



WHEN THE APARTHEID REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA CAME TO AN END IN 1994, THE PEOPLE REJOICED, DARING TO BELIEVE THE CHANGE WOULD SATISFY, AT LONG LAST, THEIR



# HUNGER FOR JUSTICE

WHAT WOULD MAJORITY RULE MEAN? THE VICTORIOUS AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) HAD SPELLED IT OUT IN THEIR 1955 FREEDOM CHARTER:

"THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY + COMFORT"

"THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH"

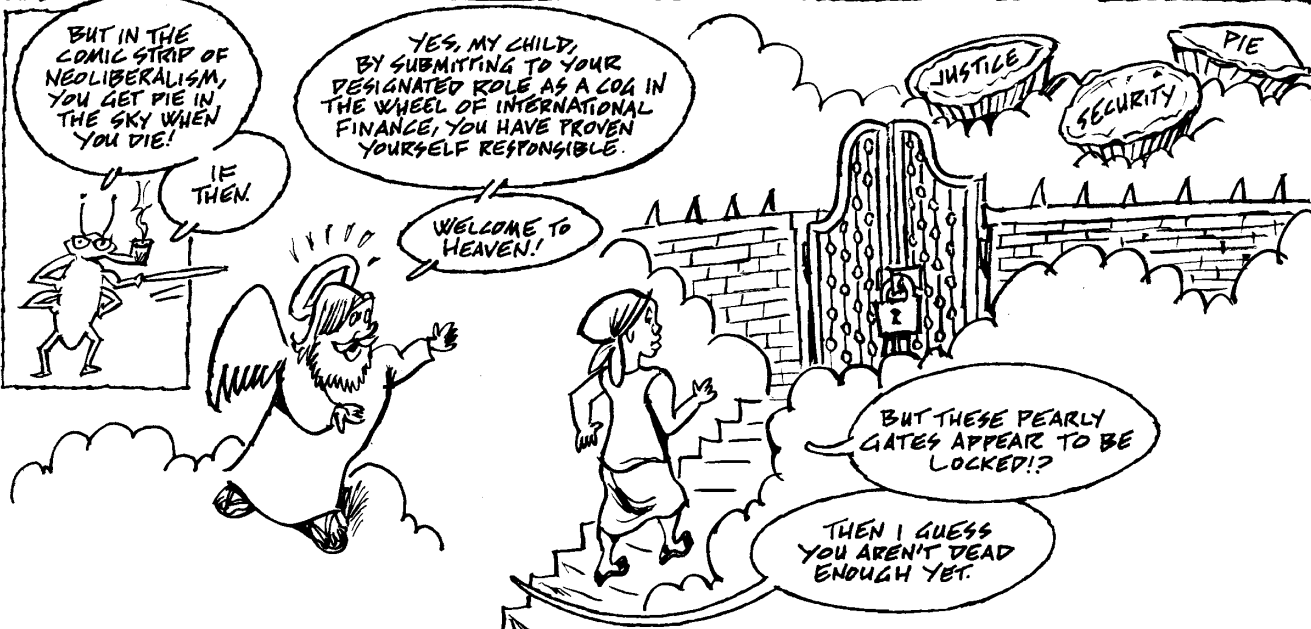
"THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED BY THOSE WHO WORK IT"

BUT IN THE COMIC STRIP OF NEOLIBERALISM, YOU GET PIE IN THE SKY WHEN YOU DIE!

IF THEN.

YES, MY CHILD, BY SUBMITTING TO YOUR DESIGNATED ROLE AS A COG IN THE WHEEL OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE, YOU HAVE PROVEN YOURSELF RESPONSIBLE.

WELCOME TO HEAVEN!



NEOLIBERAL COMMANDMENTS WERE SPELLED OUT FOR ANC LEADERS BY WORLD BANK KEYS IN THE EARLY 1990s DURING PRIVATE ORIENTATION SESSIONS AT REMOTE GAME RESERVES.

I'M SO GLAD WE HAD A CHANCE TO CHAT HERE IN PRIVATE.

WITHOUT ALL THOSE HOT-HEADED MILITANTS INTIMIDATING YOU.

