



UMRABULO



LET'S TALK POLITICS





UMRABULO was a word used to inspire political discussion and debate on Robben Island. This concept was revived in 1996 when the ANC published the first edition of *Umrabulo*. The journal's mission is to encourage debate and rigorous discussions at all levels of the movement.

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CONTENTS

IN THIS ISSUE

- 5 Our arduous struggle against racism:
Quo vadis
BY LINDIWE SISULU
- 11 Colonialism and Apartheid are dead:
Long live Colonialism of a Special Type
BY GUGILE NKWINTI
- 25 **VIEWPOINT** THE FUTURE OF THE ANC AS A
RULING PARTY
Is the ANC Likely to lose power in the foreseeable future?
BY KGOLANE RUDOLPH PHALA
- 33 **VIEWPOINT** UNITY OF ETHICS AND
POLITICS AT THE CURRENT POLITICAL
JUNCTURE
BY THANDO NTLEMEZA
- 40 CELEBRATING 95 YEARS OF THE SACP
BY KGOLANE RUDOLPH PHALA
- 44 **HISTORY** A BUILD UP TO THE THIRTY YEARS
SINCE THE TALKS ABOUT TALKS ON GOREE
ISLAND, DAKAR, SENEGAL
BY THEMBISILE MAJOLA
- 48 TRIBUTE TO A SOUTH AFRICAN AT HEART:
ANDREW YOUNG
BY JEFF RADEBE
- 51 **AFRICA** WESTERN SAHARA: The last colony
in Africa – part 4
BY NATHI MTHETHWA

EDITORIAL

■ By NATHI MTHETHWA

ON the 16th of June 2016, South Africans of all walks of life will gather in Orlando Stadium to pay tribute to a generation of young men and women of our country who gave it all to set our country on the road to freedom like never before.

A generation that Franz Fanon describes as a generation that discovered its mission and set out to fulfil it.

A generation that brought back firmly the spotlight of the international community on the conditions of the Black South Africans under the system of colonialism and apartheid.

This year also marks the 60th anniversary of the epic march of women against the pass laws. We must recall that it is women of our country who introduced the practice of mass action in the liberation movement as early as 1913.

Paying tribute to women that African patriot, Thomas Sankara, putting his case before thousands of women, moved from the point that the revolution cannot triumph without the emancipation of women.

He goes on to define women in the following manner, *“The human being,”* he said, *“this vast and complex combination of pain and joy, solitary and forsaken, yet creator of all humanity, suffering, frustrated and humiliated, and yet endless source of happiness for each one of us, this source of affection beyond compare, inspiring the most unexpected courage, this being called weak but possessing untold ability to inspire us to take the road of honor, this being of flesh and blood and of spiritual conviction – this being women, is you.”*

“You are our mothers, life companions, our comrades in struggle and because of this fact you should by right affirm yourselves as equal partners in the joyful victory feasts of the revolution. We must restore to humanity your true image by making the reign of freedom prevail over differ-



entiations imposed by nature and by eliminating all kinds of hypocrisy that sustain the shameless exploitation of women.”

In our case, the first gift that this generation and their predecessors behest on us is the building of a South African nation.

The construction of that nation was not to be based on the principle of separation and different ethnic or racial groups.

The foundation of that nation was based on the principles of a united, non-racialism, non-sexism, socio-economic justice and democratic South Africa with equal opportunities in education, employment, business etc.

This was the dream of different generations of African leaders and activists it continues to be our dream that we are making a reality.

On Tuesday, 31st May 2016, a hand of death descended upon the people of Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) and robbed them of their beloved son, comrade President Mohamed Abdelaziz.

While we mourn his loss, we must thank him and his family, especially his beloved wife, Professor Jadiya Hamdi who is a Minister of Culture in Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, most profoundly for the selfless service to all Saharawi people and progressive humanity at large, for his generosity of spirit and for teaching the humanity humility, respect for human dignity and compassion for the weak, the poor and the down-trodden.

The death of Comrade President Mohamed Abdelaziz has removed from the political scene one of the greatest figures in the Polisario Revolutionary Movement. He was fearless in difficult times, he was disciplined and excelled as a leader in the trenches of the liberation struggle in all fronts.

These revolutionaries and those who came before,

they are generations whom we should perhaps recognize as the one that Frantz Fanon calls for at the end of his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*.

Fanon tells us that we on the African continent ought not to look westward or northward for solutions to the world's problems.

"Humanity," he says, "is waiting for something other from us than such an imitation."

He says that:

"If we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make

discoveries...

"For Europe, for ourselves, for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man."

We are helping ourselves and the world to turn over a new leaf, to enter a new terrain and out of this to give birth to a new man and a new woman.

All the events cited above once more affirmed these patriots as people of sound repute who have contributed enormously in the efforts of Africa and the world for peace, prosperity and social progress.

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OUR ARDUOUS STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM:

Quo Vadis

■ By LINDIWE SISULU

WHILE THE rest of the world discusses the sociology of Racism and its limitations. Ours is a lived and deeply entrenched reality. Just like the colonial yolk, we will probably be the last country to unshackle ourselves from this scourge. Racism in South Africa will not simply disappear because we all wish it to – it will have to be consciously un-learned.

After years of living in a society where racism is legal and normal, it is quite possible that it is an unconscious condition that inflicts all of us in one way or another.

Perhaps we missed the opportunity to dedicate a chapter in our Constitution to this matter – it is an undeniable right that every citizen be treated with no racial prejudice.

The struggle against racism has been a long, protracted and arduous journey that still remains unfulfilled. From the time of the arrival of colonialists on our shores to this very date we still, in different measures, have to contend with the ugly revival and re-appearance and resurgence of this monstrous beast in the national scene in South Africa.

In this brief article I seek to show how, over many years, the ANC has waged a tireless struggle, through protests, campaigns, petitions and representations with the sole aim of overthrowing a racist system with its elaborate illegitimate laws and promulgations. At the heart of the minority regime were a litany of laws that were rooted in the Nazi's Herrenvolk belief of the superiority of white race over Africans.

I will not seek to address the various philosophies that deals with the race and race-based discourse, save to show how the ANC has waged a struggle against racism with the view to advance a case for the intensification of such a struggle in our current trajectory. The fact that we have passed democratic laws that entrench a rights-based culture is not in itself sufficient to defeat and extirpate the roots of such a belief of white superiority.

The issue is not only the conduct of those who still harbour racists beliefs, but also of critical importance is the empowering of the victim of racism to accept that he/she is of equal worth to his fellow citizens.

Thus, a substantial improvement in the lives of Africans will constitute a veritable panacea against racism. Taking our people out of poverty and helplessness will go a very long way towards defeating racism as it thrives not just on unequal laws, but more so on poverty and disempowerment.

THE STRUGGLE, ILLUSTRIOUS STRUGGLE, AGAINST RACISM

The struggle for freedom and justice has from inception been premised on the urgent and vital need to overthrow an oppressive, minority and racist regime. From the many frontier wars that were waged, the loss of land and dignity, the imposition of iniquitous laws and loss of productive use of the land were all the ingredients that accentuated the struggle for justice.

In order to meet the ever increasing demands for cheap labour arising from the discovery of the minerals, many schemes were concocted to force Africans from their land. The first such scheme was the imposition of an assortment of taxes such as the hut tax, poll tax and dog tax. Such taxes were to be paid in cash and not in kind, a fact that meant that a father had to sacrifice his sons and send them to the mines of Kimberly and Johannesburg to earn cash to pay the required taxes. The Bambatha Rebellion [1906] was a direct rejection of the imposition of such nefarious taxes.

The formation of the ANC in 1912 in Bloemfontein signalled a new chapter of our struggle against racism and minority rule which, after the enactment of the Union government, excluded the African people from a franchise, thus confining them to the status of the underclass, poor and oppressed. At first, the struggle was about the quest for the inclusion of Africans in the system that was answerable for their rule. The many letters our forebears wrote to the British Queen pleading for inclusion are cited in the first volume of Karis and Carter's seminal volumes entitled *From Protest To Challenge*.

In due course, our people realised the futility of demanding to be included in their own governance or mis-governance and opted to chart their own course of freedom relying on their masses. The endless petitions, pleas, deputations and representations fell on deaf ears. The erudite expositions and the moving speeches failed to provoke any sympathetic reception from those who were intent on strangling race relations in South Africa.

The next approach was to build mass democratic organisations with the view to capacitate our people to

fight against racism. Political agitation and mobilisation soon spread to urban and rural areas. The rural areas where racism was acute saw the birth of nascent resistance as Chiefs and the peasant fought hard to regain their self-worth and assert their productive rights to the land. The role of the emergent nationalist media such as the *Bantu Batho*, the *World* and later *Drum* furthered the political consciousness of our people by exposing the evils of racism and oppression.

Our people intensified the struggles against racism and its symbols such as the Pass Laws, influx control, forced removals, Bantu Education and Group Areas Act. The emergence of the ANC Youth League in 1944 infused a new ideological thrust into our national politics. The ideological thrust was more of an expression of radical Pan-Africanism as it was espoused by Nkrumah, Du Bois, Jomo Kenyatta and Padmore.

BUILDING A NON-RACIAL ALLIANCE MOVEMENT AGAINST RACISM

After its assumption of power in 1948 the National Party was obsessed with the desire and determination to send a very strong message to Africans that they will be put in their place. Racist laws such as the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Pass Law Act, the Native Resettlement Act and the Group Areas Act were passed in an alarming speed. All these laws were passed within the first five years of the assumption of office of the National Party. It was this same period that saw the upsurge of resistance against apartheid and resulted in the culmination of the Defiance Campaign and the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

The brutal suppression of the 1946 Mine Workers strike angered many liberal Africans who were members of the Native Representative Council. They decided to adjourn indefinitely and thus gave in to the radical agitation of the ANC Youth League that had accused them of being part of what amounted to nothing more than a toy telephone with no significance. The many strikes at tertiary institutions such as Lovedale encouraged both the ANC and its Youth League to assume a radical posture. The Defiance Campaign against unjust laws ushered another epoch of radical mass-based defiance against the system.

The mammoth gathering that brought together a number of African, White, Coloured and Indian organisations was ostensibly convened to unite the oppressed and increased their fighting capacity against minority rule. The ANC had come to accept the centrality of the unity of our people as a potent weapon against racism and minority rule. The victory of the National

Party in 1948 drove a chilling message of the determination of the new Afrikaner rulers to foist and foster a Nazi type of stranglehold over the African people. The rejoinder was the adoption of the **Program of Action** by the ANC conference in 1949 at the instigation of the ANC Youth League. The Program of Action was intended to usher mass action and mass mobilisation of our people.

The resultant repression of the apartheid regime saw the banishment of the Communist Party of South Africa. After the Defiance Campaign, the ANC saw a vital need for a national, inclusive co-operation of all racial groups in a determined effort to bring about a mass based non-racial political mobilisation. It was to this end that the **Doctors Pact** was signed that ushered in the era of the alliance politics in South Africa under the leadership of the ANC. This alliance brought together diverse and divergent political parties with the aim of defeating a racist regime and install or enthrone a non-racial society.

The ANC was faced with a critical task of navigating the complex maze of the South African political scene when it decided to work closely with the White, Indian and Coloured organisations while at the same time retaining its hold on African aspirations. This creative approach towards a non-racial political posture and activism required serious soul-searching and handling of complex relations that involved at first the Liberal Party, the Indian Congress and the Communists Party of South Africa, including the Trade Unions.

The Congress Alliance was a by-product of the struggles leading up to the **Defiance of Unjust Laws** that was spearheaded by the joint National Action Committee which comprised of the ANC, the South African Indian Congress of Democrats (SACOD) and the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO). The National Action Council was tasked with detailed planning of events leading to the actual hosting and ultimate adoption of the **Freedom Charter**.

In time the adoption of the Freedom Charter brought about serious ideological clashes with a number of individuals and organisations that had hitherto worked with the ANC. One such an organisation that broke ranks with the ANC was the Liberal Party. Selope Thema was also another avowed and vocal critic of the Freedom Charter and soon opted to resign from the ANC and established his short-lived National Minded Block or euphemistically called "*Bafabegiya*". The Africanists under Robert Sobukwe severed ties with the ANC after failing to capture the leadership of the Transvaal in 1958. The ANC was firm in its resolution that a new epoch had dawned and that the exclusivist struggles of the pre-World War years were

no longer sustainable.

The ANC took a conscious decision that the struggle against racism in South Africa should include White and Indian political parties. With such a groundswell of mass-based national support victory against a racism regime was assured.

This was a new and strategic direction that the ANC crafted for a non-racial broad political fulcrum whose opposition against the racist regime was to prove formidable. The removal by the National Party of the coloured voting privileges threw them into the radical mould of ANC politics. A section of the white liberal community soon took up short-lived protests under the Springbok Legion and the Torch Commando and these soon dissipated when most joined the United Party.

The repression of the Nationalist Party also played into the hands of the strategic thrusts that the ANC had fashioned for its self as many organisations soon realised that their political salvation rested with the broad ANC-led mass-based and non-racial movement that would substantially increase people's fighting chances against the apartheid system. The formation of the Congress of Democrats and the Liberal Party were ostensibly inspired by the ANC's quest for a broad-based mass movement against racism and such a move just after the Defiance Campaign fundamentally changed the political direction of South Africa for ever.



