relations in the township.

### **Political Representation in Lamontville:**

According to Booth (1987), officially blacks are supposed to exercise their political rights through the bantustans with limited representation for urban blacks being afforded through either Township Councils, Community Councils or Black Local Authorities (BLA's). These bodies are, however, little more than extensions of the Native Advisory Boards (NAB's) that were established during the 1930's to co-opt the urban middle class. As such these bodies have been rejected and condemned by communities throughout South Africa with violent consequences.

The Lamontville NAB was a purely advisory body, being powerless and ineffective, particularly when articulating the demands of residents on issues such as home-brewed beer, rising rents and transport costs, poor facilities and insuperable administrations. The DCC rarely followed its advice and the Board was reduced to a vehicle through which the narrow grievances and aspirations (particularly trading rights) of the co-opted black middle class were expressed.

In an effort to portray NAB's in a more positive light, the **Urban Bantu Councils Act, No 79 of 1961**, was promulgated to empower white local authorities to replace NAB's with (UBC's) to represent urban black interests. UBC's were vested with exactly the same powers and functions as their predecessors and still comprised both selected and elected members, although they were granted limited executive powers, subject to the Minister's discretion.

Booth (1987), further notes that the political violence of 1976\77 further proved the inadequacy of UBC's which had neither the power nor the influence to intervene and end the violence.

Under the **Community Councils Act, No 125 of 1977**, UBC's were replaced by Community Councils but under Section 5 of the Act Community Councils remained dependent upon the discretionary powers of the relevant Minister in consultation with respective BAAB's. In August 1978 the Ningizimu UBC (embracing the townships of Lamontville, Chesterville, and Jacobs, and Dalton Road, S.J. Smith and Umlazi Glebe hostels) - agreed to adopt the community council system and became the Ningizimu Community Council, NCC.

Shortly after the community council system begun functioning the Riekert Commission's report

was released which included recommendations to formalise the relationship between BAAB's and Community Councils. As a result of these proposals the **Black Local Authorities Act, No 102 of 1982**, was passed. The intention of the Act was to create a system of BLA's or local government for blacks, similar to that of white local authorities, but this was portrayed by the Government as a substitute for democratic participation in Central Government. In terms of the Act, Community Councils in "white" South Africa are being phased out and replaced by City, Town or Village Councils whose powers automatically devolve upon their establishment and include responsibility for services such as waste disposal, sewerage and electrification, housing administration, welfare services, construction and maintenance of roads and the employment of staff; in other words, all functions of Development Boards. While taking on added responsibilities, BLA's have inherited the same financial problems as Development Boards and are denied comparable sources of revenue although profits from the sale of sorghum beer now accrue directly to them. Local authority status is yet to be conferred upon the NCC.

In Booths' (1987) assessment, Community Councils exacerbate tensions in the townships by the type of powers vested in them (including the allocation of accommodation and trading sites) and by sources of funding (particularly service charges levied on residents). Charged with being collaborators and vested with controls over accommodation and services Community Councillors in Lamontville have exacerbated tensions in the township. Simply, the NCC has failed to represent community interests on issues such as rent and transport increases. Furthermore, in Lamont candidates in Community Council elections have largely campaigned on an Inkatha platform. However, the low election polls in the area is not merely an indication of the failure of the Council to secure rewards but also as a rejection of Inkatha and of structures imposed on the people.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to illustrate the objective conditions vis- a-vis the historical context for the creation of Lamontville and the power relations in the township - which contributed to the emergence of a social movement in Lamontville. A comprehension of this historical context is necessary to understand the people in Lamontville and how they relate to their history. The creation of black townships was part of the government's plan of "grand apartheid" to regulate and control blacks' movement in urban areas in the interest of capitalist accumulation in South Africa. The following chapter will look at the specific issues around which struggles were fought in Lamontville - which have their origins in the historical context discussed in this chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

This chapter looks at the historical evolution of the social movement in Lamontville, as a response to the structural conditions discussed in Chapter 2. In the 1980's numerous organisations emerged in Lamontville to challenge the consequences of the states' policies of separate development and apartheid. The emergence of civic organisations in this period is viewed as a response by residents in townships to the socio-economic conditions prevalent at the time. This discussion draws on Smelters' theories relating to six conditions which influence social movements, for example "structural strain" eg: inequalities between the race groups , "generalized beliefs" eg: liberating ideologies of the UDF and ANC and "precipating factors" eg: rent increases, transport increases and incorporation into Kwazulu - to get a clearer idea of all the conditions which influenced the social movement in Lamontville. The particular approach used in this study to present this information, is through oral history provided by the residents of Lamontville. This approach was chosen because the researcher is in agreement with P. Thompson's (1988:21) view that, "Oral history is history built around people. It thrusts life into history itself and it widens its scope." Furthermore, P.Thompson (1988:99) points out that, "Finally, oral evidence can achieve something more pervasive, and more fundamental to history. While historians study the actors of history from a distance, their characterizations of their lives, views and actions will always risk being misdescriptions, projections of the historian's own experience and imagination: a scholarly form of fiction. Oral evidence, by transforming the 'objects' of study into 'subjects', makes for a history which is not just richer, more vivid and heart-rending, but truer."

So the social actors themselves identify the problems of apartheid capitalism and their response to these problems. In this way they become analysts of their own actions. Through their comments, they illustrate how they have attempted to fight against attacks on their living standards and have sought to represent their interests more directly in organisations which they create and control.

Let us now briefly trace the historical emergence and development of social movements in South Africa - specifically the emergence of civic organisations within these social movements. The social movement is a response the ravages of apartheid capitalism.



## SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT IN WHICH CIVICS AROSE IN SOUTH AFRICA

In trying to understand the nature and dynamics of social movements in South Africa, it is necessary to also look at the historical evolution of social movements in South Africa. Historically, civic structures emerged in the 80's as a response to attacks on the living standards of working class people in South Africa, but also quite importantly because of the absence of formal opposition created by the banning of political organisations. However, prior to the emergence of civics, other protest movements had evolved to take up the struggles of the black oppressed masses against the system of apartheid capitalism in South Africa. T. Lodge (1983), provides us with a useful history of the development of mass protest movements amongst black South Africans since the Second World War. He explores the popular struggles that arose from local condition in different parts of South Africa; bus boycotts in Evaton and Alexandra in 1955-7, the parents and school boycotts in the Eastern Cape and East Rand and the Sharpeville crisis. He also goes on to examine the women's movements in the 1950s, the interaction of labour movements and political organisations, the insurrectionary movement of the 1960s and the subsequent history of the exiled political movements, and lastly the Soweto revolt of 1976.

M. Murray (1987), looks at the emergence of the independent black trade union movement and states that in the period since 1973, the key ingredient in the growth of black working class militancy was the formation of black trade unions that focused their organisation and struggle on the workplace. He goes on to claim that, this shop-floor militancy was paralleled by the development of a huge mass movement in the townships and the schools.

Looking more specifically at the 1980's, it is argued that strong civic organisations were forged in struggles by the masses as a response to attacks on their living standards in the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and the Transvaal. In the Vaal area strong alliances were built between student, community and trade union organisations. Union members were often leading and most active members in civic structures.

Sitas (1988) observed that the dramatic fall in South Africa's economy had a grievous impact on lives of people in townships. A response to this economic crisis was the prolific emergence of civic structures in the communities in the country.

During the period of the 1976 during the Soweto uprisings, the initiatives taken by the black working class were overshadowed by student activism. Murray (1987) contends that this trend

changed during 1984 and 1986 when labour unrest became intricately entangled with broader popular disenchantment. In South Africa this period was characterised by poor economic growth with a 3% fall in the gross national product, a result traced to the drop in gold prices, severe drought that crippled agricultural production in certain areas, and poor performance in export markets such as diamonds and coal.

Murray (1987) observed that during previous periods of political disquiet stable economic conditions characterised by sustained economic growth cushioned the white minority. This period, however, was distinctive in that urban unrest coincided with this dramatic economic downturn. The deteriorating economic situation was even further exacerbated by a surge in food prices, with the average increase of 10% in basic foodstuffs. Ground taxes and permit charges increased, together with the 10% jump in general sales tax. A desperate mood in the black areas prevailed. There was a 15% across-the-board increase in municipal rents on the Vaal, despite deteriorating community services in most townships and the general increase in transport costs. Official estimates quoted that more than half a million urban blacks, between 15 to 25% of the total labour force, were unemployed. The impoverished living standards of black urban residents and the inability of new Black Local Authorities to provide real economic and political improvement added to the desperation of the Vaal riots. Labour unrest grew with a significant increase in strike action. By October 1984 both the absolute number of strikes and actual labour hours lost due to work stoppages had exceeded the comparable figures of the first three quarters of 1982.

The rent increases and miscellaneous service charges imposed by town councils in many areas were geared to generate much-needed funds. It was from this scenario that civic associations emerged. Popular dissatisfaction encouraged militant activists, civic associations and tenant's groups to mount a wide-spread political challenge to the town councils. Popular mobilisation found expression in large rallies and protest meetings. Civic associations came to serve as organs of popular struggle.

Due to the absence of formal opposition, emanating from harsh government legislation which banned major political organisations, the revival of political protest (post 1973, and particularly post 1983) took the form of the creation of new alternative structures. These did not function as neutral structures of "civil society" but also as political organisations.

It is within this context that a civic organisation emerged in Lamontville in the 80s, as an organ

of popular struggle. The unbanning of the ANC on February 2, 1990, has meant that existing organisations (which were ANC aligned) have to re-define and question their present role as well as their relationship to the ANC. Let us now turn specifically to the historical evolution and development of the Lamontville Residents Association as well as the re-emergence of the ANC in Lamontville (post Feb 2 1990).

## HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF LAMONTVILLE RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION

In an interview with the Lamontville Residents Association, an executive member traced the history of his organisation:

*"Before the State of Emergency, we were on the verge of formalising the Resident's Association, at that time we were calling it a civic. Then some of us were detained and things collapsed and we had to start all over in 1988. The question of formation of a civic association has been there since early 84\85 we had been moved a step up, we were about to launch. At that time we had a co-ordinating committee which brought together all structures ie COSAS, the youth, women, action committees (Jorac) and some commuters committees and then things collapsed during the period end of 86 87 and early 88. And then those formations particularly the civic petered away, then late 88 we started all over again."*

The resident then went on to identify the issues around which a civic structure emerged in Lamontville:

*"The reason for starting a civic then were issues like rents, commuters, transport, bus fares, taxis and so on. Just housing problems were being taken up, you must remember in 83 there was a big uprising around rent problems and people were talking of forming alternative structures because the government structures proved themselves not useful because of the killing of the person (Msizi Dube) and this simply washed away local government structures. It was natural that people thought of forming some Association because they had problems but mainly rent, housing problems."*

*"The new initiative started in late '88 on smaller issues - a number of issues; floods\soil erosion. With the extension of the township it was affecting the bordering houses of the old township. The question of rodents, ants, refuse collection, burst pipes, toilets were flooding. People were complaining and taking small actions on their own. As groups and individuals, there was an effort to do things collectively, some people would meet in a street and say lets go and complain about it. But as individuals, as groups in a street. Simultaneously, there was the problem of fighting, gangsterism which was threatening the whole township which was going beyond*

gangs to affect all sectors of the township as such. But that was tackled using a separate structure but it directly created the space for the formation of a civic. The water tariff was changed drastically (1988) and that caused a lot of complaints - all the small groupings and individuals came together and a meeting was called. The residents association was formed, a march was organised to take these issues and demands and we managed to get the mayor to accept these demands although it has not been implemented to date, but in writing and so even the council took a resolution. Now, later on at the this early stage there was this problem of crime and gangsterism - so the resident association was forced to do something about this. A meeting was called and a peace committee was set up, so in addressing this issue particularly in bringing about this peace, we had to move to from area to area we had to ensure that we balanced this with forming discipline committees and street committees - so that created a big space - issue of violence was not taken as such by the resident association but it contributed in creating the space and proper structures because the youth also took up this issue, many initiatives came up - but the breakthrough was brought through the residents association - There were issues and there were people with the history of organisation.

*"The people who were initiating and called the first and second meetings, came from our own areas, we were all part of the UDF - some were part of women structures, youth, Cosas - people who had some history of being activist and in organising in the township - at the same time you had another grouping Mrs Luthuli's they also had a history of organising and attempt."*

In February 1990 the ANC was unbanned and this added another dimension to the social movement already existing in Lamontville. The ANC had to begin to rebuild structures within the context of an existing social movement in Lamontville. It is therefore necessary to look at how it attempted to do this.

## HISTORY OF LAMONTVILLE ANC BRANCH

A member of the Lamontville ANC Branch executive gave the researcher a brief synopsis of the ANC's attempts to re-establish itself in the area:

*"In Lamont we didn't have a problem of identifying - the people identified themselves with the ANC - because the formation of JORAC and the residents against the incorporation into Kwa Zulu was the one which mobilized the people and you will find most of the youth here went into exile, some were arrested and some were killed - in terms of those people they were more supportive of the ANC - now when the ANC was formed there was no difference because people were already identifying themselves with the ANC. The civic organisation did play an important role and other orgs like womens org, student - because we were having all the central*



*groups here - COSAS before it was banned - we had a group here - JORAC, NOW. I think the combination of all these structures which helped launch the branch. Because we don't have this problem here like the other townships in Transvaal you find they are having AZAPO and PAC - here we are only having those people who are supportive of the progressive organisation. - In 85' belonging to UDF except some few individuals who are belonging to Inkatha but because of the nature of Lamont they do not have too much influence."*

Given this brief history of the two organisations in Lamontville, we need to look more closely at this history and the issues responsible for their emergence. This will give us a more in-depth understanding of the social movement in Lamontville.

## HISTORY OF STRUGGLES IN LAMONTVILLE

Using Touraine's methodology for analysing social movements, group interviews were conducted with the organisations in Lamontville as well as interviews with individual residents. The key issues identified in these interviews by residents, as sources of discontent which have also led to the mobilisation of the residents of Lamontville into organisations were:-

1. Housing ie poor housing conditions, inadequate houses, denial of ownership of property and high rents.
2. Incorporation into Kwazulu

Let us now turn to what the social actors had to say about these issues:

### 1. HOUSING

In speaking of **poor housing conditions** a tenant raised the following problems in an interview:

*"I moved to Lamont in 1958 because my husband was working in Durban in a factory. We experienced many problems as tenants the houses were not properly built. There was soil erosion, the administration also refused to allow to renovate my house."*

A trader in the area also commented on this issue:

*"I came to live in Lamontville in 1956 because of forced removals in Kwa Makuta at the time. The problems my family experienced living at Lamontville at the time were that the houses were of poor quality (Nylon), they had ash floors, unplastered walls, no electricity, no water*

*inside, no roads to house and there was an outside toilet. The house was rented on a buying basis. Complaints about the living conditions were made to the superintendent at the time but to no avail - "his work was to refuse". I wrote to the Durban Corporation requesting electricity and was told that it would cost me R800. The reason for no electricity in this area was that the soil on which the roads are built are sandy and it erodes faster. I also wanted to extend my house but the superintendent refused me permission. But, Mr T. Ellis from the Bantu Administration assisted me. Then, it was confusing as to who to go to with our problems but now I think its worse we don't really know who runs the township."*

The cause for these poor housing conditions which the residents speak of is directly linked to the history of the township - which is discussed in Chapter 2. In this chapter Reintges (1986),

was cited as saying that minimal expenditure was put into the houses in Lamontville because money was spent on problems which were related to the topography of the township. Also in this chapter Torr (1985) is cited, where she states that the reduction in expenditure resulted in an inefficient storm water drainage being installed - and this in turn resulted in erosion which damaged the houses' foundations. However, more generally, in the context of apartheid - housing provided for blacks in urban areas has been cheap and poorly built. Comfort has not been a priority for the state when it provided houses for blacks, but rather, basic conditions necessary for the reproduction of a labour force in order to serve the needs of capital, has been its priority.

**Inadequate provision of housing** was also raised as a grievance by some residents. An unemployed youth spoke about this problem:

*"I was born in Lamontville but we lived in the Transkei until 1977 - then we moved to Lamont and stayed in other peoples' yard and houses because we didn't have a place. In 1988 we found a house, rent was R98 - we went to community councillors - In Lamont the community don't want the councillors they are operating by force, they say they are doing things on our behalf - If want something you go to them and they say we'll give you a house if we give them R1000 - that's the way you get a house."*

The unrepresentative nature of the councillors and their corrupt administration, was also pointed to in this interview.

A woman from the ANC Womens' League and also a member of the Lamontville ANC Branch

executive, spoke further about the lack of houses in the area:

*"We heard now that the new location will start here LTA - we said we need no LTA here because this place of Lamont was given to the poor people - Rev Lamont who gave these people this place - who now said this place is to be sale to anyone who want to buy it - that's why we fighting together and the LTA was built here and Mr Rag and now its Stocks and Stocks - three companies now they are building here against the people - they know nothing of this - we have no money - these places was taken by the people who have the money many of them we don't know where they are coming from - JHB, Ulundi they getting these places here but our children have no place to make their houses because we have no money that's why the conflict was started."*

The resident in her comment here, is speaking specifically about the issue of private developers building houses that are not affordable and accessible to the people of Lamontville. In chapter 2, it was noted that according to Reintjes (1986), the state has employed comprehensive freezing policies on housing development since the 1960s. These policies have included: the halt on construction, a freeze on the acquisition of new land and prohibitions on the acquisition of 99 year leasehold rights. Thus, it has long been the policy of the state to stop spending money on the provision of houses for those who cannot afford it. Rather, it has handed over this responsibility to private enterprise - whose interests do not lie in providing affordable houses, but rather in profits. La Hausse (1982) was also cited in Chapter 2 as saying that the small size of the scheme, was to avoid white ratepayers funds being used. Furthermore, he said that the small scheme was created as part of the apartheid states' attempts to appease the growing aspirations of the emerging black petit bourgeoisie. In this way the state hoped to co-opt them and use them to exert some degree of "social control" over the then emerging black proletariat.