WE KNOW WHERE YOU LIVE

PRIVATE OR DIE

MARKETS, RULES, VOTERS SUBMIT

LOVE THINE ENEMY'S DEBT

LOW WAGES - SOUTH AFRICA'S ONLY HOPE

LET'S CHAT AGAIN AFTER YOU'VE READ THESE PAMPHLETS

1996: AFTER ONLY TWO YEARS IN POWER, AND WITH NO CONSULTATION WITHIN ITS RANKS, ANC LEADERS ADOPTED A NEW ECONOMIC BLUEPRINT:

GEAR\*

JUST CALL ME A THATCHERITE!

THABO MBEKI\*\*

GEAR REDUCED OR ABOLISHED TARIFFS, DEFICITS + CAPITAL CONTROLS, AND CALLED FOR "WAGE RESTRAINT"

\*"GROWTH EMPLOYMENT AND REDISTRIBUTION" OR "GROSS EUPHEMISM FOR ABJECT RESIGNATION"


\*\* THEN DEPUTY PRESIDENT NOW PRESIDENT

"THINGS STARTED TO GO WRONG.... WE SAW THAT MANY OF OUR LEADERS HAD NOT STRUGGLED FOR FREEDOM WITH US.... WE READ THE SOFT WORDS THEY SPOKE TO THE RICH MEN IN OUR COUNTRY, AND SOON WE HEARD THE HARSH WORDS THEY BEGAN SPEAKING TO US"

TREKOR NAWANG\*\*\*

\*\*\* LEADER OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS INDABA

HARSH WORDS REFLECT HARSH REALITIES. THE ANC DESERVES CREDIT FOR BRINGING HOUSING, WATER, ELECTRICITY AND OPPORTUNITIES TO MILLIONS, DESPITE THE "TYRANNY OF THE MARKETS." THE PROMISE OF A SHARED PROSPERITY, HOWEVER, WAS DEFERRED IN THE FACE OF APARTHEID'S TOXIC LEGACY.

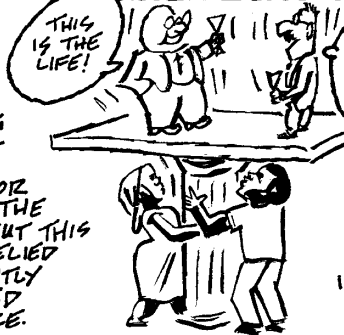


APARTHEID IN THE '50s + '60s SUCCEEDED IN BRINGING INDUSTRY, + UPWARD MOBILITY FOR WHITES, TO THE COUNTRY. BUT THIS SUCCESS RELIED ON A VIOLENTLY REGIMENTED WORK FORCE.

THIS IS THE LIFE!

BUT DOES IT NOT FEEL A TAD SHARKY?

CYCLES OF RESISTANCE + A WEAK DOMESTIC MARKET MADE SOUTH AFRICA PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TO THE FALTERING INTL. ECONOMY OF THE '70s + '80s. BY 1990, NET INVESTMENT HAD FALLEN TO NEAR ZERO.



SOUTH AFRICAN CAPITAL SAW THE SOLUTION TO THEIR IMPASSE AS GLOBALIZATION BUT SANCTIONS MADE THIS IMPOSSIBLE.

LET MY MONEY GO!

SET MY MONEY FREE

BUSINESS LEADERS RELUCTANTLY BEGAN TO SEE THE END OF APARTHEID AS THEIR ONLY WAY OUT...




...PROVIDED THIS WOULD LEAD TO THE LIFTING OF CAPITAL CONTROLS, THE OLD REGIME USED THE THREAT OF CIVIL WAR TO IMPOSE THIS + OTHER CRIPPLING RESTRICTIONS ON THE ANC.

FREE AT LAST!

THE RESULTING CAPITAL FLIGHT, COMPOUNDED BY FALLING EXPORT PRICES, CREATED A DESPERATE SITUATION. GEAR WAS SUPPOSED TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM, BUT FAILED.