At a time of serious national crisis, the ANC conjured up a plan and conceived a strategic direction that would harness and marshal the South Africa populace into a single national democratic front, a measure of no mean feat. Such was the display and expression of foresightedness on the part of ANC leaders at a time of great strife when the oppressive racism rule was menacingly trying to regress South Africa to a barbaric state. As we are faced with the threat of the resurgence of barbarism, we too are called upon to be more creative and farsighted and foresighted in our response. Our history, to date, is such a pivotal beacon that must always guide and show us the light and the way.

ILLUSTRIOUS AFRIKANERS WHO BROKE RANKS WITH A RACIST REGIME

One example of our struggle stalwarts who bears all the hallmark of a people's leader who sought to demonstrate an example of the justifiability of our struggle was **Bram Fischer**. Fischer was a famous and successful mine lawyer who dined and wined with the mine magnates of South Africa and the world. As a descendent of the aristocratic Afrikaner family, all imaginable political and legal avenues were wide opened for him. This hardcore Afrikaner, who was very proud of his heritage and language, broke ranks to take sides with the oppressed people – not on the basis of race, but on the basis of the justness of our course.

He had nothing to benefit from fighting against apartheid since he was himself privileged. Bram left the plush legal offices and its attendant prestige and pomp and became a fugitive from the law as an underground operative of the ANC. **Beyers Naude** also broke ranks with the racists Afrikaner Calvinistic faith to side with the poor oppressed. There are many such examples that can be cited of how some of our fellow countrymen chose the side of truth and justice at the expense of the lavish and privileges status. Their lives and sacrifices are a beacon of hope.

The National Party was determined to impose a re-cialised society whereas our movement was keen to bring about a more inclusive non-racial country. Richard Turner, in his seminal book entitled *The Eye of the*

Needle, devotes one of his chapters to a topic that he refers to as, *The Impracticability of Realism*. He argued thus,

“The Christian model is one of freedom and openness. To love means to be free and open to others. Certain kinds of social institutions make people unfree in themselves by subjecting them to the hidden conditioning mechanisms, and also make them unfree for other people, by setting up harmful imbalances between people. Freedom for oneself and freedom with others requires certain kinds of social institutions.”

He concludes, *“it is only (through) participatory democracy (that we) can... co-operate freely with others...”* The resurgent spates of racism are an indication of some measure of failure from the White compatriots to co-operate with the African in building a non-racial society. The ANC conference of 1958 took a decision to reaffirm its commitment to non-racialism in South Africa and to struggle with like-minded organisations to realise this objective. This resolution was consolidated at the Morogoro Conference in 1969.

What we are witnessing in recent South African politics are mere acts of racist nostalgia borne out of a historical hangover of White political power.

A F R I K A N E R (WHITE) SUPERIORITY IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND LOSS OF PRIVILEGED STATUS

As the marauding forces of darkness are making their rehearsed debut in many fronts in a democratic state, we must remain assured that the pillars of a non-racial and non-sexist state are firmly in place and that individual actions born by the rabid racist nostalgia will not shake then in a millennia. What we are witnessing in recent South African politics are mere acts of racist nostalgia borne out of a historical hangover of White political power. These are not institutional actions with the potential to undermine the eclipse of a new democratic state, but are exemplifications of frustrated signs on the part of those that still long for the dark days of racist minority rule.

We must not think that we all shared the victory against a racist apartheid regime and its brutal machinery. There are many who still mourn its loss and they will occasionally display signs of relapse. The emotional scars that are a result of the loss of political power by our fellow White citizens must not be undermined. The loss of the benefits that came with a racist soci-

ety are still felt to date and these are compounded by the still existing economic privileged status of most White South Africans. That their privileged economic status cannot alter the trajectory towards a non-racial society is distressing and frustrating to most, if not some. So, the occasional resurgence of isolated cases will not and must not deter us. Instead they must embolden us to continue on our historical chosen course of action.

We must recall that when slavery was abolished in 1830, it dealt a deadly blow to the master–servant relations in the Cape. As a result, large sections of the Afrikaner community left the Cape in disgust and sought to find unpopulated places in the interior where they were to continue with the master–slave relations. This is how the Voortrekker movement was started. It took different directions and caused havoc in its wake. In 2016 there can be no running away into any other place by those who harbour racist tendencies. They are forced to face the reality of a changed socio-economic milieu that aims to institutionalise equitable treatment of all citizens. Thus, the resurgence of the frustrations of racists must not deter us from the forward march to the new nation that we promised our people.

*White patronage and
White tutelage is still firmly
entrenched in our society.
The struggle to liberate
our people from it must be
sustained.*

LET US NOT UNDERMINE INFERIORITY COMPLEX AMONGST OUR PEOPLE

Let us also be reminded of the fact that even amongst Africans, there are those who will still wish and long for the days of the master–servant relations. There are those Africans who still cannot get rid of the inferiority complex which underpinned the policy of apartheid. They lack self-confidence, lack the eagerness to attain and reach greater heights and always exhibit inferiority complexes even though they are empowered by the laws of their country. Steve Biko argued that the most important weapon in the hands of the oppressors is the mind of the oppressed. We need to invest in the mental liberation of our people and not just accept that, given a new democratic and human rights based constitution, they will necessarily embrace a liberated mindset and outlook.

The many Africans who have joined the ranks of the Democratic Alliance (DA) suffer from such a mental inferiority complex. We need to ask hard questions as

to what is it that could be done to rescue them from this inferiority status that always make one to seek tutelage from 'baaskap'. White patronage and White tutelage is still firmly entrenched in our society. The struggle to liberate our people from it must be sustained.

QUA VADIS: PROPOSED REMEDIES

We should not be side-tracked by the occasional outbursts of racism acts. Ours should be a long term and sustained struggle against racism and all of its manifestations.

There are few remedies that are at our disposal that we should activate to continue the struggle against racism in South Africa.

1. Public Education

There is a serious need to ensure that there is a sustained and protracted public education programme against racism. Government and its various entities should embrace this campaign and some of its public statements and expressions must be intended to foster a campaign against racism. Public and private institutions must also be

brought on board to lend their support and commitment to the fight against racism.

2. Anti-Racist Curriculum

The younger generation should be inducted into a society that eschews racism and upholds a democratic and egalitarian culture. At an early age, we need to deliberately foster a non-racial culture that is in keeping with our constitutional state. It is to this end that we need to and must bring about a conscious anti-racist curriculum at all levels of educational institutions in our country. This must affect all universities, colleges and basic education institutions.

This anti-racist curriculum must also be strongly hinged on fostering a patriotic culture. To engender a love and appreciation of the country will go a long way in promotion of anti-racist culture.

3. Sustain the fight against poverty

Racism thrives on condition of material and spiritual. Poverty engenders feelings of self-hate, inferiority and underclass. The poor feel that their poverty is brought upon them because they are the unwanted and are thus rendered weak to fight against racist acts and un-



ANC supporters
at the 2016
Siyanqoba Rally

dertones. The continued lack of social infrastructure, lack of sanitation, lack of housing, lack of access to work and work opportunities contribute to absence of self-worth.

CONCLUSION

I have aptly demonstrated that this movement has travelled a long and arduous road towards the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist, egalitarian and democratic state. Our forebears have, when faced with the imponderable challenges, delved deep in their souls, in the tradition of resistance, in their teaching and in their moral treasure trove to bring into bear solutions that were creative, long-term and unemotional. Their humanistic framework served as a pivot around which their solutions were based. Their care, regard and compassion for the people of South Africa, regardless of race, class and gender always guided their actions, thoughts and strategic inputs.

Alan Moorehed in this book *The Russian Revolution* once said that *“Half measures are no good in this wilderness any more than a leaking boat is any good in an ocean.*

One needs certainty, a sense of security, something to hold on to in the dangerous void – and it has to be absolutely solid.”

We have installed a democratic constitution, we have installed a Human Rights based culture and have entrenched our people in the constitution and this the lasting gift that we have bequeathed to our prosperity. We are alive to the fact that the struggle against racism will be a continuous and protracted struggle even in a democratic state.

Victory against Apartheid was thought to have been as impossible as the duel between the whale and an elephant, to borrow the expression from Professor Edgar Brookes. We have managed to undress apartheid’s self-professed divine inspiration mantle and exposed it for what it is. We have managed to unmask the monster of its monstrous façade and have debased its lofty pretensions of invincibility. It was exposed for what it was. We have come a long way and need not allow those detractors who wish to pour scorn on our hard worn victory. Ours are no half measures, but long term and sustainable solutions.



**COLONIALISM AND
APARTHEID ARE DEAD:**

Long Live **COLONIALISM OF A SPECIAL TYPE**

■ *By* GUGILE NKWINTI

IN 1962, based on a careful analysis of the South African historical situation, the South African Communist Party (SACP), characterized the essential features of the resultant political, social and economic structure and relations as follows:

South Africa is not a colony but an independent state. Yet the masses of people enjoy neither independence nor freedom. The conceding of independence to South Africa by Britain, in 1910, was not a victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism... Power was transferred not into the hands of the masses of people of South Africa, but into the hands of the White minority alone. The evils of colonialism, insofar as the non-White majority was concerned, were perpetuated and reinforced. A new type of colonialism was developed, in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory

as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them. A rapid process of industrialization was set in train... South African heavy industry and secondary industry grew to occupy first place on the Continent. This process had profound effects on the country's social structure. It concentrated great wealth and profits in the hands of the upper strata of the White population. It revolutionized the economy, transforming it from a predominantly agricultural into an industrial-agricultural economy, with an urban working class, mainly non-White, which is the largest in Africa. But no commensurate benefits of this industrialisation have been enjoyed by the masses of the non-White people. On the one level, that of "White South Africa", there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state.... The land is farmed along capitalist lines, employing wage la-

bour, and producing cash crops for the local and export markets ... But, on another level, that of “Non-White South Africa”, there are all the features of a colony. The indigenous population is subjected to the extreme national oppression, poverty and exploitation... The African Reserves show the complete lack of industry, communications, transport and power resources... Non-White South Africa is the colony of White South Africa itself... Real power is in the hands of monopolists who own and control the mines, the banks and finance houses, and most of the farms and major industries... These monopolists are the real power in South Africa. The special type of colonialism in South Africa serves, in the first place, their interests (SACP, 1962).

Similarly, the African National Congress (ANC), after an analysis of this historical experience, in its National Consultative Conference held in Morogoro, Tanzania, on May 1, 1969, described the same reality of the South African system as follows:

South Africa’s social and economic structure and the relationships which it generates are, perhaps, unique. It is not a colony, yet it has, in regards to the overwhelming majority of its people, most of the features of the classical colonial structures. Conquest and domination by an alien people, a system of discrimination and exploitation based on race, technique of indirect rule; these, and more, are the traditional trappings of the classical colonial framework. Whilst at the one level it is an “independent” national state, at another level it is a country subjugated by a minority race. What makes the structure unique and adds to its complexity is that the exploiting nation is not, as in the classical imperialist relationships, situated in a geographically distinct mother country, but is settled within the borders. What is more, the roots of the dominant nation have been embedded in our country by more than three centuries of presence. It is, thus, an alien body only in the historical sense (ANC, 1969: 15-16).

A. INTRODUCTION

In this article it is argued that the main contributor

to our nation’s perennial problem of (a) poverty, unemployment and social inequality; and, (b) the political disunity, or, disarray, in the Movement, is the social, economic and political legacy of Colonialism of a Special Type (CST). Put differently, at the heart of (a) our nation’s problem of enduring unemployment, poverty, and social inequality; and, (b) post-1994 political disunity, or, disarray, in the Movement, is the failure, or, reluctance on the part of the Liberation Movement and its democratic government to deliberately and steadfastly pursue its defined revolutionary path to radically transform the South African society and the state, using the strategic tools which had been designed for this purpose during preparations to taking control of state power; a revolutionary path which had been

informed by revolutionary theory, including the dialectical method, and experience gained out of progressive nations that have traversed this route before us.

Most of us know that the negotiated settlement did not directly address our nation’s historical socio-economic problem, but had deferred it to the democratic government, which was still to be installed. We also know that, as part of its preparations to govern the country, the Liberation Movement had produced two great documents, namely, **Ready To Govern** and **Reconstruction and Development Programme** (the RDP); and, had established

a Ministry in the Presidency to oversee the implementation of the RDP, guided by the Freedom Charter and the Ready To Govern document. On assuming control of state power, the Liberation Movement’s democratic government developed a White Paper on the RDP. Yet, it is now history that the democratic government unceremoniously and inexplicably dismantled the Ministry and abandoned the RDP. Those were the beginnings of the Liberation Movement losing control over its own government; and, the setting in of political disarray and disunity in the Movement.

In this article an attempt is made to illustrate how the negotiated political settlement of 1994, as a consequence of its over-emphasis on national reconciliation, rather than radical socio-economic transformation, as the foundation of the political settlement, had reinforced, or, buttressed white economic privilege and

To eradicate poverty and achieve social equality and justice in South Africa, the legacy of CST must be uprooted and destroyed, not tinkered with, as the case has been up to now. This is not a populist call for anarchy, or, infantile adventurism.

strengthened the structure of poverty and social (particularly racial) inequality. This is done through the use of a basic economic model generally used by economists to simplify and explain complex economic problems. It is argued here that, courtesy of our political settlement model, even if a solution could be found to the current global economic crisis; and, the problem of unemployment resolved, the challenge of poverty (in its broad meaning) and social inequality in South Africa would endure, thanks to the legacy of CST, which we have left intact.