However, as noted earlier in chapter 2 by Reintjes (1986), with the introduction of a new provincial system of administration, urban blacks could enjoy full property rights. He pointed out that the government continues to create artificial shortages of land in the metropolitan areas which aggravates the housing problem. To confirm this notion, a NPA official is quoted as saying that it will be "some time" before Lamontville residents are eligible for 99 year lease-hold title. Residents interviewed in Lamontville also confirmed Reintjes' observation on the problems relating to **ownership of property** - a tenant expressed her view on the issue:

*"Also the main thing is that when I moved here they said that in 15 years time if I paid the rent the house would be mine - but after this time I am still paying rent and I don't know why and*

*also the rent fluctuates every month there is no fixed amount."*

A homeowner spoke of his particular problem:

*"Usually there was trouble over - they tell you that you are leasing the house then at the same time they tell you buying it. So there is confusion because if you buy you get a title deed and if you lease there is a period put to it and you don't necessarily own the house. One never understood what is taking place. With the flatted house there is a problem because there are 4 families and each pay site rent - what is this for people are confused - PNAB didn't know what this was about. The officials - councillors didn't know what they were talking about when they spoke about site rent - there was a lot of confusion.*

*You see Lamont was a white area no blacks can own land. Umlazi is a homeland and the majority are not owning title deeds but have the "right of occupation" because not white area but homeland. Only now some preparations are being made for title deeds with the changes in the country. "*

Another resident, a trader went on to further state his problem:

*"Although Lamontville is controlled by NPA, Councillors act on their behalf - but they are powerless in bringing about change. The white super left because of violence in the area. For instance we want buy our shops and we are told we can't because of sectional title. We've sent several letters and spoken to the councillors on several occasions, now we are going to get a lawyer and take the issue to court. But I think the reason is that they think our shops are white elephants and want to allow developers into the township and we would then fall under their control. Maybe allow Checkers to develop here as well. In Chatsworth the people rejected Checkers being set up there but because of Rajbansi and so on they were allowed into the area. People do like buying in shopping centers and its going to affect our business here if they move into the township."*

It is quite evident that there is unclarity regarding policy on ownership of property in Lamontville. This is perhaps just another means by the state to control the movement and settlement of urban blacks. But still further it relates to the governments' indecision regarding the status of Lamontville, vis-a-vis whether to incorporate it into Kwa Zulu or not.

Another issue that has been the center of struggles, has been the regular **increases in rents**. A look at the history of administration of Lamontville in chapter 2, indicates some of the reasons for the increases in rents in the township. Here it is stated that with the introduction of BAABs,

in the period 1972 to 1982, the local authorities saw the opportunity to recoup their expenditure on services not taken off by the Boards. This included regular increases in service charges in water supply, electricity and refuse removal. These charges are included in the rents paid by the residents and have been the source of great hardship for the residents.

An unemployed youth spoke of these hardships:

*"There were lots of problems with the house when we moved in - no windows etc we had to arrange to fix it ourselves. The rent boycotts were called because of the problems - even at home we don't pay rent from June this year - we have no money. The rent boycott was from last year - LARA called meeting and planned mass action like marches to boycott rent - the boycott is still on but there is problem with co-ordination some are boycotting, some are not (not all people were consulted on boycott). The boycott was called because of high rents, water bills (last year was R55 then R98 and R120) - we don't know why it goes up. There is one bill for rent and water. I didn't support the rent boycott because when the decision was taken it was only children there. My mother is not paying the rent because she doesn't have enough money - she's just a cleaner at King Edward."*

A homeowner gave his analysis of the problem of increased rents:

*"There was also the problem at the time when the councillors wanted increased allowances - rentals were to put up for this so the money could come from the increased rentals. There was a lot of complaints it was the time of Msizi Dube. It was bitter times."*

*There was increased water charges (R200 to R126) and the pensioners complained - all the pensioners came together and marched to the administration offices. LARA organised the march because the charges were too high. We (mostly pensioners) met with the officials of PNAB and Councillors and representative from the Umgeni water Board. We felt that the charges were too high and pensioners were most affected by these increases. We only get about R200 for our pension and therefore didn't have enough money to pay for the water bills."*

*"The representative of Umgeni water Board asked us whether we had swimming pools or industries - the residents told him that we didn't. He then said that the water bills of Lamont residents were higher than Durban residents. It was then agreed that PNAB and the Ningizumu Council would discuss the issue and come to the residents with solutions. The Mayor signed this agreement. After they discussed it they came back to the residents and said that the site permit had been dropped but they had substituted it with street light and stormwater drain costs which still brought up the charges to the original position - there was no difference to the site*



*permit. At this stage there was a deadlock - residents decided that they were prepared to pay rent but not until they knew exactly what they were paying for. I had finished paying my lease for 30 years and then had to pay site permit till last year when they dropped the site payment but they said nothing about the money I paid for all these years."*

In Reintges' (1986) thesis she looks at the history of rent struggles. In here she observed that rent increases were announced in October 1982, and were to become effective from May 1983. Booth (1987), in his thesis stated that these increases were introduced as part of the PNAB's drive towards self-sufficiency. Reintges (1986) points out that Lamontville residents did not initially react to the notice because the exact date for the implementation was not fixed. The reaction only came when the Minister of Co-operation and Development announced that rentals would be increased from 1 May 1983.

Reintges observed that the residents were already mobilised in the Joint Commuters Committee (JCC), to resist the bus fare increases, and therefore the PNAB township communities were easily united to resist the rent increases. The residents of Lamontville, Klaarwater and Hambanathi formed rent action committees. These combined to form JORAC in April 1983.

One member of the ANC branch executive described the events:

*"Working hard under women's and civic association under Msizi Dube, because he was teaching us with the civic association and Mcebisi Xundu joined together. All these locations: Shakaville, St Gwendolins, Klaarwater everywhere we joined together continuing the Civic association under JORAC - working hard - even everything was bad."*

Another member of LARA commented that:

*"The question of formation of civic association has been there since early 83\86. At that time we had a co-ordinating committee which brought together all structures ie COSAS, the youth, women, action committees (Jorac) and some commuter committees."*

Booth (1987) points out that the event that served to unite the Lamontville community against the rent increases, the NCC and the PNAB, was the assassination of JORAC member Msizi Dube on 25 April 1983. Msizi Dube was a former community councillor but as Mare and Hamilton (1987:191) noted, although some councillors (notably Harrison Dube from Lamontville and Ian Mkize from Hambanathi) were working within the Community Council structures to uplift their areas, they soon became aware of the "structural and financial impotence" of the Councils

and this led to a "total rejection of the system by the two councillors and significant numbers of supporters." Reintjes (1986) also confirmed that councillors took a leading role in the JCC, which coordinated the bus boycott and formed the basis for the formation of JORAC.

Byerley (1989) supports Booths' views by stating that Dube's death led to the unleashing of popular discontent; physical confrontations between youth and police and Inkatha supporters- JORAC and CC members - youths in the township were at the forefront of the battles which were being fought. The center of battles and targets were administration buildings and community councillors. Many Jorac activists were targets of attacks from Inkatha. JORAC initiated a rent boycott and between July and November 35% of residents paid no rent and 40% paid the old rent.

It is quite clear that attempts have been made over the years by successive township administrations to make Lamontville self sufficient. To this end, rents and service charges have been consistently increased in spite of the low wages paid to blacks, and the fact that neither adequate services nor maintenance are provided. The lack of resources and facilities in Lamont cannot be improved by the government shifting its' responsibility onto the residents. Residents in Lamontville, because of the inability to pay for these increases and their participation in organisations which attempt to defend their already eroding living standards, have fought to resist attacks on their living standards.

## **2. INCORPORATION INTO KWAZULU**

In an interview with the ANC branch executive in Lamontville, one of the members gave his opinion on the issue of incorporation: "Given the nature of the township we find that Lamontville has been unique since the early 80's and they have been entertaining this issue - after the rent issue and the formation of JORAC the struggle that was headed by Msizi Dube and Rev. Xundu so the township was exposed to most of the things and it unified the people to a certain extent. By the nature of people staying in Lamont - they regard themselves as members of MDM - so they were to be incorporated into KwaZulu - there was that campaign they won that struggle against incorporation into KwaZulu - so that itself unified the people to share common values ie. even to understand the nature of exploitation and oppression they subjected to. Therefore it was easier for the Branch to be formed in the township - though as I've said there were some of the problems that existed."



Booth (1987), indicated that on 10 May 1983, two days after JORAC's meeting with the Minister of Co-operation and Development over the rent issue, Buthelezi announced that Lamontville should be incorporated into KwaZulu. On 31 August 1983 the government formally announced its intentions to incorporate the township. In Booth's (1987) view, Buthelezi was clearly attempting to secure urban support by undermining community cohesiveness fostered by JORAC on the rent issue and in doing so compelled JORAC to organise opposition to incorporation.

He goes on to say that for the state, Lamontville's incorporation into KwaZulu would have enabled it to distance itself from the demands of the community and curtail negotiations with JORAC. JORAC mobilised opposition to incorporation and Challenor (1984:106), cites that a JORAC meeting attended by 3000 people, was held after the government announced its intention to incorporate Lamontville into KwaZulu. This meeting rejected incorporation and reaffirmed the wish to be controlled by the Durban City Council. According to Rev. Mcebisi Xundu, a JORAC leader, the people rejected incorporation because they were worried about losing their Section 10 rights (which gave them preferred if limited access to jobs), and also about their security and about schools.

According to Mzala (1988), in October 1984 the mayor of Lamontville, Mrs Nxasane, called a public meeting to be addressed by community councillors and the Inkatha Central Committee members. The purpose of the meeting in Mzala's view was to promote enthusiasm for the community councils and mobilise support for incorporation into KwaZulu. This meeting was accompanied by violence in the area as Inkatha warriors from the SJ Smith Hostel marched through the streets of Lamontville and clashes occurred. Academics at the University of Natal reported that the conflict was inevitable because 86.2% of Lamontville residents rejected incorporation into KwaZulu.

Mare and Hamilton (1987) state that the incorporation issue polarized Inkatha and the UDF in Lamontville. They deduce this because the central government made its announcement that the townships (Hambanathi as well) would be incorporated into KwaZulu 11 days after the national launch of the UDF. The writers claim that the emergence of the UDF posed a threat to Inkatha's claim to be the most representative and largest "liberation movement" in South Africa. Thus JORAC threatened to draw popular support away from Inkatha. What followed were months marked by clashes between pro and anti- incorporation factions. Hostel dwellers provided Inkatha with supporters who were prepared to march on Lamontville in a "show of

force".