1996-2001: 1 MILLION JOBS LOST, CURRENCY LOSSES 3/4 OF ITS VALUE



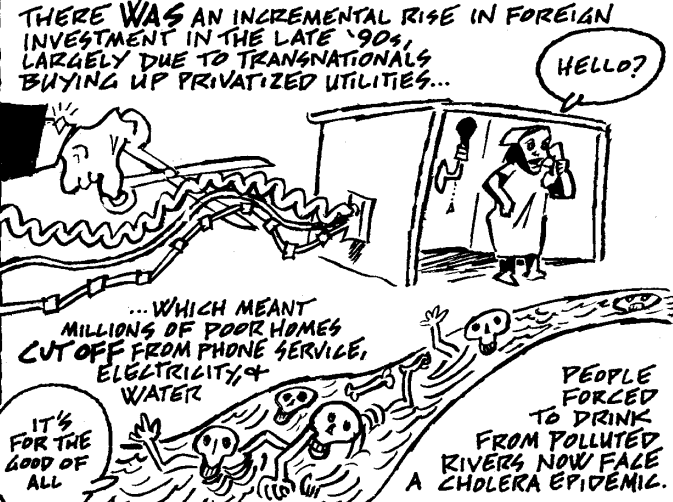
THERE WAS AN INCREMENTAL RISE IN FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE LATE '90s, LARGELY DUE TO TRANSNATIONALS BUYING UP PRIVATIZED UTILITIES...

HELLO?

...WHICH MEANT MILLIONS OF POOR HOMES CUT OFF FROM PHONE SERVICE, ELECTRICITY, + WATER

IT'S FOR THE GOOD OF ALL

PEOPLE FORCED TO DRINK FROM POLLUTED RIVERS NOW FACE A CHOLERA EPIDEMIC.

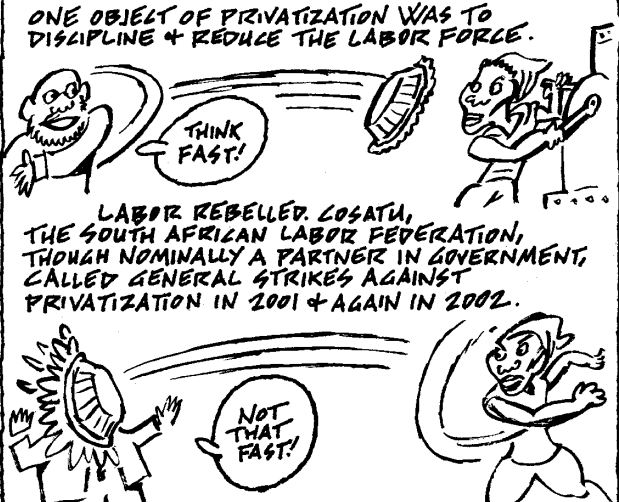


ONE OBJECT OF PRIVATIZATION WAS TO DISCIPLINE + REDUCE THE LABOR FORCE.

THINK FAST!

LABOR REBELLED. COSATU, THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR FEDERATION, THOUGH NOMINALLY A PARTNER IN GOVERNMENT, CALLED GENERAL STRIKES AGAINST PRIVATIZATION IN 2001 + AGAIN IN 2002.

NOT THAT FAST!



GOVERNMENT INTRANSIGENCE IN THE FACE OF LABOR DEMANDS HAS ONLY BROADENED THE RESISTANCE TO PRIVATIZATION (AND TO EVICTIONS, AND LANDLESSNESS, AND REPRESSION, AND UNEMPLOYMENT).

WE WILL RESIST

YOU PUT THE PEOPLE OUT - WE PUT THEM BACK IN!

YOU TURN THE WATER OFF - WE PUT IT BACK ON!

DOWN WITH EVICTIONS!

WHO'S IN CHARGE?

ANGER + HUNGER!

WHERE'S MY?

AT THE 2002 JOBURG EARTH SUMMIT, 30,000 "SOCIAL FORUM" ACTIVISTS - TENANTS, WOMEN, LANDLESS, WORKERS, ETC. - CROSSED THE HIGHWAY SEPARATING POOR ALEXANDRA FROM RICH SANDTON (WHERE THE SUMMIT WAS HELD), DEMANDING HUMANE POLICIES AND PEOPLE-CENTERED DEVELOPMENT.

HERE'S HOPING!

NICK THORPELSON