...despite the 1994 democratic break-through, which ushered in black majority rule, the systems and patterns of ownership, control and access to national assets and resources continue to sustain white Colonial and Apartheid era privilege.

is aptly described: "As such, what emerged in our country was Colonialism of a Special Type, with both the colonizer and the colonized located in a common territory and with a large European settler population. The deal between the descendants of Dutch settlers and the British imperial power at the end of the so-called Anglo-Boer War formalized, in 1910, South Africa's statehood, premised on the political oppression and social subjugation and exclusion of the majority of the population."

In Chapter III, p23, under the heading "Vision of our collective effort: CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL

To eradicate poverty and achieve social equality and justice in South Africa, the legacy of CST must be uprooted and destroyed, not tinkered with, as the case has been up to now. This is not a populist call for anarchy, or, infantile adventurism.

B. Colonialism of a Special Type: STRATEGY AND TACTICS, 2012

Chapter II, under the heading "Where we come from: Streams of an emerging nation", the Strategy and Tactics document (p18) gives a brief but telling background to the evolution and genesis of the South African nation (state and society). It describes it as a "product of many streams of history and culture, representing the origins, dispersal and reintegration of humanity over hundreds of thousands of years. Archeological findings in various parts of the country and the rest of Africa have located South Africa, and the continent at large, as the cradle of humanity and early forms of human civilization."

This brief background to the evolution and genesis of the South African nation defines South Africa as the home of humanity. Further down, p19, the document makes the point that the period between 1652 and 1994 was characterized "by ongoing and mostly violent conflict between the oppressors (firstly, the Dutch; and, later on, the Dutch and the British) and the oppressed (indigenous South Africans)." The historical consequence of these violent conflicts of reintegration was a situation where South Africa became home to both the colonial oppressor and the indigenous oppressed.

On p20, paragraph 14 of the document, this situation

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION", Colonialism of a Special Type is defined in terms of three interrelated but antagonistic contradictions, namely, class, race and patriarchal power relations. It further clarifies the nature of these antagonisms where it states: "These antagonisms found expression in national oppression based on race; class super-exploitation directed against Black workers on the basis of race; and, triple oppression of the mass of women based on their race, their class and their gender."

In other words, continues the document (p22, par 28), "Colonialism of a Special Type contained within itself contradictions that could not be resolved through reform. It had to be destroyed. As such, the system we seek to create will stand or fall on the basis of whether it is able to eliminate the main antagonisms of this system."

The last paragraph above defines the critical moment facing the National Liberation Movement and its democratic government. Figure 1(a) on the next page is a diagrammatic attempt at illustrating the socio-economic effects of the enduring legacy of CST.

The current public discourse is not explicit about this legacy, if it does exist at all in the back of many commentators' minds. Yet, despite the 1994 democratic break-through, which ushered in black majority rule, the systems and patterns of ownership, control and access to national assets and resources continue to sustain white Colonial and Apartheid era privilege. **THIS IS WHAT MUST CHANGE, AND FUNDAMENTALLY SO!**

C. Education and the learning environment: KEY TO SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The June, 2015, Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) report by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), amongst other factors, singles out youth unemployment and low education output (and quality) in black communities in general, and African ones in particular, as critical factors sustaining poverty and social inequality in our country. This is the direct legacy of CST. These youngsters are not just unemployed, in most instances, they are unemployable, because of the continuing disjuncture between the education system and the learning environment in black Township schools, on the one hand; and, skills requirements by industry, on the other. At best, they could fit in primary sectors of industry.

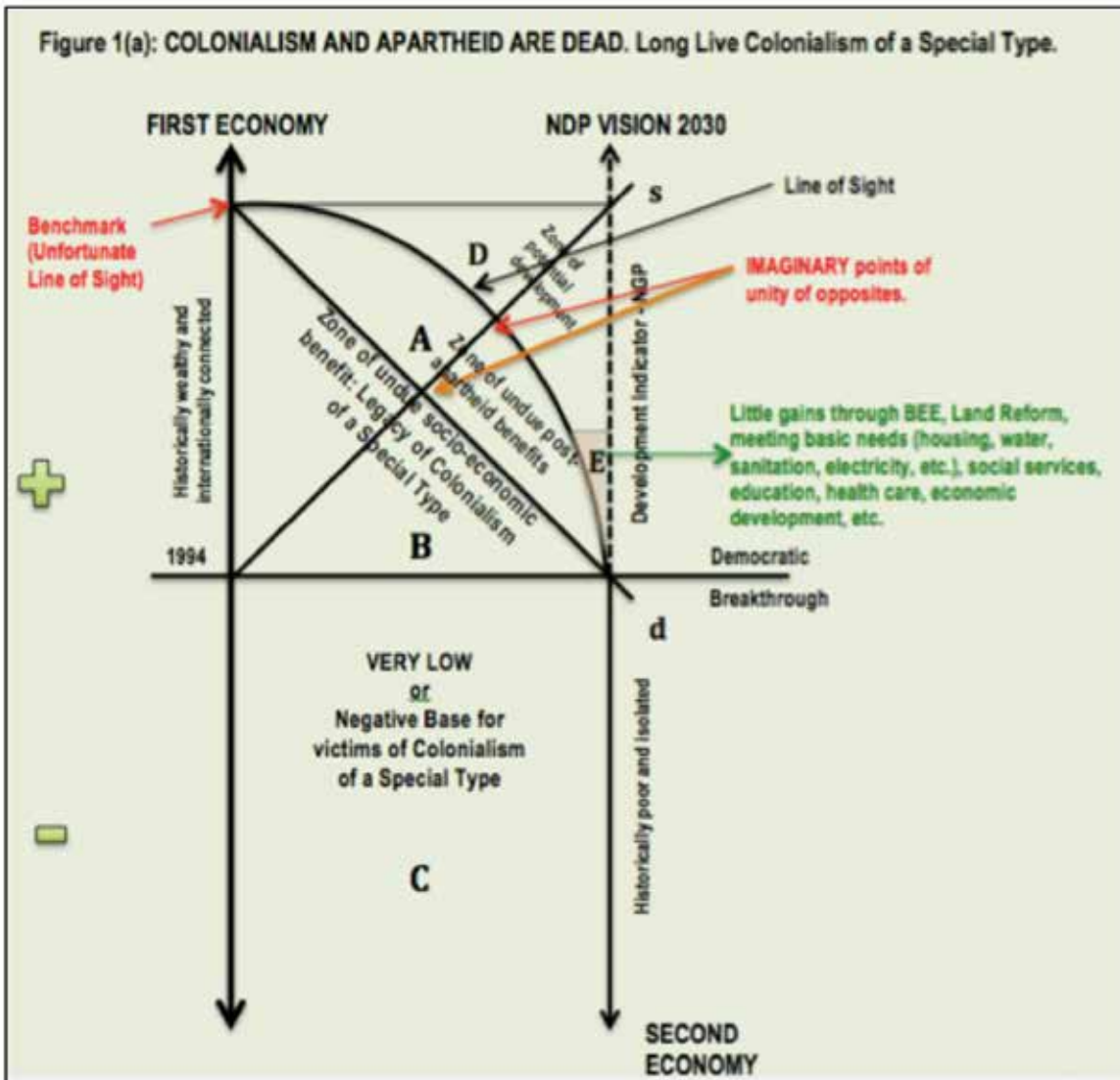
These are the young people roaming the streets, waiting for anyone's call to march and burn a school while demanding a clinic; the kids who, out of desperation for some, become drug couriers and peddlers. Because they have nothing to do, and nothing to lose. They might have come to the conclusion that their

school certificates are not as useful as they might have thought they would be. Yet, most of these kids could have been first-generation social change agents in their families.

On the contrary, you will not see white youth roaming the streets, ready for a call to march – because they are either at school or at work. Their hands are full and their futures are long defined for them. There is no disjuncture between the education system and learning environment for white schools and the skills demanded by industry, especially secondary and tertiary sectors. This does not by any means suggest that white youths don't act as couriers or peddlers of drugs. That might very much be the case. But the proportion is so minuscule it is not worth the comparison.

In essence, there continues to be two education systems and learning environs in South Africa. On the one hand, there is the 'black education system and learning environment' which churns out armies of unemployable black, particularly African, lumpen pro-

14



letariat class, roaming the streets and ready to be deployed (albeit unknown to them) in counter-revolutionary activities against the national democratic revolution programme. At best, this system churns out workers for primary sectors of industry. On the other hand, there is the 'white education system and learning environment' which churns out workers for secondary and tertiary sectors of industry, preparing them to be captains of industry and big business and employers of the employable strata of the working class churned out by the 'other' education system and environment. This privileged group is particularly white, although a smattering of black kids from the upper strata of the emerging black middle class are beginning to pop out of this system.

Well, **VERWOERD IS DEAD.** Long Live Bantu Education! While it is not a panacea for the resolution of all socio-economic challenges and problems in our society, education is, however, fundamental to sustaining or dislodging social inequality in any society. It is an over-arching social change agent. It is one of the most critical tools in the hands of the state and society to break down and destroy the legacy of CST. Verwoerd and his ilk understood the value of education very well; and, made the best use of it!

D. Constructive Self-criticism and Self-correction: LEARNING FROM HINDSIGHT

The over-emphasis on a political settlement anchored, primarily, on national reconciliation, meant that the long-term social and economic consequences of that settlement, critical to enduring and sustainable peace, stability and shared prosperity, received only cursory, or, very little consideration. Secondly, as if to convince our then strategic opponents (around the negotiations table) of our commitment to peace and reconciliation, we ignored the fact that revolutionary gains would need to be defended, we did away with compulsory military conscription. The 'point of unity of opposites' (reference Cde Nathi Mthethwa) was defined narrowly as 'black majority rule', rather than a minimum socio-economic threshold. This meant that, effectively, responsibility for socio-economic transformation, the bedrock of any revolution, was

deferred to the democratic state that was being negotiated. Yes, the democratic state: the legislature, the government and the judiciary.

The transformation of the South African society and the state, from Colonialism and Apartheid/Colonialism of a Special Type, to a national democratic society that is based on the principles of equity and justice, is not the responsibility of government alone. It is the responsibility of all three organs of the state and their tentacles.

The ushering in of democratic majority rule opened up the world to South Africa, and South Africa to the world. The democratic government, among other things, adopted liberalization policies which allowed big South African companies to enlist in Stock Exchanges abroad, without any form of accountability or constraint placed on them; it privatized some of the key state-owned companies (SoCs) which the National Party government had created to address the Poor White Problem (in reality, Poor Afrikaner Problem), after its election victory in 1948; and, set 1913 as the cut-off date for the lodgment of claims on land lost through wars of colonial dispossession and during Apartheid rule. However, as if to rub salt in the wound, the democratic government was to

pay handsomely for the return of the land brutally grabbed from indigenous South Africans.

The area marked A in Figure 1(a) represents the direct economic gains this historically privileged group, particularly monopoly capital, made as a result of the democratic breakthrough of 1994. In other words, instead of it laying a sound foundation for the destruction of monopoly capitalism, defined as the enemy of the national democratic revolution (NDR) by Strategy and Tactics, 2012, the democratic breakthrough reinforced and buttressed it. The result is that the area marked D, the only potentially unencumbered and available land and landed resources for further redistribution and development (Zone of potential development), has been squeezed out into a small portion which could never address the magnitude of socio-economic deprivation reflected in the area marked C.

The transformation of the South African society and the state, from Colonialism and Apartheid/ Colonialism of a Special Type, to a national democratic society that is based on the principles of equity and justice, is not the responsibility of government alone. It is the responsibility of all three organs of the state and their tentacles.

Compare that with another post-1994 area, the one marked E, which represents the meagre socio-economic gains made as a result of direct government interventions. The imbalance between the two is palpable, courtesy of the CST!

Worst still, yet probably strategically necessary at the time (avoiding subjecting the democratic state to loans from the World Bank, etc), the greater part of the proceeds from the sale of state-owned companies was used to settle Apartheid debts. This is money which could have been used to expand the Zone of Potential Development, to improve the socio-economic condition of indigenous people, the victims of CST. Once more, the victims had to pay. The price of national reconciliation was heavy – on the victims of CST!

This is what we are sitting with today; and, to borrow from Deng Xiaoping, the former President of the People's Republic of China, and our own Strategy and Tactics (2012), this is what needs to be 'DESTROYED', or, to borrow from the Minister in the Malaysian Prime Minister's Office, this is what needs to be 'BROKEN DOWN.'

It is possible that all these strategic mistakes might have been unavoidable, given material conditions at the time, including the vulnerability of the newly installed democratic state, especially government. But that does not take away the fact that the privatization of some of the strategic public entities was, on hindsight, a strategic mistake on our part. This is not a blind and blatant (better-than-thou) criticism. It is constructive self-criticism, aimed at self-correction, which is part of our Movement's long standing political culture, which we have abandoned at our own peril.