The chair of ANC Youth League commented on the struggles generated by the incorporation issue in this period:

*" They (Inkatha) burned a house of a JORAC activist - unknown killers. Mostly JORAC people were targets, they burned the whole house down and whoever was coming out was shot - so they had spray paint then they painted walls - they left the message saying "We are Well trained and well paid". So by then it was very difficult to exist - there was a long list of JORAC activists which was found - people who were to be eliminated.."*

According to Mare, Bonnin and Sitas (draft, 1991), Inkatha's demand for the incorporation of "independent" townships into KwaZulu was their response to contain the conflict in these areas at this time. Another response was the mobilisation of "amabutho" to intervene and roll back the protest movement.

Thus, the threat of incorporation into KwaZulu bantustan generated tremendous uncertainty in the community. Furthermore, because most of the residents of Lamontville are ANC aligned, incorporation is firmly resisted for political reasons - as the KwaZulu government is viewed as a puppet of the South African government and controlled by Inkatha. Other reasons given by Reintges (1986), for resisting incorporation are that residents also believe that incorporation would mean losing their Section 10 rights and deteriorating services in Lamontville.

It is evident then that the sources of discontent, identified by the residents are mainly housing and the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu. These issues caused the residents to build organisations which would take up these struggles and represent their interests more directly. It must be noted here that there were other issues like transport and education which also contributed substantially to shaping the social movement in Lamontville. However, they have been dealt with extensively in other research theses on Lamontville.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has served to historically trace and analyse the issues which contributed to the emergence of organisations within a social movement in Lamontville. Chapter 4 deals with residents views on which organisations they see, as the most appropriate structures to take their struggles against apartheid capitalism forward. These views are the context in which Lamontville residents give their opinions on the current debate under investigation.

## CHAPTER 4

In this chapter the residents of Lamontville express their views on the debate. The residents through their comments provided the researcher with not only an account of their struggles and hopes but an analysis of them. It becomes evident in this chapter that the history of struggles and organisations in Lamontville, discussed in Chapter 3, is the context in which the residents express their views on the current debate.

The residents interviewed were:

- a) A group of executive members and ordinary members of the ANC Branch and a SACP member.
- b) A group of interim executive members and ordinary members of the Lamontville Residents Association (LARA).
- c) The Chairperson of ANC Youth League in Lamontville.
- d) Several individual residents in Lamontville:
  - homeowner
  - tenant
  - unemployed person
  - trader
  - taxi owner

They expressed their views around the four key questions identified in the debate:-

1. What should the role of Civics be in Lamontville ie what kinds of issues should they be taking up?
2. What should the role of the ANC Branch be, ie what issues should they be dealing with?
3. What should the relationship be between the Civic and the ANC Branch ie. how would they characterise the civic?
4. What is the role of the civic in the post-apartheid South Africa?

The responses of the residents in Lamontville to these questions need to be seen in the context of the debate taking place in ANC structures and civics in townships in the rest of the country - as outlined in Chapter 1. The responses seem to confirm Touraine's (1983) observation that:

*"it is not history which makes men and women, they, constantly, through their conflicts, their cultural orientations, their conflicts, their imagination, create a history which is always open-ended, even if what they build is often destroyed by force."*

Thus, it is quite evident that the people of Lamontville don't just respond to events but shape their own struggles and initiatives according to their needs and desires.

## LAMONTVILLE RESIDENTS VIEWS ON THE DEBATE

### 1. THE ROLE OF CIVIC

The question asked by the researcher to the members of the **ANC Branch executive** was,

*"What should be the role of the civic in the area and should there be one at all, given that there is now an ANC branch in the area?"*

The chairperson of the branch was among the first to formulate a reply to this question and these sentiments were echoed by the rest of the group. Essentially the civic was still seen as a necessary structure in the area in that it was needed to take up local issues of housing and rents and the problems with the developers. Furthermore it was felt that the civic was a structure which united all residents in Lamontville because it dealt with issues which affected everyone in the township. A clear distinction was drawn between these civic activities and ANC Branch activities which were of a more political nature. Because civics were seen as a unifying structure in the township and because of political violence in the country between different political organisations, not one person in the group seriously contemplated transforming the civic into a political party.

Unity among township residents was seen as a strong priority in motivating the role and character of the civic.

The next group to be interviewed were members of the civic structure in the area - **LARA**. In order to understand the groups perceptions of their role in the township in the present period, the researcher attempted to determine a chronological development of the organisation and the issues it involved in. The question posed to them at the end of this chronology was

*"What are some of the issues LARA is taking up now? In 88, 89 there were struggles to sustain and build LARA, then 90 and the unbannings but LARA still maintained a presence in the area taking up issues - and now what kind of issues are you taking up."*

The response to this question cohered in the group in so far as they all felt that some of the issues that were taken up during the history of the civic organisation in Lamontville, had not been solved and therefore needed to be worked on in the present period. The issues which were

identified as affairs of the civic were water, land, housing, development - extensions to the township ie the building of new houses by private developers. With the latter they concluded that the issue was private development vs affordable houses.

The researcher intervened at this stage of the discussion and voiced her agreement with the groups' analysis by giving her own analysis on the states' housing policy,

*"The state doesn't want to build any more houses and has handed this over to the private sector who are not interested in cheap housing but are motivated by profits - so it defeats the purpose. The demand is for more houses, they build them but you can't stay in them because you cannot afford to."*

The group extended this discussion concerning development in the area - they identified existing houses as already overcrowded which they felt was another argument for more land. Furthermore, the Durban City Council was pushing the issue of their (civic) participation within its structure down the civics mouths as part of their attempts to get "development" initiatives going in the township. It was therefore felt that due to all the above issues the civic still had to build structures - they identified some areas in Lamontville as being strong in organisation and others still quite weak. What became clear to the researcher was that on the question concerning what issues the civic should deal with, the views expressed by the civic concurred strongly with those of the ANC Branch in the area. There was neither confusion nor vagueness in both the responses regarding the role of the civic in Lamontville. Their conception of their separate and distinct roles clearly emerged in their responses.

The **ANC Youth League Chairperson** was asked similar questions: "Do you think a civic should exist in Lamontville? Is there a role for civic organisation in this present period of transition given that there are ANC branches as well?" His response was strongly in the affirmative and supported the views expressed by the ANC branch and LARA. He felt that,

*"There was a great need for civics - first of all even if I'm not concentrating on Lamont. There are people who don't, cannot, want to join the ANC but they are the members of our communities - so as we are involved in the issues that are directly affecting them - so as a result that person will become a member of the civic association - whereas he is not a member of the ANC."*



This view of the civic acting as an organ to unify the community was similar to the sentiments expressed by the ANC branch executive.

However, he added another role that the civic association could play,

*"The civic association shares the same vision with the ANC. In Lamont most people in civic association are also members of ANC. So they will conscientize you and as a result you'll become a member of the ANC and then the ANC is gaining support."*

The reason for the overlap in membership between the civic association and the ANC branch in Lamontville is related to the history of organisations in Lamontville as discussed earlier on in this thesis. The UDF was the dominant political organisation in the area in the 1980's and the civics which in this period were affiliated to the UDF. Bitter struggles had been fought by Lamontville residents against incorporation into Kwazulu and this had united the community against Inkatha and strengthened a pro-UDF (ANC aligned) position.

This interviewee saw civics as being a recruiting ground for the ANC in the area because he is an executive member of the ANC and recruitment to the ANC and strengthening and building it, is high on their agenda. Thus, because of his political affiliation and organisational position it was difficult for him to consistently hold the position of a non-aligned civic structure in the area. Furthermore, it must be noted that because of the history of struggles and organisation in the area, Lamontville is largely an ANC aligned township.

In further trying to clarify his conception of the role of the civic, the activist spelt out what he saw as the main tasks of the ANC in the present period:

*"First of all the ANC is a liberation movement - the ANC is there to liberate the people of SA but besides that the people of SA are faced with their own problems in their communities - problem of land issues, housing issues and so on. And the ANC is addressing the quiz of the transfer of power - that's the main topic that the ANC is addressing at the present moment. Whereas if the civic can dissolve, then that means all these problems we are facing locally will only be addressed after the liberation. Which we don't know might be after 5 years - it will be a process."*

*"The civic must exist because it must take up the day-to-day issues now and at the same time the ANC at the national level is talking about the same issues - housing, land etc. What is happening like for instance in the ANC (maybe if you have seen the re-structuring document*



*of the ANC) - starting from local branches of ANC - there are departments - like the welfare department, economic and planning department and so on. So there is a department within the ANC which is dealing with housing issues and all these issues of land and housing and so on."*

Viewed from this perspective the civic was seen as taking up issues of land and housing at a local level, whereas the ANC would do this at a national level getting input about these issues from its local branches. The distinction that was being made was between national and local levels - and different structures were identified to act at these different levels.

When similar questions - regarding what the role of the civic in the area should be - were posed to a **Homeowner**, he listed some the issues that LARA was taking up in the area:

*"They have been taking up many issues not specifically the struggle to own property. They have had some meeting in Mayville and with NPA and the developers. Some I have attended and some I haven't. Well they took up the issue of site and water bills. I spoke in the meeting and they took up the issue."*

However, as with the other groups and activists, he also specifically pointed to the all encompassing nature of the residents association:

*"The residents association involves everybody - nobody is going to say he's not qualified to go to the residents association - nobody is going to say I belong to IFP I cannot to that meeting - I belong to ANC I cannot go to that meeting."*

For him then, this was a crucial role of the civic in Lamontville ie to act as a voice of all residents in the area.

The **Trader** who was interviewed expressed a similar opinion to the homeowner when he outlined his conception of the role of the civic in Lamontville:

*"I think LARA was formed by youth who were not happy with the administration of the township by whites. There was no active organisation to approach NPA so the need for residents to have an organisation to represent its grievances. The organisation resorts to marches because they are fed up of complaining and nothing gets done. The Advisory Boards are useless."*

When an **Unemployed Youth** was asked for his view, he too felt that the civic:

*"Should be responsible for residents from the community, understand the needs of community, rents etc and address them."*

However, he also felt that they should extend and change their role:"

*I think they must take responsibility of councils because councillors just sit there - they must do this job but they must come to us - they must contact us before they do anything - work together with us as a community - don't decide for us. Civic must do research about needs and problems of people in area. Must take action around issues but must talk to community about action and community and not do things on its own."*

This activist suggested that civics should become the official mouthpiece of the residents in the area, what this implied is civics become a form of local government but the essential difference would be that they truly represent the interests of the people of Lamontville and be accountable to the residents and operate democratically.

This view was expressed especially in the light of the community councils unrepresentative nature and undemocratic method of operation.

A similar view was conveyed to the researcher by the **Taxi-owner**:

*"With regard to the residents of Lamont it should take up problems of leaking houses and help residents get sites to build houses. The councillors are a problem in Lamont, LARA does not recognise them and there is no contact with them. LARA should replace the councillors and it should be recognised by NPA who should deal directly with LARA."*

He also supported the position expressed by other interviewees regarding the non-partisan character of civics:

*"LARA should consist of all residents of Lamont eg church members etc, it should work together with all organisations in the township and see that there is no fighting." Lastly, because he held the view that the civic represented the interests of all the residents of Lamontville, he felt it was in the best position to liaise with taxi-owners on transport issues and represent the views of the residents: "I think that it should discipline the public and the taxi drivers. It should consult with owners and give the complaints of the public. There should also be consultation over fare increases."*

The only interviewee who expressed a completely different opinion from the rest of the resi-

dents interviewed was a **Tenant** who felt that:

*"I think the ANC must take up my problems, there is no need for another structure to do this."*

Her view was the only one that seemed to have some similarity with Nzimande and Sikhosana (1991) view, which states that the ANC should be taking up the day-to-day issues of the masses in order to win support, recruit members and continue the struggle against apartheid. Although her sentiments was similar, her emphasis was on the fact that the ANC was her organisation representing her interests and therefore her problems as a resident of Lamontville should be taken up by them.

Thus, the view which predominated amongst the residents was that the civic should take up the day-to-day issues of the community such as rents, transport, land and housing. The reason for this was that they saw the civic as being the most representative structure of all residents in Lamontville which could deal with their local issues. Furthermore, they saw it as being non-partisan and this helped to unite the community and give them strength in fighting issues.

Whereas, the ANC was seen as being there to deal with political issues and issues like land, housing, etc on a national level. The next question put to the interviewees focussed specifically on what were their views on the ANC branches' role in Lamont.

## 2. THE ROLE OF ANC BRANCH

What should the ANC branch be doing in Lamontville, what type of issues should they be taking up and how do you intend building the branch in the area? There was a very clear response from the **ANC Branch**:

*"To deal with national issues of the ANC. To deal with political education ie Constituent Assembly, Interim Government. There should be negotiations on housing and development at a national level, in the branch this could be dealt with through the housing and development sub-committee."*

In trying to find out whether the present branch executive perceived their role as different from the previous one, they were asked about what the previous branch executive of the ANC branch were doing. The present chairperson replied that:

*"I think they were taking up issues which were part of the programme of the ANC - they were working closely with the Residents Association of Lamont, because some members of executive of ANC branch were executive members of the Branch and that made it easy for*

*them to work together. It was easy for them to assist one another in some issues which affect the whole community like rents and trying to uplift the standard of the township - were also trying to work out the problem of tsotsism. They also took up national campaigns of the ANC."*

It was evident that the chairperson of the present branch executive saw their role as also taking up national campaigns of the ANC, as the old executive had done.

However, a member of the SACP who was also an executive member of the ANC branch in Lamontville, gave a slightly different interpretation of the previous executives' activities:

*"There are two issues here - there's two organisations; there's the ANC and there is supposed to be a civic association. Now the ANC issues are mostly national issues - here the people staying are mostly involved in civic action like housing, roads, rent, water and electricity those are the main issues which the ANC Branch (former) were concentrating on - not ANC issues. They did take up issues but their fault was not reporting back to the people - they didn't call the people and report back their actions. But they were mainly concerned with civic issues."*

Although he felt that the ANC's role was mainly to deal with national issues, he pointed out that the previous branch executive was forced to deal with civic issues because:

*"My point is that the people staying here are mostly concerned with civic issues - we can see outside issues like VAT, like other things - these are issues that mostly concern the ANC but people staying here are mainly concerned with civic issues."*

Many of the present executive members of LARA were executive members of the previous branch executive of the ANC. When they, now as part of LARA, were questioned about what they had done as part of the previous ANC branch executive, they replied: "Organised for the welcome back of returnees. Also had talk on the violence, about the Inkathagate scandal. Tried to reach out to other branches. Took part in demonstrations. Did political education on constituent assembly. Busy with recruitment, trying to bring together all sectors eg business. Two weeks ago there was AGM and new people were elected onto the Branch Executive." Their activities seemed to endorse the view of the present chairperson of the ANC branch, on the kind of activities the ANC branch should presently be engaged in.

The **ANC Youth League Chairperson** stressed the importance of recruitment as a crucial task of the ANC branch in the present period:

*"The first thing they must do is mass mobilisation - the membership is gradually decreasing so they have to pull up their socks - that's the first thing."*

When questioned on the reason for the decreasing membership and how this recruitment would happen, he spelt out clearly that the ANC branch needed to:

*"Run political classes because if you trace this problems of these contradictions in Lamont you can find that it is the lack of political understanding. People claim that they know whereas they don't know, we still need to learn more about the ANC - even Mandela himself he's still learning about the ANC - the politics is changing time and again - so you have to update yourself. So political classes on ANC and the history - also include issues like the constituent assembly, Interim Government, Patriotic Front and so on. If you talk about these things people don't know the majority of our people they don't know about these things - but they support them. You say long live the ANC, Forward with idea of the Constituent Assembly, Forward - but if you can ask them what is the constituent assembly they can't tell you. Even the question of the interim government, the national conference endorse the idea but now if we can go into the details with the question of interim government like the functions and duties of that interim government - we haven't decided yet."*

For this activist, political education about the history of the ANC and clarity on the different tactics and strategies of struggle employed by the ANC needed to be thoroughly discussed at a local level. For him, it was only in this way that the people on the ground would be informed about the ANC and what it was doing - and in this way swell its ranks. Furthermore, he added that the branch should assist in the building other sectoral organisations of the ANC as another means of assisting recruitment:

*"The branch in Lamont must also assist in terms of facilitating the process which will lead to the formation of the new executive of the ANC Women's League because they haven't yet launched in Lamont."*

The **Homeowner** concurred with the Youth League activist, regarding the issue of democracy and the crucial importance of people on the ground being kept informed (through political education) on what was taking place in the ANC. With regard to the issue of democracy, he saw the ANC's role as:

*"I take the role of the branch as starting from Mandela's speech when he was imprisoned as my premise and the task of branch ie. to fight for a free and democratic society where all people*



*live in harmony. This is the premise of what is happening and if we look for the principles which apply to the basic structure of a democratic society. We look for principles which assign rights and duties and the distribution of social and economic advantages. For the first principle it should be that each man should have equal right to the most extensive basic liberty which is similar to the liberty for all. Secondly, social and economic equality must be arranged so as to reasonably benefit all. All these give the basic structure of what Dr Mandela says and I as a member of the ANC start from this premise of my case until we get to the formation of the forces which will form the constitution, how we get together, what principles they should advance - then we come to the interim government, constituent assembly and so on. The branch should be looking at what is meant by democracy and not interfere with local politics - so many things need to be done here."*

What was again evident was that the ANC's emphasis should be on national issues rather than on local ones.

On the issue of political education, the point was made repeatedly that members need to be taught about ANC politics and the rapidly changing political developments in the country:

*"ANC members, we must be taught. For instance somebody here in Lamont might say he knows quite a lot about the ANC - he is talking nonsense because even Dr Mandela himself can be surprised because of these things that are happening are coming up every now and then which did not come up some time back - for instance if somebody says he knows the ANC - he is talking about the period 1912 until when Dr Mandela, Sisulu, Lembedi, Jordan Gubane went to the president of the ANC to ask for permission to form MK.*

*"The ANC branch must teach us about the history of the ANC and the changes that are happening - exactly what must happen, there is no time for local politics. I as the ANC must see the Bill of Rights that has been drawn up. There are people who purport to be members of ANC but not aware of Bill of Rights. They are not aware of my rights and I have a right to protect my rights. People must be taught - they must be taught. Now somebody stand up in a meeting and says ANC is busy talking about interim government, constituent assembly and this and that. Now what does ordinary man know about all those things - what does he know? People have got to be taught because you can't afford to make a mistake - a mistake that is going to prejudices ANC - so when the matter is taken to the higher authority you say you have no right to do this - you've done so and so because you're not aware of so and so and I'm sure there's hardly a person in Lamont who has seen the proposed Bill of Rights - how it looks like, what does it say about yourself - how you can protect yourself. And you get so many people*

*that are saying they are members of ANC. The ANC has no time - people must be taught and if you're not taught and you're not acting correctly - you may prejudice the whole move and so many people can suffer because of your stupidity."*

The homeowner rejected the idea that the ANC should deal with local issues affecting the people of Lamontville but rather maintained quite strongly that there was a need for a more overtly political role for the ANC - which entailed national issues dealing with the constitution, Bill of Rights, constituent assembly and interim government. He saw it as vital that ANC members in Lamontville be educated on these political developments if they were to properly participate in the political life of the ANC.