We have gained insights from practical experience; we have learnt from hindsight, having governed the country for the past 21 years. We are one government of the African National Congress, with different Administrations; with each building on foundations laid on by those that preceded it. Where adjustments are necessary, we must effect them, without fear or favour. The democratic state has the abiding responsibility to, now, go back to addressing the fundamental social and economic transformation deferred to it during negotiations.

Our problem is that we often personalize what are

We are one government of the African National Congress, with different Administrations; with each building on foundations laid on by those that preceded it.

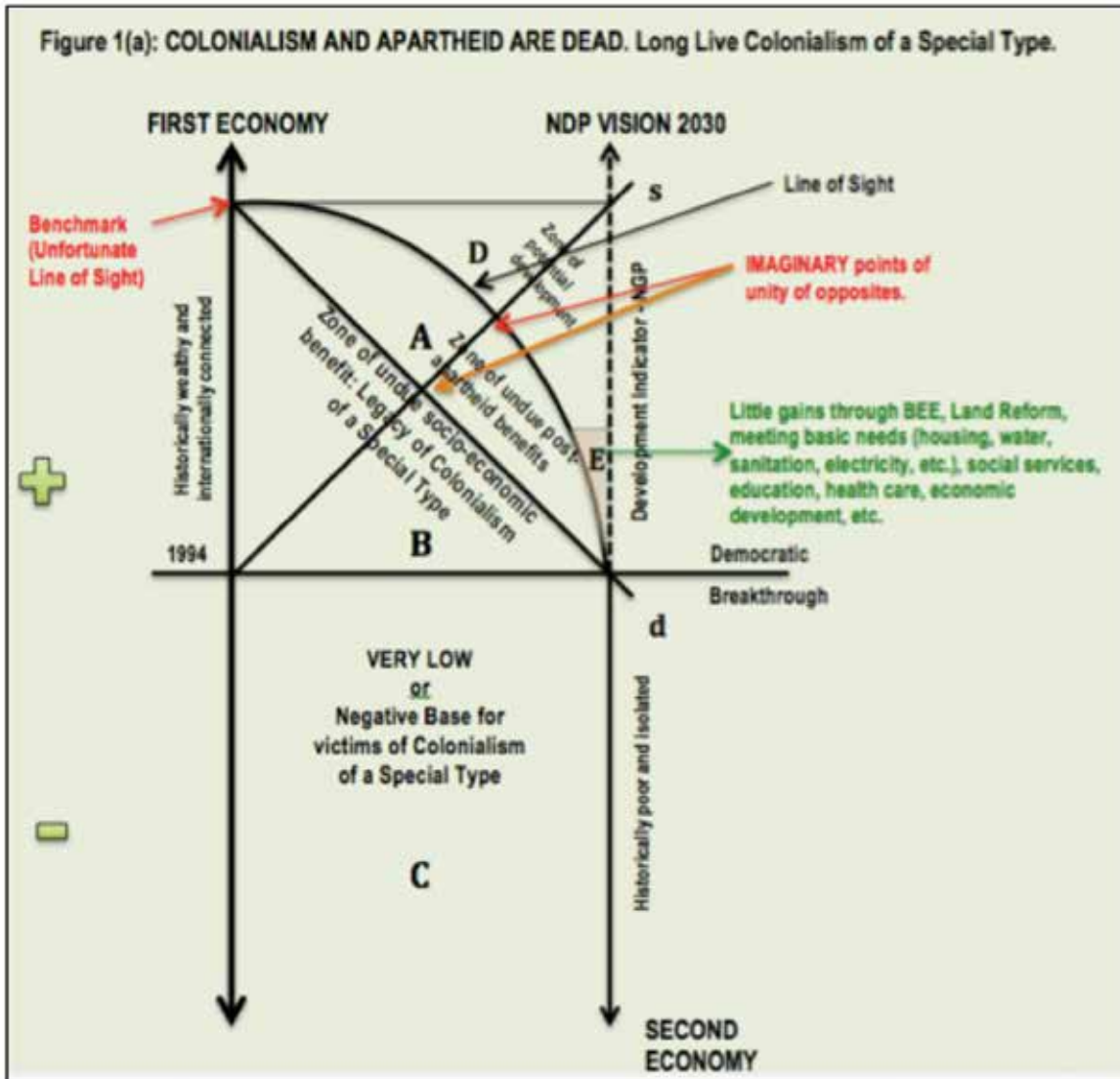
legitimate strategic mistakes, which occur as we attempt to integrate our national democratic revolutionary theory with practice. We must correct this unscientific political attitude and conduct, which creates unnecessary tensions, conflicts and even enmity among ourselves. We must use the organisational and political experience bequeathed us by our political forebears; the revolutionary theories

at our disposal; and, experience learnt from other progressive and revolutionary Movements that have traversed the long walk we have just started, to guide us.

We should critically, frankly and continually analyze and test the steps we have taken thus far, the steps we are currently taking, the steps we intend taking moving forward, in relation to our long term strategic objective and material conditions, both of our own making as well as those that are not of our own making. This is how we could properly understand and appreciate objective and subjective realities which either positively, or, negatively impact on our work; and, where necessary, take corrective measures. Our glorious Movement knows all this; and, it did it so well during the years of struggle.

This must be the case irrespective of who was/is leading our Movement or government at a particular point in time/moment, across all levels of the Movement and government. This must be standard practice; and, should be expected and anticipated by all in our Movement. This practice should take us out of personalizing collective strategic mistakes committed during the course of executing our plans and programmes. Secondly, it would ensure that those in the structures of the Movement who have the responsibility of supervising the execution of ANC programmes by the government, at all levels, are fully equipped with the knowledge and understanding of what is expected; and, are confident and able to be in the forefront of promoting and, where necessary, defending government programmes.

Where any deployee, irrespective of level, would have committed wrongs or mistakes, including fraud and corruption, during the course of implementing programmes of the Movement, without any of the responsible supervisory collectives of the Movement drawing his/her attention to such, those collectives become culpable. They assume collective



guilt through dereliction of revolutionary duty. This is one of the fundamental elements of the principle of collective leadership responsibility: ‘Collective Accolades’, where excellence obtains; and, ‘Collective Guilt’, where dereliction of duty occurred. This reinforces revolutionary discipline and deepens understanding of the essence of the principle of collective leadership responsibility, which is part of our political culture.

E. What is to be done: BEYOND MERE SYMBOLISM, FORMALISM AND BUREAUCRATISM

We need a different socio-economic transformation trajectory; the type which should have constituted the baseline, or, non-negotiable, during the negotiations; and, we need a revolutionary and patriotic Army to defend every gain made in pursuit of the goal of the national democratic revolution. The latter would require a serious review of the decision to do away with compulsory military conscription. Figure

1(b) represents the overall outcome of such a trajectory. This trajectory or model could best be summed up as socio-economic egalitarianism.

The 53rd National Conference, held in Mangaung in December, 2012, resolved that during this Second Phase of the National Democratic Revolution the Movement must embark on a radical socio-economic transformation. In this regard, the Conference adopted the National Development Plan (NDP) as the country’s over-arching vision, and the New Growth Path (NGP), as the key strategy to drive jobs. During his State of the Nation Address in February, 2013, President JG Zuma made an announcement that Government had decided to explore Exceptions to the 1913 Cut-off date for lodgment of claims to land, to accommodate descendants of the Khoi and San people, address historical landmarks and heritage sites [providing evidence of where the indigenous peoples of this part of the African Continent had resided, before they were forcefully removed through wars of colonial dispossession, that took place long before 1913].

The outcome of this Exceptions process, which should avail more land and landed resources to the currently landless and productive resources-hungry majority, coupled with other government programmes, such as the Nine-Point Plan, which the President unveiled during his 2015 State of the Nation Address, in addition to the modest gains made since 1994, as depicted in the Area Marked E in Figure 1(a) above, should lead to the attainment of the 75%/25% split in ownership, control and access to productive and other national assets and resources, as indicated by Areas B and A, respectively, in Figure 1(b). By all intents and purposes, this is by far a very long haul. **THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!**

In his book ‘*Comparative Economic Systems*’, Gregory Grossman makes the following observations about what he refers to as the Special Case of Cuba: The values emphasised in Cuba’s ideology are those of (a) social and economic egalitarianism; (b) of placing the society and the collective above the individual; and, (c) of unselfishness on the part of the individual in his everyday relations, especially at work.

- a) Social egalitarianism means minimizing the differences in social worth between groups of the population: persons with different occupations and levels of skills and training; rural and urban dwellers; men and women; and, black and white.
- b) Economic egalitarianism refers to a relatively egalitarian wage and income structure. This means eschewing a structure of wages and salaries that relied heavily on different material (monetary) rewards.
- c) “*Unselfishness*”, as expressed above, is self-explanatory! It poses a major challenge to the South African environment, where egalitarian ideas are expressed in song and slogan, with no express indication of how such ideals would be pursued in real life practice. The problem is that the current dominant line of sight or benchmark is capital, in general, and monopoly capital, in particular. Benchmarking on this kind of model makes it neigh impossible to live and practise “*unselfishness*”, as a key value.

We, thus, need to, simultaneously, embark upon a deliberate, purposeful and controlled ‘destruction’ or ‘break-down’ of the CST LEGACY; and, embark upon

a deliberate, purposeful and controlled ‘construction’ of an alternative socio-economic and political order; one that is EGALITARIAN and REDISTRIBUTIVE in essence, as aptly and clearly defined in the **Freedom Charter** by our political forebears at the Congress of the People held at Kliptown, Soweto, in June, 1955; and, articulated and elaborated into various other documents during our time – such as the **Ready To Govern** document, the **Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)**, **Through The Eye Of A Needle: Choosing The Best Cadres To Lead Social Transformation?**, the **Constitution of the Republic** and the **National Development Plan (NDP)**. In addition to these, there are the core values of the ANC.

These six documents, plus the values of the ANC, should constitute our Movement’s Seven Imperatives. Each and everyone, particularly those who are earmarked for deployment in leadership organs and structures of the Movement, at all levels; and, those who put themselves up for deployment and employment in strategic state organs, in addition to possessing personal integrity and moral rectitude and the professional skills and experience required by the job, must pass through these Imperatives, to ensure

that the national democratic revolution is not aborted, even by default. These Seven Imperatives should constitute ‘**THE EYE OF A NEEDLE**’ through which all should pass. Of course, these should apply to members of the Movement and those who share its vision of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

People should not be deployed and, or, employed in strategic positions in the state and the Movement, unless they pass through this test. Those who might fall short must be sent to the ANC Political School for further training and development. And, all these cadres and leaders, irrespective of levels, should attend the ANC’s Political School once a year, not just for sharpening their ideological and political wares, but for them to evaluate the effectiveness or otherwise of these Seven Imperatives, having tested them on the ground. Where adjustments are deemed necessary, in any of them, they should be effected.

These are the ‘*destruction*’ and ‘*construction*’ tools of our own creation; the nexus that should hold the

People should not be deployed and, or, employed in strategic positions in the state and the Movement, unless they pass through... [the Eye of a Needle] test.

Movement together, even if there might be differences on tactics, either because of the ideological diversity of the Movement, geo-spatial circumstances, or, different local and regional material conditions. However, this requires strict, or, as the President would always remind us, borrowing from the vanguard Party of the working class, 'Iron discipline'. No revolution has ever been successfully executed through *laissez faire* and, or, sentimental political management. That would be antithetical to the ethos of serious revolutions, because, as one of the stalwarts of our national democratic revolution, Moses Kotane, would say: 'Revolution ke Batho'. The essence of revolutions is people.

F. The Seven Imperatives For Reconstruction: BUILDING UNITY OF PURPOSE AND ACTION

I. The Values Of The ANC: Its Moral Compass.

The following are the core values of the ANC:

- (a) loyalty;
- (b) integrity;
- (c) selflessness;
- (d) humility; and,
- (e) honesty.

Collectively and systematically, these values have placed the ANC on a high political and moral pedestal throughout its long history of struggle. It is not often the case that a liberation Movement is held up by the greatest majority of the population as not just a political, but a moral, authority as well. Throughout its distinguished and illustrious history, and until very recently, the African National Congress enjoyed this unique honour and privilege, thanks to its unquestionable loyalty to the people of South Africa; its integrity, in itself, of itself and for itself; demonstrable selflessness and magnanimity; humble, yet strong-headed and unshakable in its commitment to the pursuit of freedom and democracy for all South Africans; and, neither friend nor foe doubted what the ANC stood for, because of its honesty, measured forthrightness and candidness about its vision and mission.

This is the legacy we have inherited from our political forebears. All of us, singularly and collectively, like generations before us did, should commit to putting our personal ambitions and newly attained privileges on the line for the defence of these values. For a member of the Liberation Movement, nothing could be more honourable than that.

No revolution has ever been successfully executed through laissez faire and, or, sentimental political management.

2. The Freedom Charter: The Ideological Framework.

- *The People Shall Govern!*
- *All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights!*
- *The People Shall Share In The Country's Wealth!*
- *The Land Shall Be Shared Among Those Who Work It!*
- *All Shall Be Equal Before The Law!*
- *All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!*
- *There Shall Be Work And Security!*
- *The Doors Of Learning And Culture Shall Be Opened!*
- *There Shall Be Houses Security And Comfort!*
- *There Shall Be Peace And Friendship!*

It is true and correct that we have come a long way in advancing the nation towards attaining the goals set by the Freedom Charter. But, we should not exaggerate these advances. For us to be able to appreciate this

last point, we must not interpret each clause in isolation of the rest. That could be too formalistic and bureaucratic. Take the clause: **All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights!** Formally, in terms of the law and the constitution, this is true. But, rights are not just technically defined. They are to be substantively defined: ownership,

control and access to assets and resources is one set of such substantive rights. These rights create a sense of personal dignity and self-worth.