The **Unemployed Youth** felt exactly the same way as the homeowner in so far as he also viewed the ANC branch as dealing with national political developments and its function was to educate its members on these developments:

*"Talking about new South Africa and changes - they must teach people in community about this and what is happening in the national body of ANC - if they are engaging themselves to the civics they will lose control of this - where they are going - there are a lot of structures in the ANC - they must teach the people what the ANC is even old people don't know what ANC is only know Tambo and sing songs - don't really know about ANC - need political education. Political education must be left to the ANC because they must go as members of ANC branch for this."*

The **Taxi-owner** too expressed the same sentiment:

*"The ANC is a political organisation it should recruit members to its organisation, teach people about the history of the ANC and how it works, fight for political rights of the people and run political education workshops."*

However, the **Trader** pointed to another role that the ANC could play with regard to the violence in the country:

*"They should ensure that no fighting takes place with Inkatha and PAC because this gives the ANC a bad reputation."*

But, he shared the same view as other interviewees by seeing the ANC as needing to focus on recruitment and national political issues:

*"The ANC doesn't have to worry about its membership because it is an old organisation - but one of its tasks should be to get more membership. The ANC is too big an organisation to deal with local problems of housing and land. Its job is seeking power and removing apartheid, Group Areas and Immorality Act."*

Once again the only interviewee to differ with the general thrust of the arguments put forward by the other interviewees, was the **Tenant**:

*"I am a member of the ANC but my children attend the meetings and LARA meetings. I belong to the ANC because it is fighting for us. The ANC must solve our problems for us like rent, housing, water. There is no need for any other organisation to fight for these demands. I will vote for the ANC to be a government so that it can deal with my problems. I don't know if the ANC will become a government though."*

For this resident the ANC had to take up her day-to-day problems at a local level, she saw no reason for another organisation to do this because this was her organisation. It was apparent that she did not know what LARA was doing and expected the ANC, now that it was unbanned, to sort her problems out. This view stemmed from the belief that the ANC in taking up her problems now would continue to do so as a government - because this was the role of a political organisation. Her differing view, has as its basis a different conception of the ANC as a political organisation. Politics for her relate to her day to day issues and a political organisation must deal with these issues.

With the exception of the tenant the rest of the interviewees saw the role of the ANC branch in Lamontville giving political education on current national political issues eg. interim government, constituent assembly, bill of rights. The emphasis was on national issues which the people at a local level had to be informed about. A proper understanding about the history of the ANC and its structures was also called for. The perception was that the ANC was there to deal with political issues and this implied that local issues were not seen as political. The ANC could not be "bogged down" with local issues - however, the chairperson of the ANC branch did point out that issues of housing, rents and land had to be dealt with at a national level by the ANC in negotiations. Input on local conditions could be obtained from the sub-committees dealing with this in the local ANC branches. But the residents were quite clear that local issues were not to be the focus of the ANC branch in Lamontville.

### 3. CHARACTER OF CIVIC

The main point that the researcher was trying to establish here was how the interviewees saw the relationship between the civic/residents association and the ANC branch in Lamontville. Questions which were put to them were whether they saw the residents association as being non-partisan, politically independent or politically aligned or politically affiliated.

To this question the **ANC Branch** saw the need for two distinct organisations but that a working relationship should exist between the two:

*"Work together on issues but be separate through the housing and development sub-committee. Civic should be independent and non-aligned politically - help resolve the conflict in areas because it unites all residents and issues affect all residents."*

The fact that civics are open to all residents in the townships no matter what their political affiliation was, viewed by the ANC branch as an important means of uniting residents and resolving political conflicts which existed between them. This was seen as an important role of civics in the whole country given the high incidence of political violence prevalent in the whole country.

The **LARA** gave a detailed input of the political composition of their present membership and their views on what the political character of the residents association should be:

*"We don't have a political membership - its non-partisan anyone can become a member of it - it has got the support of residents because we are talking about issues that affect them. You'll have less youth presence than the parent types - because of the issues but because of the politics of the township which I don't want to delve into. But we also operate loosely. We are in the process now to formalize. There are more pensioners because it is an old township."*

When questioned more closely about the political alignment of the individual members in the resident association, the Chairperson replied:

*"The township has a history of belonging to the ANC because Inkatha, although there are some members but has never been visibly present. But when we sit and discuss what we say that the issues of the community are issues of the community and not necessarily of the ANC. But because civics were there before the unbanning of ANC and most organisations including sports organisations were fighting for the unbanning - so most organisations were associated they got a link. We realise clearly the need to be non-partisan on issues that affect everyone."*

*The history of the township is that it is more ANC aligned, so the majority of the members of LARA are potentially ANC members if one were to look at their cards. Well I don't know if there*

*are Inkatha members in LARA, maybe there are - there is just one person who operates the taxis - he is a top person in Inkatha but we've stayed with him in the township - we didn't know before - he used to come to our meetings and sometimes contributed - it's only just now that he has come up front."*

The position for a non-partisan residents association was strongly supported for two main reasons; firstly it related to seeing civics as helping to resolve the political violence, and secondly, it related to unifying the residents so that a strong force would be presented to the authorities, thus strengthening the hand of the residents: "

*"I believe quite strongly that LARA should be non-partisan because the strength of the issues versus the authorities that is the struggle of the Resident Association - if you are divided and some members pipes must be fixed then its difficult to win those issues decisively - you've got one authority so if you want to present a strong force put aside other differences and then you have a good chance - that's the reason.*

*" But in other areas for instance it will be ideal where there are other forces take like Umlazi - Umlazi it's still possible to have a Residents Association from the history I know of - and it will be proper for them to be non-partisan as well- where surely there will be a number of people who are Inkatha but who are affected by bad roads - (the roads are very bad) - they will surely support this campaign. There are some areas where they work with the councillors who are frustrated by their own machinery. As long as the councillors understand that they are working to create space to create organisation."*

On the relationship between the ANC branch and residents association in Lamontville, the interim chairperson elaborated:

*"Well previously there was an overlap between the ANC branch and the civic, because we were executive members of ANC Branch and of the civic and therefore the relationship was not antagonistic. All ANC members were part of the civic. Civics are less controversial structures and people are more likely to join it, the ANC is still associated with its being illegal and banned and people are scared to come to meetings. The violence is another reason why people fear to align themselves with political organisations. Take for instance in Inanda, the civic organised a big march and then the youth dominated with political banners at the march. The ANC should strongly support the day to day campaigns of civics - but people still fear political organisations."*

The ANC Youth League chairperson also felt that there was a need for two separate or-



ganisations, even though there would be a sub-committee in the ANC branch to deal with housing:

*"There is a need for the two (ANC and civic) because there is only a sub-committee in the ANC to deal with housing issues affecting its members - whereas the civic is a mass based organisation."*

However he also felt that there should be a working relationship between the ANC branch and the residents association:

*"So they have to meet so there is no duplication, they form something like the tri-partite alliance. So whenever they are addressing certain issues they'll have to address them jointly."*

He pointed to past alliances between the trade unions and community organisations to illustrate his point:

*"For example, in the past we had UDF and COSATU. COSATU was taking up workers issues but as you go on tracing the 2 organisation, you find that COSATU is also involved in political issues but at the same time its directly involved with the workers issues - even in the post apartheid SA, COSATU will remain a federation. They can't be incorporated into government of that time because we don't know whether the government will fulfill it's promises and we don't know who will become that government."*

Non-partisanship was strongly supported by the youth. However, he stressed the importance of working with all other political organisations. The independence of the civic was seen as equally important because civic issues affected all residents irrespective of political affiliation:

*"Everybody (IFP or AZAPO) must be able to join the civic because the is civic is mainly dealing with civic issues. A member of PAC cannot be a member of ANC but can be a member of the civic - a member of AZAPO cannot be a member of ANC but of civic. The civics can have joint campaigns with the ANC, PAC, AZAPO and so on - not just the ANC, we are talking of political tolerance we have to accept that there is PAC, there is AZAPO -hence we are not alone. The reason for the independence of the civics is to include all members of the community. There is a need for two separate organisations because the issues they take up are different."*

For the **Homeowner** non-partisanship was also a necessary characteristic of the resident association for similar reasons expressed by other activists:

*"The residents association should be open to all residents, all residents should be able to qualify because any matter it attends to involves all residents, everybody. It should not affiliate to any political organisation because it consists of all residents. I don't think it would be correct because here in Lamont I might belong to IFP and he to the CP but on the same he is a resident of Lamont - if political issue crops up it can be taken by ANC or Inkatha or CP. I think the resident ass. should be separate to political organisation."*

He tried to explain how people from different political persuasions could work together in the civic:

*"So even if we are IFP or PAC the whole lot of us in the township belong to civic. If the matter involves KwaZulu Government then we hand it over to be taken up with the KwaZulu Government. eg. A.J. Amulase School - we took the matter up here and handed it over to a person who was in good standing with the KwaZulu Government - through that somebody (resident of Lamont) - worked together on this particular issue and made that somebody a pivot to go and speak to the KwaZulu Government and KwaZulu Government took up matter on behalf of Lamont - there's the school now - we knew how to go about things."*

His main argument was that civic matters were local matters and not political and therefore should not be the concern of political organisations, although consultation with them could take place: "When you start to bring the ANC in a local matter - there's ANC here, we also have IFP, other organisations - this will cause a lot of confusion and friction in the community. Political matters must remain with political organisations. If we are talking about rent we are all involved - ANC IFP, PAC here. If the matter is difficult here we then take it to a court of law - we don't take it to a political organisation. If it is a political issue and it can best be handled by ANC we take it to them and then we even get legal opinion free. Otherwise if we are residents of Lamont and there is a matter we want to take to the court we can't just get the ANC to come and support us here - no they cannot, we must do it on our own."

The resident illustrated what he meant by the civic dealing with matters affecting all people in Lamontville and not the ANC branch:

*"They (ANC) must know what issues to deal with - for instance a few days ago there was an issue of the taxis - taken up by the ANC but it should be taken up by local body - residents association because all these people belong to residents association. I was present at the meeting and I could see they were making a mistake. The chairman said I am going to decide this by a majority - what came into my mind was a book called "Masters of Political Thought -*

*part 2" which says " Before you decide on any course, consider objections and the dangers it presents - if the perils are more than the advantages - avoid it." Now the ANC chairman says we got to decide by majority vote - I laughed - what majority - can you get that group of people there and say they are a majority of people of Lamont. Because this matter involved all people of Lamontville - can they take a decision that is binding on the people of Lamont - no they can't."*

He went on further to show how the ANC branch and the residents association needed to take up different issues but when it was appropriate, they needed to work together:

*"If the residents association see that a matter doesn't fall under the pervue of the local residents association and falls under the pervue of the ANC they should take it to the ANC. We want our rights, Bill of rights - if matter involves my rights it can't be taken up by local organisation it must be taken up by ANC. The local takes up matters and if the matter is complicated then it takes it to a higher body. ANC are members of township all the knowledge and support they can give they are here - if the matter is political and best handled by the ANC, then the matter must be passed to the ANC."*

The **Trader** expressed the same opinion as the homeowner in that he felt that the civic was not a political organisation and couldn't speak about politics but rather, it had to deal with the living problems of residents in the township:

*"I think that the civic must be independent from political organisations because political organisations speak about politics and the civics speak about the problems of all residents - despite which political organisation they belong to - they are not there to speak about politics. If they work together with any political organisation then people will think that its political. As individuals residents can belong to any political organisation."*

Thus, for him political affiliation or alignment would mean that the civic would be dealing with political issues which was not its place to do so.

Unlike all the other views, the **Unemployed Youth** saw a much closer relationship between the ANC branch and the civic. He even saw the branch assisting with the setting up of civics and liasing with them on a regular basis:

*"Maybe the ANC branch should call whole community together and from there elect committee who will be responsible to do work of civic. Committee must liase with community from time to time. Not have these long structures - simple structure because since ANC unbanned and they*

*must be doing other job and they must work together with ANC if there are programmes since they are the leaders of the community. The ANC must liase and give advice and share ideas around civic issues to its members. They must be separate structures but must work together on campaigns taken up by civics and ANC supports this. In Lamont members of civic are ANC members so committee must be elected and then chair and secretary must sit in ANC branch meetings. In other areas political organisations which have large membership in township must set up civic and do same thing."*

Another reason that was spelt out for the need for a close working relationship between the civic and the ANC branch related to the violence in the country:

*"In all townships there should be close relationship between civic and ANC - there is fighting and leaders must teach and talk to people because a large number of Inkatha people are unemployed and get money for killing people. People are fighting and they don't know."*

This close relationship was also seen as a means of facilitating recruitment of civic members to the ANC:

*"The main reason for the close relationship is to monitor and give political education to people of what we want, to take policy of ANC further. PAC, AZAPO and Inkatha confuse people and take struggle back. Teach people in civic about ANC."*

But he also stressed the point that the civic should allow residents of all political persuasions to join and that political education about the ANC should not be carried out formally by the civic:

*"The problems of people is issues of ANC it is linked because members of civic are same member of ANC - they form civic and should attend political classes of ANC. In Lamont the ANC is only source - no Inkatha. Some civic members are Inkatha and when issues are hot they participate in meetings and give ideas - even PAC. Anybody can belong (PAC, Inkatha) because they all members of community. But there is no need to have membership cards - if you are a resident then you go to the meeting. Committee to call residents together - ANC must help to build civics. If no civics still need civics because ANC has its own agenda."*

It is apparent that both activists and residents in Lamontville wanted the residents association to be non-partisan for reasons relating mainly to combating the violence, to unite all residents in civic struggles fought in the township and thus be strong and because civic issues affect everyone living in the township. However, most of the interviewees also felt that there should be a working relationship between the two organisations, where the ANC would support the strug-

gles of the residents since most of them were ANC members in any case. But the separateness of the organisations was emphasised because they were perceived as dealing with different issues - therefore the need for two different structures. Only the unemployed youth saw the relationship as being very close, for very definite reasons relating to recruitment to the ANC, dealing with the violence and spreading the ANC policies.

Most of the views expressed around the three questions relate to the ANC and civic organisations' role in the present period of transition. Some of the activists and residents also had some very definite opinions on what they saw as the role of civics in the post-apartheid South Africa.

#### 4. ROLE OF CIVIC IN THE POST-APARTHEID SA

The **ANC Branch executive** saw civics as necessary structures in the post-apartheid South Africa mainly because they viewed this structure as being most representative of the interests of all the people in the township and thus as being a very democratic structure:

*"The existence of civics will depend on the new constitution. But we will need civics in future to fight bureaucracy and corruption because it represents the interests of the people on the ground. The new constitution must be democratic and civic rights must be made in the laws - local authorities must be given freedom. The constitution must allow for civic structures to exist. The government takes away things from people without their consent like privatisation and civics need to fight against this. Civics are the voice of the people."*

**LARA** echoed these sentiments:

*"In the post apartheid society civics should still exist and represent grassroots demands and democracy."*

To illustrate this point they pointed to the kinds of struggles successfully taken up by the residents association:

*"A clinic has been established, a successful bus boycott and transport has improved, peace committee formed, schools issue ie students back to school - and there is greater participation of teachers and students in education issues."*

The **ANC Youth League chairperson** saw the necessity for independent (of the government) civics in the future, mainly because he was not sure whether the needs of the residents would



be met by a future government (even an ANC government) who would not be in a position to do so, for various reasons which he spelt out:

*"I would say that presently all over SA we've got civics almost in many townships. I don't know if there is a national co-ordination of these civics - surely that structure will be autonomous with various reasons. It cannot be incorporated into the ANC because the ANC will soon become a government of this country and we don't know what will happen under that government - like for instance in the past the ANC has been existing as a liberation movement but Intelligence (SA) and SADF and CIA - those forces have been infiltrating the ANC and trying to destabilize the ANC and weaken struggle of ANC. So the same thing might happen when the ANC is in power - they can try whatever means to destabilize the ANC.*

*"There is Gatsha on the other side, there is Oupa Qoza on the other end - so surely they can destabilize the ANC and as a result the ANC maybe might not find itself concentrating on the issues that we have promised the people to take up when we become the government. Like for instance all these issues are contained in the Freedom Charter - like "There shall be houses, security and comfort." So the civic should be there to take up those issues - and the ANC remain a government because like I say for instance COSATU in the post-apartheid era they will remain a federation, they can't be incorporated into the government of that time because we don't know whether the government will fulfill it's promises and we don't know who will become that government. "*

The **Unemployed Youth** displayed very little faith in the ANC government being able to solve the problems of residents and therefore felt that it was necessary to have a structure that would continue to struggle for the peoples demands and truly represent their interests:

*"We will still need civics then even if the ANC is government there will still be problems. Still be problems of Inkatha and PAC and our location the problems will still be. Maybe there'll implement new agenda - new way of working . In our location we will still need people who will serve us sometimes structures will change still need structure to rep us and civic deals with issues that affect all people Inkatha etc. Problems won't be solved if ANC government. We are still struggling and Mandela is out and there is still problems - people are killing each other."*

But he also felt that the civic should take up the problems of the unemployed in the township, in the future:

*"COSATU should take up problems of unemployed but they have failed to implement 1985 resolution. Sometimes civics must do this and take responsibility and organise advice, lower*

*rentals for the unemployed. Civics must go to government and get concessions for us like lower transport fares and for food etc. because we are part of civics."*

The **Taxi-owner** was not very clear about the role of civics in the post-apartheid SA, but felt that there needed to be some structure (maybe LARA) to represent the peoples' problems:

*"I can't say whether civics should exist then because I need to see the constitution. Similar question I was asked as a shop steward ie whether unions should exist under ANC government - I said that they should. I don't know if the taxi owners Association will be allowed to exist if the ANC is in power. I think we need to be represented on the government through LARA so that the peoples' problems are represented."*

The general feeling was that there was a need for civics in the post-apartheid SA because they were democratic structures and represented the interests of all residents in the township. Pessimism was expressed about whether the future government would be able to solve the peoples day-to-day problems. Hence, the need for civics to exist independent of government structures, in order to continue to take up the struggles of the people. However, people were unclear as to how they would relate to government structures eg. local government or the ANC. What was more clearly formulated was that there was a need (in the future) for structures which represented the interests of the people on the ground, through which the people could speak - and because the civic was presently seen as serving this purpose, it made sense that it should exist in the future to serve the same purpose. But, generally most people had not thought about the future and the kind of structures or organisations they wanted - however, they did know what kinds of things they wanted structures\organisations to for them in the future. Democracy and representativeness featured strongly in most views about the future.