People must own assets, such as a house, land, a car, a bicycle, etc; and, have a sense that they are in control of their lives. In order to have a sense of control, amongst other things, they must feel secure in person and property; to own a house, land, or, a car, one has to have a stable and secure job, and so on. The reality is that the majority of South Africans are outside this bracket at present. This is but one example. Given time, we could go on and demonstrate this truth with each of the clauses.

3. Ready To Govern: The Policy Framework

As part of its work towards the installation of our democratic dispensation, the ANC developed the Ready To Govern Document, which has four pillars,

being the following:

- a) to strive for the achievement of the right of all South Africans, as a whole, to political and economic self determination in a united South Africa;
- b) to overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid, in a swift progressive and principled way;
- c) to develop a sustainable economy and state infrastructure that will progressively improve the quality of life of all South Africans; and,
- d) to encourage the flourishing of the feeling that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, to promote common loyalty to, and pride in, the country; and,
- e) to create a universal sense of freedom and security within its borders.

4. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP): The Construction Toolkit.

No political democracy can survive and flourish if the mass of our people remain in poverty, without land, without tangible prospects for a better life. Attacking poverty and deprivation must therefore be the first priority of a democratic government.

Six basic principles, linked together, make up the political and economic philosophy that underlies the whole RDP. This is an innovative and bold philosophy based on a few simple but powerful ideas. These are:

(a) An integrated and sustainable programme.

The legacy of apartheid cannot be overcome with piecemeal and uncoordinated policies. The RDP brings together strategies to harness all our resources in a coherent and purposeful effort that can be sustained into the future.

These strategies will be implemented at national, provincial and local levels by government, parastatals and organisations within civil society, working within the framework of the RDP.

This programme is essentially centred on:

(b) A people-driven process.

Our people, with their aspirations and collective de-

termination, are our most important resource. The RDP is focused on our people's most immediate needs, and it relies, in turn, on their energies to drive the process of meeting these needs. Regardless of race or sex, or whether they are rural or urban, rich or poor, the people of South Africa must, together, shape their own future.

Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment. In taking this approach we are building on the many forums, peace structures and negotiations that our people are involved in throughout the land.

This programme and this people-driven process are closely bound up with:

(c) Peace and security for all.

Promoting peace and security must involve all people and must build on, and expand, the National Peace Initiative. Apartheid placed the security forces, police and judicial system at the service of its racist ideology. The security forces have been unable to stem the tide of violence that has engulfed our people.

To begin the process of reconstruction and development we must now establish security forces that reflect the national and gender

character of our country. Such forces must be non-partisan, professional, and uphold the Constitution and respect human rights. The judicial system must reflect society's racial and gender composition, and provide fairness and equality for all before the law. As peace and security are established, we will be able to embark upon:

(d) Nation-building.

Central to the crisis in our country are the massive divisions and inequalities left behind by apartheid. We must not perpetuate the separation of our society into a 'first world' and a 'third world' - another disguised way of preserving apartheid. We must not confine growth strategies to the former, while doing patchwork and piecemeal development in the latter, waiting for trickle-down development.

Nation-building is the basis on which to build a South Africa that can support the development of our Southern African region. Nation-building is also the basis

No political democracy can survive and flourish if the mass of our people remain in poverty, without land, without tangible prospects for a better life.

on which to ensure that our country takes up an effective role within the world community. Only a programme that develops economic, political and social viability can ensure our national sovereignty. Nation-building requires us to:

(e) Link reconstruction and development.

The RDP is based on reconstruction and development being parts of an integrated process. This is in contrast to a commonly held view that growth and development, or growth and redistribution

are processes that contradict each other. Growth – the measurable increase in the output of the modern industrial economy – is commonly seen as the priority that must precede development.

Development is portrayed as a marginal effort of redistribution to areas of urban and rural poverty. In this view, development is a deduction from growth. The RDP breaks decisively with this approach. If growth is defined as an increase in output, then it is of course a basic goal. However, where that growth occurs, how sustainable it is, how it is distributed, the degree to which it contributes to building long-term productive capacity and human resource development, and what impact it has on the environment, are the crucial questions when considering reconstruction and development.

The RDP integrates growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution into a unified programme. The key to this link is an infrastructural programme that will provide access to modern and effective services like electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training for all our people. This programme will both meet basic needs and open up previously suppressed economic and human potential in urban and rural areas. In turn this will lead to an increased output in all sectors of the economy, and by modernising our infrastructure and human resource development, we will also enhance export capacity. Success in linking reconstruction and development is essential if we are to achieve peace and security for all.

Finally, these first five principles all depend on a thoroughgoing:

(f) Democratisation of South Africa.

Minority control and privilege in every aspect of our

South Africa is a constitutional state. This means that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Subjecting ourselves to it is non-negotiable. However, this does not mean that it should be fetishized.

society are the main obstruction to developing an integrated programme that unleashes all the resources of our country. Thoroughgoing democratisation of our society is, in other words, absolutely integral to the whole RDP. The RDP requires fundamental changes in the way that policy is made and programmes are implemented. Above all, the people affected must participate in decision-making. Democratisation must begin to transform both the state and civil society.

Democracy is not confined to periodic elections. It is, rather, an active process enabling everyone to contribute to reconstruction and development. An integrated programme, based on the people, that provides peace and security for all and builds the nation, links reconstruction and development and deepens democracy – these are the six basic principles of the RDP.

5. Through The Eye Of A Needle? Choosing The Best Cadres To Lead Social Transformation: The Litmus Test For Activism, Discipline, Cadreship and Leadership.

On p.15, under the heading “*THE PILLARS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION*”, the Strategy and Tactics document asserts that the transition from Apartheid colonialism to a national democratic society requires that the ANC, in theory and action, elaborates, implements and review the concrete tasks across the pillars of socio-economic transformation, identified in the 2007 Strategy and Tactics document as the key strategic terrains of struggle and transformation.

These pillars are:

- (a) building a democratic developmental state;
- (b) transforming the economy;
- (c) ideological work and the battle of ideas;
- (d) international work; and,
- (e) mass mobilization and organization.

6. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

The Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic states that:

We, the people of South Africa,

*Recognise the injustices of our past;
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in
our land; and*

*Respect those who have worked to build and de-
velop our country; and*

*Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in
it, united in our diversity.*

*We, therefore, through our freely elected represen-
tatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of
the Republic so as to:-*

*Heal the divisions of the past and establish a so-
ciety based on democratic values, social justice and
fundamental human rights;*

*Lay the foundations for a democratic and open so-
ciety in which government is based on the will of the
people and every citizen is equally protected by law;*

*Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free
the potential of each person; and*

*Build a united and democratic South Africa able
to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the
family of nations.*

South Africa is a constitutional state. This means that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Subjecting ourselves to it is non-negotiable. However, this does not mean that it should be fetishized. It must be understood for what it was meant to be: an organic, or, dynamic and living document at the centre of transforming the social and economic condition of the majority of our people, in the first instance.

7. The National Development Plan: Vision 2030

The National Development Plan prefaces its Overview by a quote from the Reconstruction and Development Programme:

No political democracy can survive and flourish if the mass of our people remain in poverty, without land, without tangible prospects for a better life. Attacking poverty and deprivation must therefore be the first priority of a democratic government.

Its Executive Summary, p 5, has the following to say, which is pertinent here:

Developing and upgrading capabilities to enable sustainable and inclusive development requires a new approach and a new mind-set. The story we propose to write involves:

- (a) creating jobs and livelihoods;
- (b) expanding infrastructure;
- (c) transitioning to a low-carbon economy;
- (d) transforming urban and rural spaces;
- (e) improving education and training;
- (f) providing quality health care;

(g) building a capable state;

(h) fighting corruption and enhancing accountability;
and,

(i) transforming society and uniting the nation.

G. INSTITUTIONAL ENFORCEMENT OF THESE SEVEN IMPERATIVES.

This could take several forms, depending on the key objective. Two objectives come immediately to mind, namely, developmental and punitive. The ANC already has two institutions to incentivize good and exemplary behaviour and conduct of its members: the Integrity Commission (IC) and the Disciplinary Committees (DCs). The former is new and still going through a learning curve, like all of us – its office bearers and potential recipients of its decisions. Early indications are that some amendments might need to be made to give it some power to enforce its recommendations, should the NEC not implement them, especially where such recommendations related to its members. The latter has long established itself as a consequences manager of the Organization.

At issue with respect to the IC might be perceptions or even understanding(s) about its intended objectives. Is the IC intended to be developmental or punitive, or, both in its outlook? An unambiguous answer is critical to this question, for the credibility of the IC itself, as well as its effectiveness in pursuit of its intended results. The accent of the Commission is on 'integrity'. Its first, and most prominent case thus far, resulted in the resignation of a Member of Parliament, on its insistence. That created the perception that it is mainly punitive, rather than developmental. However, it is too early to make such a conclusion.

Yet, 'integrity' is but one in a set of five elements of the ANC's core value-system. These values should not be seen one in isolation of the others, because they are mutually reinforcing. We need a comprehensive institutional system to incentivize exemplary political behaviour and conduct in members of the Organization. To complete this institutional arrangement, we need an additional organ with a mainly developmental, rehabilitative and therapeutic outlook, to complement the two which already exist – the IC and the DC – whose outlook is mainly interrogative and punitive.

It is here proposed that the ANC establishes a Council of Elders (CoE), which should be composed of senior members of the Organization; members who have, over the years, earned themselves immense respect inside and outside the Organization, because of their moral stature and integrity; demonstrable sense of fairness and justice in handling matters, including

conflicts, within the Organization; knowledge of the Organization, in terms of its history, values, political culture and organisational discipline; their ability and courage to lead by example, in good times and bad; their incorruptible character; and, people who could be entrusted with confidential information / issues, especially matters affecting the Organization and people. This Council of Elders should, in short, be the Moral Compass of the ANC. The ANC has many such people in its ranks.

The modus operandi of the CoE should reflect or epitomize the stature of its members. This should be a mainly behind-the-scenes operator, but with awesome results, shown off in the exemplary political and revolutionary conduct of members of the ANC who would have had the honour and privilege of having gone through their hands. It must be only when one would have proven himself / herself to be incorrigible that it must be deemed necessary to show them the door. In other words, showing people the door should be the absolute last resort. Ordinarily, people should be referred to the CoE by either the IC or the DC for political rehabilitation. This is the CoE playing its rehab role, behind the scenes, or, in tandem with the Political School, once it is established.

The role of the CoE is, primarily, character and cadre development; and, secondarily, corrective and rehabilitative. It is to transform ordinary ANC members, and even what could have been regarded as bad apples among them, into true servants of the people and trusted patriots - people who are loyal to the cause of the national democratic revolution; people of unquestionable integrity and moral stature; people who, as a result of their selflessness, instead of imposing themselves, or, being imposed by factions, as leaders to further their personal interests at the expense of those of the Movement, rather seek to make others leaders; people who are unassuming and humble; and, people who are honest and trustworthy. It must, above all, churn out cadres and leaders of the ANC who would need no reminding that the interests of the Organization always come first, no matter the circumstances.

It is our humble submission that the ANC needs this kind of institution today, more than it ever did before. Establishing it would complete the institutional system to incentivize, or, enforce membership compliance

with the Seven Imperatives:

- The Council of Elders: the Moral Compass;
- The Integrity Commission: the Integrity Watchdog; and,
- The Disciplinary Committee: Consequence Management.

H. CONCLUSION

It is submitted here that social inequality and poverty in South Africa are not just a function of unemployment. They are rooted in the structure of the country's society, which has been inherited from the country's unique variant of colonialism – what has been characterized in the Preamble above as Colonialism Of A Special Type (CST). To eradicate poverty and achieve social equality and justice in SA, the legacy of CST must be uprooted and destroyed, not tinkered with, as the case has been up to now. This is not a populist call for anarchy, or, infantile adventurism.

Nowhere is this legacy better demonstrated than in education – the most critical social change agent in any modern society; and, in industry. We continue to have two contrasting systems and environs – one cut out for white people and the other for black people – each one, in its own way, perpetuating past Colonial and Apartheid socio-economic relations. The doors of learning and culture might be open (Freedom Charter). Two questions stand out, however: whose children walk in there? Is the quality

of content and agency inside there the same in every school, particularly between black and white schools? The least said about the learning environs, the better. These systemic and structural inequalities must end, so that there is a single education system and learning environment which must churn out people who have an equal opportunity to fit in any sector of industry.

Our democracy is, by design, at once representative and participatory. We must eschew the tendency to be too formalistic and bureaucratic in interpreting the character of our democracy. Yes, we have a constitution which enables all qualifying people to vote every five years; discrimination based on race has been outlawed; hundreds of Colonial and Apartheid laws have been repealed and, in many instances, replaced by progressive ones; etc.

It is here proposed that the ANC establishes a Council of Elders (CoE)... This Council of Elders should, in short, be the Moral Compass of the ANC. The ANC has many such people in its ranks.

But, what is the extent of popular participation in these transformations, beyond formal bureaucratic interactions, such as when bills are processed by our legislative bodies? Do municipal councillors consult communities when formulating, implementing and reviewing integrated development plans (IDPs)? The participation envisaged by the national democratic revolution is one that fundamentally transforms power relations in society, such that an egalitarian socio-economic order prevails; not the one that just rubber-stamps decisions already formalized by public representatives and bureaucrats in Legislative and Municipal Chambers.

The late Joe Slovo aptly characterized the mode of take-over of state power in South Africa as “**CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION.**” In the same vein, Moses Kotane defines the essence of revolution as people – “**REVOLUTION KE BATHO.**”

What are the things that bedevil your everyday lives? What do you think should be done to correct the situation? What do you think your role should be in correcting the situation? These are empowering questions; they place people at the centre of critical decision-making and corrective action: they assume the centre-stage in policy and legislation formulation, as well as corrective action.

When legislators return with policy proposals and bills, based on such engagements, these mirror the essence of what people had said should be done to improve the quality of their lives; people own them. These policy proposals are adopted and bills are promulgated into laws by the constitutional bodies responsible for such. These are then implemented, under the leadership of government, with each segment holding the other accountable. When the next elections come, people are afforded an opportunity to review the impact of their decisions and actions. This is the kind of relationship that is envisaged in the Freedom Charter (South Africa’s Constitution has got the DNA of the Freedom Charter running through it), the Ready To Govern Document, the RDP and the NDP.

The proposals here are in line with the trajectory pre-

sented in Figure 1(b). The long-term impact and success of this strategy should, in the main, be measured in terms of the extent to which it breaks down structural poverty and social inequality, as rapidly as is possible. **#CSTMustFall!**

POST-SCRIPT:

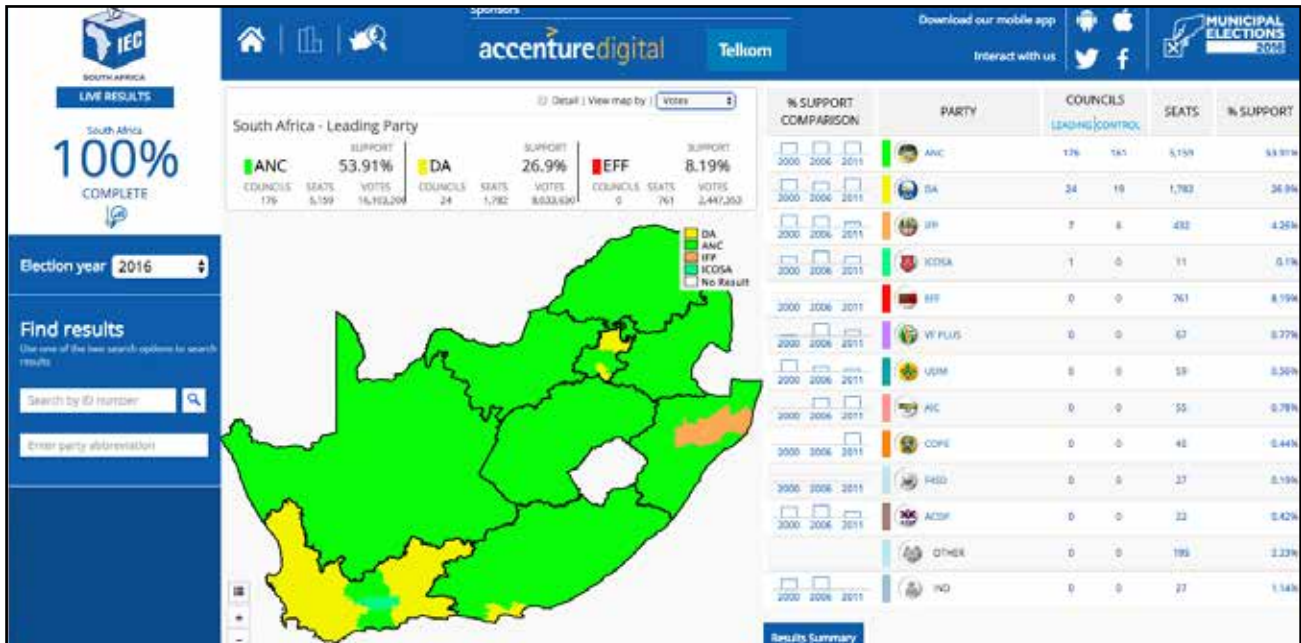
The Africans’ Claims In South: As adopted by the Annual Conference of the ANC in Bloemfontein on the 16th of December, 1943.

The following paragraph is an extract from the Preface of the Document, signed off by Dr A. B. Xuma, the President-General of the ANC. It is more relevant to the Movement today, particularly those of its members holding positions of responsibility that translate into the power to exercise control over public assets and resources, on behalf of the people – be they elected public representatives or public servants. Thus, it goes:

As African leaders we are not so foolish as to believe that because we have made these declarations that our government will grant us our claims for the mere asking. We realize that for the African this is only a beginning of a long struggle entailing great sacrifices of them, and [could] mean life itself. To the African people the declaration is a challenge to organise and unite themselves under the mass liberation movement, the African National Congress. The struggle is on right now, and must be persistent and insistent. In a mass liberation movement there is no room for divisions or for personal ambitions. The goal is one, namely, freedom for all. It should be the central and only aim for [or] objective of all true African nationals. Divisions and gratification[al] of personal ambitions under the circumstances will be a betrayal of this great cause.

NB: the square brackets are corrective, where the original sentence does not seem to make sense. There is no tempering with the essence of the statement.

VIEWPOINT



THE FUTURE OF THE ANC AS A RULING PARTY:

Is the ANC likely to lose power in the foreseeable future?

■ By **KGOLANE RUDOLPH PHALA**

THE ANC is a people's movement in a true sense of the word. It led the people of South Africa for a solid 104 years. It led the struggle against settler-colonialism, fought the herenvolkism of apartheid system, heroically led a gargantuan revolutionary struggle against the racist South Africa and recently it is at the forefront of building a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic and prosperous South Africa. It is an unchallenged electoral mammoth since 1994. Recent developments however begin to challenge this mass support.

South Africa has gone through yet another local government election on 03 August 2016. It is a very historic election from many angles. Those elections have also seen the biggest losses for the National Liberation Movement Ruling Party the ANC in 22 years. Those

losses are very glaring in some of the urban centres of our country, including the citadel of power. The liberation movement did not get over 50% in Cape Town, Nelson Mandela, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni and Johannesburg. The ANC still remains a ruling party in most of the rural areas of the country.

The critical question raised by ANC's performance is whether it is signs of things to come. Is this the beginning of the end? More specifically whether the ANC could likely lose power, nationally and in more provinces in the foreseeable future? What would be the impact of such a loss? What lessons could be learned from other national liberation movement ruling parties? What can be done to forestall the collapse of the ANC as ruling party? Is the ANC destined to be a party of the rural areas like ZANU-PF? Is the ANC

beyond salvageable? This intervention would try to deal some of these issues. This is a contribution to a broader debate inside and outside the ANC about its future prospects.

RECENT ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE OF THE ANC

The ANC fought the 1994 as a national liberation movement to become the country’s ruling party. Indeed the voters gave it a resounding 62,65% in those elections. In the then Northern Transvaal it won with a phenomenal 92%. In 1999 National and Provincial elections it got 66,35% nationally. It was repeat performance of 1994. The biggest win of the ANC of the ANC ever happened in the 2004 National and Provincial election in which the ANC got 69,69% The ANC was at the zenith of its electoral performance. The ANC performed so well in 2004 that it looked unchallenged in the seat of power. Booyesen has this to say about that, “Ten years into ANC rule, election 2004 brought further confirmation of ANC dominance and consolidation of its power. The ANC reached its 69,69 per cent electoral peak. For the third election in a row it proved that it was unequalled in party politics in South Africa.”

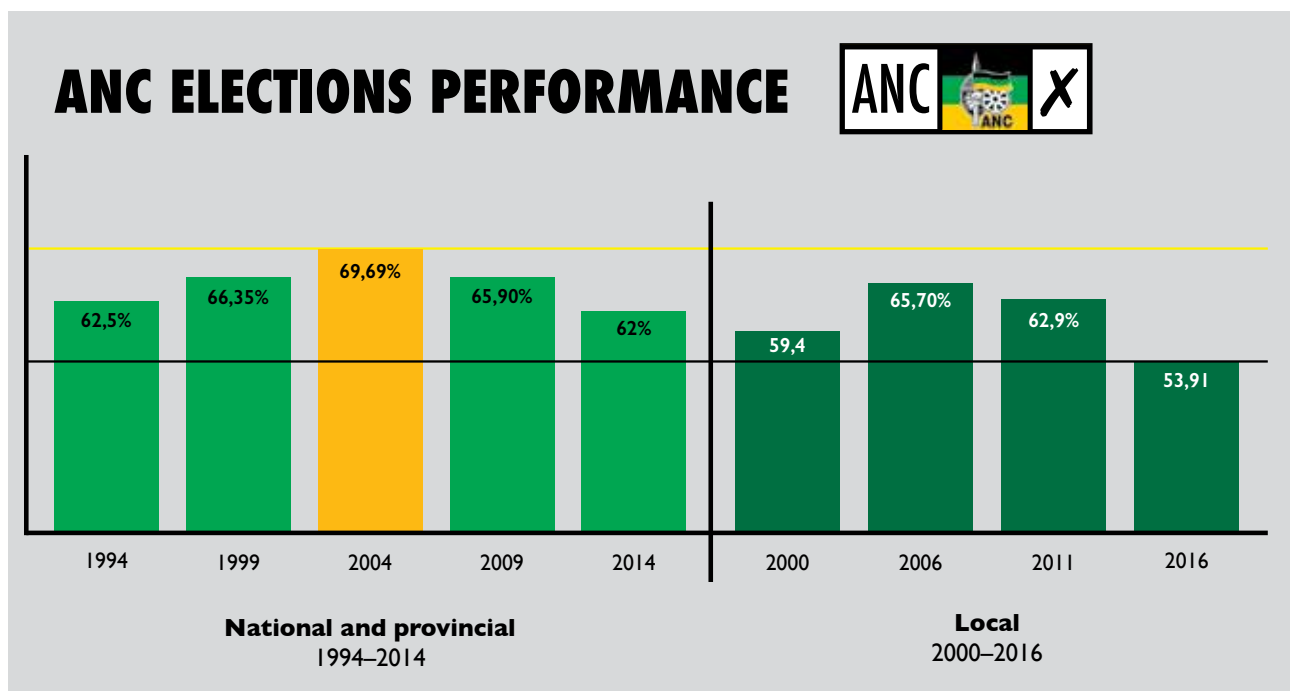
Since 2004 the ANC has faced dwindling electoral fortunes for some time. Short of a few exceptions in Kwazulu-Natal and so on, it has been on a downward spiral since 2004. In 2009 it received 65,90% nationally. In the 2014 National and Provincial election it got 62%. In relation to local government performance the ANC received 59,4% in 2000; 65,7% in 2006; 62,9% in 2011; and 53,91% in 2016.

ANC alliance partners COSATU and SACP have put their views clear on its recent electoral performance. The SACP PB raised critical issues that needs urgent attention saying, “The core lesson that the ANC in particular and its alliance partners in general need to take to heart is that our core constituencies, our historical support base have sent a powerful message. The message is quite clear: “Don’t take us for granted.” “Don’t assume that your struggle credentials will forever act as an excuse for arrogance and predatory behaviour in the present.” “Don’t marginalise us while being preoccupied with your own internal factional battles, your list processes, your personality and money driven rivalries.” “Don’t impose unpopular and discredited candidates on us, based on factional calculations about next year’s ANC elective conference.” This is the key message that needs to be taken to heart.”

COSATU also added its voice to the debate in a statement saying, “The meeting concluded that without exaggeration, judging by the local government election results, the ANC’s decline and degeneration will lead to a calamitous implosion if things remain the same. Unless the movement itself takes responsibility to resolve its internal problems that have weakened it from within; and also unless each component of the movement self corrects going forward, the decline will result in a shattering collapse.”

THE COLLAPSE OF OTHER NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT RULING PARTIES

The continent of Africa is awash with national liberation movement ruling parties that got weakened, degenerated, decayed and finally lost power. Some disap-



▲ Comparing our electoral performance: 1994–2016

peared from history altogether, except to be read in history books as historical records by school kids and researchers. The critical question of the day is whether in the foreseeable future the ANC is also facing a similar fate. Cronin makes this point succinctly, "At our National General Council in July, the Secretary General's report, and the input of the President raised many critical and honest questions about the state of our movement. Problems of careerism, factionalism, and of a growing social distance between and our social base were among the problems noted. These inputs were welcomed by the NGC delegates and, in the course of commissions, practical measures were discussed to overcome the problems. Many of the intra-organisational challenges that we face are clearly related to the fact that the ANC is now in power. It is important to realise that we are not unique in confronting these kinds of challenges. Progressive political formations often battle to sustain their revolutionary trajectory once they are in power. From India, through Mexico and Central America, to Algeria, Guinea Bissau and southern Africa it is possible to think of once heroic national liberation movements losing their way after independence... The ANC is, in short, not the first progressive political formation to have to confront the challenges, temptations and dangers of being in power."