## CONCLUSION

The views expressed by the residents of Lamontville indicate that most of them felt that the civic association should be taking up their day to day issues like rent, water, housing. The role of the ANC Branch was seen as more "political" ie to conduct political education amongst members on the history of the ANC, constituent assembly, interim government, Bill of Rights and the current developments in the ANC - national issues. Most people felt that the civics should be independent, separate structures from the ANC Branches because they dealt with different issues and because civics were not political structures and took issues that affected the whole community. Therefore the civics had to be open to all residents despite political affiliation but

there could be co-operation with the ANC branch on campaigns initiated and taken up by the civic. Lastly, residents felt that civics should exist in the post-apartheid era to represent their interests to the future government even if it is an ANC government. They felt that this was the most democratic structure to represent the grievances of the whole community. Furthermore, they felt that their problems would not immediately be solved by the new government even if it was an ANC government and therefore they needed a structure to continue fight for their interest.

The next chapter evaluates and analyses the significance of the above views of the residents of Lamontville in the context of the current debates, and points to some sociological conclusions.

# CHAPTER 5

## CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to look at the debate on the role of civics and ANC branches and the relationship between them in the present period. A case study approach was adopted whereby the views of the civic organisation (LARA), Lamontville ANC branch and other residents of Lamontville were analysed. A body of theory has arisen to understand social movements and the study used this theory to analyse the views expressed on the debate. The theories developed by Smelser, Touraine and Castell's to study social movements were used in this research because they were found to be the best tool to approach and understand the debate.

Guided in the research process by this theoretical and methodological perspective, it became evident that ordinary people in Lamontville who are involved in making their history, do not just respond in a reflex manner to apartheid and to the views of leadership. Rather, the residents of Lamontville, through their conflicts, their culture and imagination create their own history. Therefore, the researcher viewed the voices of the people as pivotal to understanding the debate because their voices are seen as a valid source of knowledge.

What implications do these responses have for the current debate taking place? To summarise once again, the key arguments in the debate were:

1. The majority views of both civic activists and ANC activists with regard to the role of civics in the present period are that civics should still exist because they are the most appropriate organs to take up the local grievances of people in a particular township. This is so because they have emerged out of the popular struggles of the masses as organs of civil society representing grassroots democracy. The other viewpoint, held by Nzimande and Sikhosana, believes that now that the ANC has been unbanned, it should be the organisation taking up the grassroots problems of people. They believe this should be so because issues like rents, electricity and housing are political issues and the ANC as a national liberation organisation should therefore be taking them up. Where civics do exist they feel that the ANC branch should work closely with them in taking up issues - if civics do not exist in an area, then efforts should be put into strengthening the ANC branch there and not creating a civic structure.
2. On the question of the role of the ANC branches the view that was expressed was that they should take up community issues and local demands. Activists felt that the branch could only be built and strengthened if it reflected the interests of the people and this meant fighting apartheid in all its

manifestations. Branches were also seen as crucial arms of the ANC and it was also felt that through them that accountability and democracy would be ensured within the ANC - this would be the case because of the close contact branches would have with the base.

3. In characterizing the civic, most views expressed in the literature were of the opinion that there should be an independent, non-aligned civic movement. The main motivation for this position was that civic issues affect all members of the community and therefore needed the participation of everyone in taking them up, if people want effective action. A further motivation given for the independence of civics was the related to the uncertainty about how the future government would relate to community struggles. Lastly, it was felt that a broad-based non-aligned civic movement could help unite the community and in this way facilitate peace and deal with violence in the country. However, the opposing viewpoint in the debate was for a more politically aligned civic. More specifically, this view held that in the present period energy should be spent on building ANC branches.
4. On the final issue of whether civics should exist in the post apartheid S.A., most people speaking on the issue saw the need for its' existence because of the belief that they have come to be the most appropriate voice of the people in local communities. So civics future role was equated to that of a watchdog of society.

It is clear from the views expressed by the leadership of organisations and the residents in Lamontville that there are similarities with the views of the national leadership and activists on the debate. However, the ordinary residents of Lamontville felt quite strongly that the ANC is a political organisation, and for them political is very specifically defined in terms of the franchise and political representation. In contrast a lot of activists in the rest of the country felt that the local issues of the people in communities were political matters, that the ANC needed to deal with. As a sociologist, the insights of the researcher into this debate, were different from those of participants because of the researcher is more distant from the issues in Lamontville than the residents. Their closeness to the issues do not allow them to step out and analyse their problems with the tools accessible to the researcher. Thus, for the researcher it was evident that it is quite easy for leadership to demonstrate through argument how bread-and-butter issues, in the context of apartheid, are political - but the challenge for leadership in organisation, lies in translating this into practice through the struggles of the people and in this way bringing this consciousness to the people they represent. For the researcher, the crux of the differences in the debate firstly relate to what peoples' conception of the ANC is - ie whether it is a political party or a liberation movement - and secondly what peoples' definition of political is. The characterisation of an organisation influences peoples perceptions on what its tasks are. We therefore need to analyse the implications of these differences in the context of social theory.



Using the perspectives developed by Smelser and Touraine, in studying the social movement in Lamontville, it became clear in the research that the social movement in Lamontville arose out of very definite objective conditions. The historical evolution of these conditions can be traced to the development of apartheid capitalism in South Africa - as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Collective action emerged, as a response to this situation, and was carried out by groups who consciously represented this collective action. Organisations like JORAC, the Lamontville Civic Association, womens' organisation, student organisation and youth organisations carried out these actions.

The effectiveness of these organisations to win demands and truly represent the interests of the people have instilled in the community a sense of trust and confidence in these structures. It is because of this confidence and the history of civic organisations in Lamontville, that civics have become permanent organisations of the people. The multi-class nature of the organisations, their capacity for mass mobilization and the protest nature of their demands are all important features for the ANC or any future government to consider. For the ANC the challenge lies in its ability to constantly channel, articulate and either increase the power of or regulate these forces as part of traditional political struggles. For sociologists, the challenge lies in establishing the consequences of these developments within the context of social theory.

For a future ANC government, the challenge lies on whether to institutionalise civic organisations as permanent organisations of society. In considering the institutional alternative it would be instructive, in the event of there being a future ANC government of South Africa, to look at the struggles in Nicaragua in order to draw the lessons for here. In Nicaragua, similar questions on the relationship between political parties and mass organisations arose after the Sandinistas had come to power. J. L. Coraggio (1986) in an article entitled "Social Movements and Revolution" explored some of these questions. He explains that the Nicaraguan electoral system model was to be based on a parliament elected by universal suffrage based on a process of electoral competition among political parties and in which pluralism is guaranteed through proportional representation. He further points out that, in the attempts by the Nicaraguan government to institutionalize mass organisations, the question that was asked was, how would social movements be represented within political parties? More specifically, the question was, what structures needed to be created so that social movements would be able to participate in government? What existed was, the State Council had representatives from political parties and social movements. However, this was viewed as problematic: because suffrage was the

only means of representation, political parties and social movements were on the same level and therefore had to compete for social representation. This problem existed because of the need to maintain the multiple identities of the social agents, and also the need to maintain the separateness of social movements and parties. Their separateness is related to their different functions, where the social movements are more oriented toward the partial demands of popular identities, and as the parties were to synthesize and integrate national projects which do not take on the form of identities and social movements.

Another alternate form of institutionalisation proposed by Corragio, would be for political parties to include on their lists of representatives, the mass organisations - which under a system of proportional representation would imply a process of negotiating one's position on the lists - and also of including the demands of these movements in their platforms. However, Corragio points out a shortcoming of this alternative - if social movements and their leaders become vote mobilizers for the parties, this would lead to the reproduction of a form of North American democracy.

But Corragio goes on to say that on the other hand it is desirable to have organisational autonomy of social movements in a popular democracy. In view of this he states that an institutional alternative to the above would be to create a second Assembly with a consultation/deliberation character, where the most important national problems could be discussed and the main social forces in Nicaragua could express their different views. However, he argues that this approach could have other consequences:

*"The dialectical relationship between the revolutionary party and the mass organisations in the context of a pluralistic system can take two forms: either the party can continue as a leadership party of selected cadres, which in many cases arise out of the very activities of the mass organisations themselves, or, it can become a mass party. This has important consequences with regard to the problem of the articulation with the people. The leadership party makes decisions not only by determining strategic objectives and tactics but also by being physically present in the administration of mass organisations. This is accomplished by incorporating into the party their most outstanding leaders who aspire to become party militants. The mass party is present and almost in a state of symbiosis with the masses, both detecting and nurturing itself on its contradictions and its growth, in which the role of the "representative of the people" is joined in a double link with the party and with its specific base of support. It is appropriate to ask ourselves, in the context of a prolonged imperialist siege against Nicaraguan society, if the*

*first model, which would take the form of a "tree", with the FSLN among the top branches of the different mass organisations, would not be more vulnerable than the second, where a horizontal network would exist directly between the different social movements."*

What this research has contributed to the debate is to provide a tool to approach and understand it. The tool is, the perspectives developed by other theorists to study social movements in an attempt to understand them better. This research has hopefully demonstrated that the social movement in Lamontville did not emerge as mere responses to the injustices of apartheid but developed views and strategies on how to overcome them. Further, it has sought to let the people speak on the debate because of the belief that the voices of the people is valid knowledge, which can give the most clarity and understanding to the debate. Thus, for leadership of organisations (ANC and Civic), listening to the voices of the social actors affected by the debate can give important strategic insights.

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