Movements such as the PAIGC of Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, KANU of Kenya, UNIP of Zambia, CPP of Ghana, FNL of Algeria and others have almost disappeared from history. Some lost political power never to return. The ZANU-PF and ANC short of decisive action seem almost likely to follow that route. Phala also talks to this point that, "the demon of factionalism must be fought and defeated in the ANC and the entire liberation movement... If the ANC does not act timeously, decisively and swiftly against factionalism, it may reach a stage of no return whereby it is irreparable and irretrievable." (The Thinker, 2011. p.44-9)

The ANC for its part has identified some of the challenges of being a ruling party. In its resolution at the ANC Polokwane conference in 2007 it stated, "our accumulated weaknesses include inability to effectively deal with new tendencies arising from being a ruling party, such as social distance, patronage, careerism, corruption and abuse of power; ineffective management of the interface between the movement and the state; a flawed approach to membership recruitment; a decline in ideological depth amongst cadres; and a lack of institutional resources to give practical effect to the movement's leadership role." (2007 ANC National Conference)

Some national liberation movement ruling parties have a tendency of imagining themselves to be God-ordained. ANC leaders have been telling voters it would rule until Jesus Christ comes back. In Kenya, President Daniel Araps Moi promised KANU would

rule for a hundred years. "When it became clear which way the vote was going, residents had rounded up all the local cockerel and slaughtered the 'jogoo', hated symbol of the once-proud KANU, which Moi had promised would rule the country for a hundred years." (Wrong. p.2)

Others even try the route of electoral fraud to try to continue to rule even though their popular support had dwindled. Michela Wrong in her seminal work, 'It is our turn to eat' makes this point clearly about KANU. "When, after the 1997 elections, the donors found that KANU victories in eight constituencies did not stand up to scrutiny, a finding which cancelled out the ruling party's parliamentary majority, they agreed not to mention this awkward fact in their final report on the polls." (Wrong.p.188)

The key question that must be answered is: IS THE ANC ALSO FACING SUCH A FUTURE? IS THE FUTURE OF ANC DOOM AND GLOOM? WILL THE ANC SOON HEREAFTER LOSE ALL POWER AT NATIONAL LEVEL AND IN A NUMBER OF PROVINCES?

The answer is yes and no! It depends much on what the ANC does. If it acts swiftly and decisively to correct the situation it will definitely survive. If it chooses the business as usual approach it will be punished by history and over time lose the political power it has wielded since 1994. It will either be destined to the dustbin of history once and for all or survive to continue as a national liberation movement like CCM of Tanzania. The ball is really in its court. Southall puts this in a historical context in his book, 'Liberation movements in power, party and state in Southern Africa', that, "we are reaching the end of an era in Southern Africa. The NLMs which acceded to state power in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa embodied the hopes of new democracies." (p.327)

The ANC 2012 Mangaung National Conference tried to articulate how the ANC has survived thus far from the decay, the degeneration and loss of power that has bedevilled other national liberation movement ruling parties. It reasoned, "Conference agreed that we must continue to learn from the renewed experiences of the past 100 years of selfless struggle, as well as the experience of other progressive movements. The ANC has survived due to, among others:

- Its deep roots and connection with the people;
- Vibrant internal democracy and collective leadership;
- Readiness and willingness of its members to make sacrifices in pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole;
- Readiness to acknowledge its weaknesses and decisively address them in order to escalate and accelerate the people's struggle;

- *Ability to adapt to changing conditions and rise to the occasion at critical moments;*
- *Ability to uphold and build unity a cross section of South Africans and progressive forces in the world in pursuit of the cause of humanity.*

In this regard, the movement's strengths and weaknesses and priorities for organisational renewal were identified in order to reposition the ANC as we commence the revolutionary journey towards the second centenary."

The most important question however is: **WHAT LED TO THE DOWNWARD SPIRAL OF THE ANC IN THE RECENT PERIOD?** An answer to this question would herald an adequate response to the potential collapse of the ANC.

WHAT LEADS TO DOWNWARD SPIRAL IN ANC SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY SINCE POST-2004?

Some elements that led to the downward spiral of the ANC in electoral performance particularly since 2004 include:

(i) INCUMBENCY

The reality of being a ruling party in power has a tendency of creating a false façade of being invincible. That false belief of being more powerful than you actually are and false thinking that you are in power forever is the real enemy of any liberation movement in power. Arrogance sets in and leads to all the other undesirable tendencies. You can actual falsely imagine yourself so God-ordained that you would be in power until Jesus Christ returns! These in the long run prove to be an undoing to a liberation movement.

(ii) COMPLACENCY

Directly related to incumbency is complacency. Being in power for a long time with huge majorities has a tendency of inculcating a false belief that nothing will ever push you from the pedestal of power. You end up taking many things for granted including on occasion the genuine concerns of the people.

(iii) INDECISIVENESS ON ACCUMULATED WEAKNESSES/NEGATIVE TENDENCIES

A situation where leadership organs do not take decisive and timely action on the negative tendencies the ANC accumulated since 1994 such as careerism, opportunism, elitism, selfishness, individualism, arrogance, labelling, intolerance, divisions, statism, crass materialism, greed, get-rich get-rich mentality, dishonesty, disrespect, corruption, patronage, factionalism, ostentatiousness, obscurantism and other ills. These have cumulatively weakened and destroyed many a national liberation movement ruling party.

tatiousness, obscurantism and other ills. These have cumulatively weakened and destroyed many a national liberation movement ruling party.

(iv) DISUNITY

The people will not confidently vote for you when they see that you are fighting amongst yourselves. Disunity within the national liberation movement ruling party is a central cause of all its woes.

(v) RAMPANT FACTIONALISM

Factionalism particularly in run-up to elective conferences causes irreparable damage to the ruling party. It damages its image and reputation irretrievably. The damage done in the run-up to, at and post the Polokwane conference is unsalvageable. Voters will either stay at home or vote for another party when they are disappointed by rampant factionalism where capable leaders are dealt with only because they belong to losing slate. Elements involved in rampant factionalism imagine that the ANC will rule forever no matter what. They think that once they factionally defeat their adversaries inside the ANC they will be ensconced in government positions, tenders and appointments. By destroying the capacity of the ANC internally as a movement of the people, they have ensured that time for those is up. The ANC may ultimately become a non-governmental organisation, a former ruling party, weakened and fatally wounded.

(vi) CORRUPTION OF ANC PROCESSES

This offence relates to the corruption of ANC membership system to decide who qualifies to sit in a BGM to elect leadership and/or to nominate candidates. This crime against the people includes fraudulently interfering with the membership filing and recording system for factional, corrupt and dishonest intentions. Various levels of secretaries and executive committees who allow or turn a blind eye to this corruption of ANC membership system are guilty in common purpose.

(vii) CORRUPTION IN THE STATE

Reports of corruption in state tenders in departments, entities and municipalities surface from time to time. Many turn a blind eye towards such exposures by the Auditor General, the Public Protector, forensic audits and investigations of all kind. Most of the corruption has been in the supply chain area of departments, entities and municipalities. Most people involved in these shenanigans imagine that they will get rich quick and for life, they conveniently forget that once the opposition puts its hands on the levers of power there will be investigations and audits of all kinds as happened in the Western Cape and Cape Town. Such investigations end-up with someone paying back the money got irregularly. The key is to invest in the survival of

the ANC as a ruling party that is strong and viable, and able to fight corruption in the state.

Suzan Booysen writes accurately on state corruption that, “political and public sector employment also brings opportunities for legal-and fine, legal-but-inappropriate and illegal or underhand personal enrichments. Such opportunities are accessed by virtue of office-holding and family or business interests close to those in office. The existence of in-and out-groups in ANC ranks is closely associated with leveraging opportunities. This has made positions in public institutions, political office and the bureaucracy, launch pads for increased affluence.” Elements involved in these think that they can weaken and destroy the ANC but still milk it in government tenders and positions.

After detailing a plethora of recent corruption cases in South Africa, Kanyane elaborates, “The cases show that corruption cannot be condoned and tolerated any longer. Overall, corruption in both the apartheid and post-apartheid era, has caused a grievous mess, which could not be tolerated any longer. The appalling conditions made the system ungovernable and it impossible to resuscitate it unless tough action was taken against the perpetrators duped in corruption. On this basis, the state aborted its goals and easily generated corruption in its blood streams. Obscurantism, racketeering, collusion and lack of enforcement of disciplinary measures or commitment to public service and unethical behaviour were inexcusable pathologies which gave birth to corruption.” (Kanyane. p.158-9.)

(viii) ACTING TOO LATE

Acting too late to correct a wrong situation is the proverbial too little too late. We have seen this on the Public Protector’s remedial action on Nkandla security upgrades, on Tshwane ANC REC’s disunity on mayoral candidate, Nelson Mandela mayoral deployment of Danny Jordan, in Gauteng province in bringing the big guns of veterans into the campaign two to three weeks to election day, the state response to the “fees must fall campaign”, the response to the Vuwani demarcation dispute, etc.

(ix) UNWELCOME INCONVENIENCES TO CITIZENS

Citizens do not forget or forgive instances of bad service delivery. Those instances of power outages and disruption to water services particularly in the urban

centres of the country have not served the ANC well. Urban residents are totally dependent and for generations are used to uninterrupted delivery of water and electricity to households.

(x) BLUNDERS IN THE STATE

Incumbency also serves as a double-edged sword because you can commit policy and tactical blunders in the state. For the ANC those may include the e-tolls in Gauteng province generally resented by the middle-class in the province, the Marikana tragedy that led to loss of lives, the handling of the necessary Nkandla security upgrades, the inaction around the SABC debacles, the Waterkloof airport landings, and so on. Those blunders remain embedded in the mind of the electorate and they take opportunity to punish you during elections.

(xi) LOCALISED DISCOMFORT BY THE CITIZENRY

The national liberation movement ruling party must timeously and without fail deal with any discomfort, concerns and issues raised by citizens in their local areas. People must never be undermined by whoever is in power. For instance, in the Limpopo province, the Vuwani demarcation debacle should have been handled better in the interest of the will of the overwhelming majority of the population. The 2016 Local Government re-

sults read like an encyclopaedia of areas where there were endless community protests whose issues were never addressed.

(xii) OSTENTATIOUSNESS

Ostentatiousness is defined by the ANC as, “the negative display of wealth and possessions intended to impress people or make them envious, like flashy cars, expensive houses, labelled clothes, hot furniture, dated alcohol or shiny jewellery.” (ANC Strategy & Tactics, 2012. p.52)

There is nothing wrong with possessing or buying these items, in fact cadres who are able to because of their deployment are encouraged to acquire them. The problem is to display them in a disgustingly negative manner to others who cannot get have them. This is itself a threat to the national democratic revolution. “The emergence of social distance between ANC cadres in positions of power from the motive forces which the ANC represent, with the potential to render elements in

There is nothing wrong with possessing or buying [luxury] items... The problem is to display them in a disgustingly negative manner to others who cannot get have them.

the movement progressively lethargic to the conditions of the poor.” (ANC.2007. dd.)

(xiii) DISREGARDING THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

This happens when an unpopular candidate is forced down the throat of the people. Where community’s clear views on who must be a candidate councillor is disregarded by ANC upper structures. People will not vote for someone they don’t want. That localised anger affects voter turnout and ANC electoral support.

(xiv) INTRA-PARTY DISAGREEMENTS

Those internal disagreements within the party must be dealt with decisively, swiftly and correctly in the interest of the movement. No short-cuts, unpopular or populist decisions should be allowed. Such disagreements if allowed to fester will weaken and ultimately destroy the movement. The removal of a Premier on the eve of elections, festering local disagreements with the SACP, lack of clarity on the suspension or otherwise of an ANC provincial chairperson, are a case in point.

(xv) LOW VOTER TURN-OUT

Low voter turn-out is a function of low morale and negative mood amongst the populace. Negative campaigning is one of the main culprits in this regard. The national liberation movement ruling party must always campaign positively and not be goaded into mudslinging and insults by other forces.

HOW COULD THE ANC SURVIVE AS A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT RULING PARTY

(i) ACTION, ACTION, ACTION.

Concerns of the populace, wrong things and weak employees should not be left undealt with until last minute. The movement must take timely and decisive action otherwise citizens get tired and lose confidence in its ability to govern and take care of their lives. Nothing replaces decisive leadership at all times. The ANC NEC resolved sternly on this question in November 2009, that, *“The ANC constitutional structures should be resolute and decisive in stamping out ill-discipline and should do so without fear or favour as such behaviour damages the image of the ANC.”*

(ii) UNITY, UNITY, UNITY.

Unity of the movement must be guarded pricelessly. Not false unity that exist only in words and in speech-

People will not vote for someone they don't want. That localised anger affects voter turnout and ANC electoral support.

es. It must be a unity in action and a unity of purpose. It must be a unity that brings together a solid clue between and amongst the motive forces of the national democratic revolution.

(iii) LEAD BY EXAMPLE.

Leaders shouldn’t say things they don’t mean, because the people are not stupid. Always do what you say others must do. Walk the talk. All-round ethical leadership is called for. All leaders must be exemplary in their conduct.

(iv) ANC SHOULD NOT BE SWALLOWED BY COUNTER-BLAMING AND FINGER-POINTING.

ANC leaders, structures and members at all levels of the organisation must be involved in a process of analysing what went wrong. This process should be allowed to take time. No holly cows should be spared in the process. It must be used to unite and strengthen the ANC instead of dividing and weakening it even further. Finger-pointing and scapegoating will take it nowhere and must be avoided at all times.

(v) ANC MUST LEARN HOW TO RUN A POLITICAL PARTY IN THE MODERN ERA OF SOCIAL MEDIA AND VERY INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM.

In the event the ANC does not develop skills of dealing with modern challenges of intrusive social media, premature leaking of sensitive information and thorough investigative journalism, it will die over time. Such realities are being well handled by other political parties in our country and throughout the world. The ANC must renew itself and join the modern world or die as a dinosaur. Dinosaurs didn’t survive to live in a world of a different climate.

(vi) ORGANISATIONAL AND GOVERNANCE DECISIVENESS.

Those deployed to government must be decisive at all material times. The organisation itself must act firmly on ill-discipline, corruption, underperformance by employees, etc. For instance, it is totally unacceptable that an ANC PEC in Limpopo can spend eight months without meeting (from January to August 2016) in the midst of all the challenges facing the movement in service delivery marches all over, crises in Vuwani, Mogalakwena, Malamulele, Thabazimbi, lacklustre election campaign, hung municipalities, 8% loss in the elections, lowest voter turn-out in the country and huge losses to ANC in local councils and the ANC NEC is neither concerned nor acting. Leadership decisiveness is in huge demand.

(vii) IMPROVE STATE PERFORMANCE.

More than twenty years the state machinery at national, provincial and local levels must have been perfected to do what is within their competence. The three spheres must be dovetail in a skilful combination. Swift action must be taken against those provinces and municipalities that collapse because of corruption, fraud, looting, tender-rigging, etc.

(viii) DELIVER SERVICES TO THE PEOPLE.

In areas where there is little performance in service delivery, people lose confidence and see no reason to go and vote again and again without any changes to their lives.

(ix) GOVERNMENT LEADERS MUST INSPIRE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE MOVEMENT.

Confidence of the people in their elected government should never be taken for granted. When after elections you put the most unqualified, immature and ill-equipped to be a mayor, a speaker, an MMC, an MEC, a Premier or a minister, people will see through that. They can see when he/she is unable to read a prepared speech or stumbles from one crisis to another in his/her deployment. When he/she has no clue about what he/she is doing even people who grew-up or went to school with him/her will begin to tell how dull he/she was. The ANC must always without fail deploy its best cadres to positions of authority and responsibility. Such capable cadres enhance the confidence of the people in their government and in turn in the ruling party.

Patronage and factionalism damage the movement irreparably also because, "positions in government also mean the possibility to appoint individuals in all kinds of capacities. As such, some members make promises to friends, that once elected and ensconced in government, they would return the favour. Cliques and factions then emerge within the movement, around personal loyalties driven by corrupt intentions. Members become voting fodder to serve individuals' self-interest."

(x) DIRECTLY CONFRONT THE 'IT IS OUR TURN TO EAT' SYNDROME.

ANC must act directly and decisively against elements using its access to the state to amass ill-gotten wealth. The maturity of the NDR and control of levers of the

state must by definition create a black bourgeoisie class. Such super-rich black people are a by-product of the success of the liberation struggle. ANC must discourage the phenomenon of instant millionaires who steal from the poor. Of course once the ANC can lose power in that municipality, province or nationally the new rulers will take them to task, their ill-gotten wealth repossessed and some go to jail. When they contribute to ANC losing power they seem to conveniently forget this.

Former ANC Secretary General Kgalema Motlanthe spoke very eloquently on the matter in a Financial Mail interview, "This rot is across the board. It is not confined to any level or any area of the country. Almost every project is conceived because it offers opportunities for certain people to make money. A great deal of the ANC's problems are occasioned by this. There are people who want to take it over so they can arrange for appointment of those who will allow them possibilities for future accumulation." (Financial Mail, 19 January 2007.)

(xi) DEAL WITH ANC AND STATE CAPTURE BY ELEMENTS OF THE PARASITIC-BOURGEOISIE.

Sections of the ANC have been captured by elements of a lumpen-bourgeoisie that has become parasitic. Such a parasite bourgeoisie is dependent on the state at local, provincial, entity and departmental levels for its existence and survival by hook or crook.

The ANC NWC strongly warned against this phenomenon in its 2001 discussion document titled, 'Through the Eye of the Needle'. "Government positions also go hand-in-hand with the possibility to issue contracts to commercial companies. Some of these companies identify ANC members that they can promote in ANC structures and into government, so that they can get contracts by hook or crook. This is done through media networks to discredit other leaders, or even by buying membership cards to set up branches that are ANC only in name."

The parasitic-bourgeoisie invest in funding ANC factions, once they have won it knows its future and continued looting the state is assured. The ANC must deal with this problem decisively or face liquidation.

Money is really the cause of many of ANC's woes. The ANC's 2010 midterm review confirms this point adequately. "The influence of money in our processes is hav-

In areas where there is little performance in service delivery, people lose confidence and see no reason to go and vote again and again without any changes to their lives..

ing the biggest potential to change the character of the movement from being people centred and people driven in all the processes, to one where power is wielded by a narrow circle of those who own and/or control resources. This is at the centre of the resurgence of factionalism in the movement where contestation is neither political nor ideological but driven by narrow interests.”

(xii) DEMOCRACY EDUCATION.

The importance of democracy and voting, particularly for the youth and the born-frees must be emphasised. Democracy education should be part of the job of IEC, which work it can do effectively in between elections. Democracy education should also be part of the school curriculum.

(xiii) INTRODUCE COMPULSORY HISTORY AS A SUBJECT IN ALL SCHOOLS.

As happens in many countries of the world, history must be introduced as a compulsory subject in all school. This will raise the patriotic consciousness of the population in the long run.

(xiv) INCREASE VOTER TURN-OUT.

ANC and government leadership must strive to create positive mood amongst the electorate. Negativity, lies, anger and fights pushes voters away.

(xiii) ANC BRANCHES MUST FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY AND CARRY OUT THEIR POWERS.

Branches are the backbone of the ANC. They represent the basic unit of activity for all ANC members. Once they are weakened they become centres of factional fights for use in elective conferences. Branches must be run effectively to implement ANC programme of action, train BEC to lead properly and the office-bearers to handle their portfolios qualitatively. Each branch must enhance its interface with government through the ward councillor. It must be capacitated to handle issues of discipline, political education, governance, sectoral outreach and society’s mobilisation.

6. CONCLUSION

The downward spiral in ANC electoral successes that it has seen particularly since 2004 must be arrested and turned around decisively. Otherwise the ANC

will soon be a former ruling party of the country like many other former national liberation movement ruling parties awash in the African continent. Introspection is key in this regard to look at the objective and objective factors that led to this situation. This will help to discover the facts and factors, the faces and the forces that led to the unimpressive performance in the recent elections. The reality is that with the 44% overall performance in Gauteng province, short of miracle, the ANC will not retain power there in the 2019 national and provincial elections. The present ANC government there must prepare itself for the opposition benches. The ANC will in all probabilities be the largest opposition to a coalition of other forces.

This elections were therefore a forewarning in that regard.

Another difficulty that the ANC must confront is the fact that like in the Western Cape and Cape Town metro, once people taste a different type of government it will get extra-difficult to convince them otherwise. This trend we see it with other national liberation movement ruling parties that once they lost power they got scattered, weakened and slowly disappeared from history. The ANC NGC of 2005 elaborated on this eventuality by saying, “The ANC came into existence before any of us.

It will outlive all of us. Our historic task is to carry this precious torch through a brief time we are given on earth, and pass it undiminished to the generation that will follow. That torch, whose flames keep aloft the hopes of our people, burns on the fuel of our own selfless contributions, which rest upon our acceptance of the values and conduct of our fore-bearers: courage, generosity, honesty, self-sacrifice, humility, truthfulness, integrity and temperance. These are the values that must reside in the membership of the ANC, which is the foundation upon which the life of our movement rests.”

The ANC can survive as a national liberation movement ruling party if it wants to. The ball is in its court to act decisively and now.

The downward spiral in ANC electoral successes that it has seen particularly since 2004 must be arrested and turned around decisively. Otherwise the ANC will soon be a former ruling party of the country like many other former national liberation movement ruling parties awash in the African continent.

VIEWPOINT



UNITY OF ETHICS AND POLITICS

at the current political juncture

■ By **THANDO NTLEMEZA**

SOME LEADERS allow short-term gain, greed and other non-ethical values to take precedence over values such as honesty and accountability,¹ and thus put themselves in precarious and dishonorable situations. With scandals involving politicians, high profile public servants and other prominent people in various sectors of society, importance of ethical dimension of leadership became very imperative. What may have remained contested were features of the phenomenon, or the universally accepted definition of ethical leadership.

Philosophers and social scientists contributed to the attempts to give meaning to ethical leadership, but from different perspectives. While philosophers approached the phenomenon from the normative perspective, which emphasizes how leaders ought to behave in a given situation, social scientific approach focused more on describing ethical leadership, as well as on identifying its antecedents and consequences.² No matter how the philosophers, scientists and other people approach ethical leadership, personal traits such as honesty, integrity and trustworthiness have al-

¹ Susan Mullane "Ethics and leadership" White Paper Series, University of Miami, 2009

² Brown and Trevino "Ethical leadership: A review and future directions" *The Leadership Quarterly* 17 (2006) 595 – 616 at 596.

ways been very much central in the public perceptions about leaders and their leadership. These and other traits remain the common features of ethical leadership in many of the perspectives.

CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

In dealing with the phenomenon of ethical leadership, which is a very complex subject in culturally and religiously diverse societies such as South Africa; the point of departure should be to define the component concepts such as leadership and ethics. It is the definitions of these concepts, which may provide some illuminating insights into ethical leadership. In addition, they may also demonstrate that moral values are among the elements of ethical leadership.

In simple terms, *leadership* can be defined as the art of persuading people in organisations and other sectors of society to want to pursue certain ideas, programmes and activities leaders, organisations or government have set as the goals.³ Or, art of leadership is a process of directing people's behavior towards a desired goal and direction.⁴ So, what sort of values can ethicize the leadership?

Ethics is a philosophical term that originates from Greek word 'ethos' which is concerned with describing and prescribing ways and standards of behaviour in society.⁵ Inherent in this is an assumption that there are acceptable and unacceptable ways of behaving. Viewed from this angle, ethical behaviour is accepted as good and appropriate in a given situation and unethical conduct is unacceptable.

By combining the concepts of ethics and leadership, we get a composite concept of leadership which talks to leaders who endeavour to instil trust and confidence in their respective organisations and society, prioritize leading through transparent means, conduct themselves with utmost integrity,⁶ are humble, honest, very much concerned with the common good, respectful to others, strive for justice and fairness, and firmly stand for what is morally defensible in society.⁷

Since the concept of leadership implies a relationship between the leaders and those who are led in the organisations and society, conduct of the leaders must accord with values of the organisations they lead and

societal values. Or put differently, ethical leadership prevents leaders from conducting themselves in ways their organisations and members of society view as inappropriate. Or, ethical leadership forces leaders to do things viewed as appropriate when judged against the ethical values of their organisations and ethics of society. It prevents them from being arrogant, deceptive, self-serving, neglecting or despising other people.⁸ Ethical leadership is important for organisations and societies to fulfill their visions and missions to achieve their declared goals. It is that form of leadership which is key in managing the reputation and integrity of the organisations with a view to helping the leaders and their respective organisations to win trust and confidence of the masses of the people.

ARISTOTLE ON UNITY OF ETHICS AND POLITICS

Even classical Greek philosophers engaged on the phenomenon of ethical politics. In *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle addresses the question of what it means to act and live ethically. However, Aristotle does not seem to suggest that ethics influence politics or vice versa.⁹ Instead, he projects ethical politics as a science, which is concerned with the human good and that, which is good and choice worthy for its own sake and not for the sake of any further good.¹⁰

In his political philosophy, Aristotle suggests three kinds of life in a political community. These are the life of pleasure, political life and contemplative life. He was quick to dismiss life of pleasure as fit only for the 'fatted cattle', not for human beings – who (in his view) are by nature the political animals with considerable interest in political life of society.

Aristotle regarded political life as a very important aspect in a political community. He believed that political life is not for those people with excessive passions. To him, intellectual and moral virtues are elements of political life. In this understanding of political life, intellectual virtues consist of art, science, prudence, wisdom and intellect. It is these intellectual virtues, which help leaders make "good" judgments. On the other hand, Aristotle spoke of the moral virtues such as courage, generosity, magnanimity, ambition, friendliness, truthfulness, wittiness and justice. Of these moral virtues, Aristotle stated that magnanimity is the culmination

³ Mihelic, Lipicnik and Tekavcic "Ethical leadership" *International Journal of Management and Information Systems – Fourth Quarter 2010* Vol. 14, No.5, 31 – 41 at 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Jeffrey Sehume "Troubled SA cannot afford to have leaders without ethics", *BusinessDay*, Monday, 25 April 2016 at page 7.

⁷ Mihelic et al at 35

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Chris Berger "Making liberal democracy ethical: Aristotle on the unity of ethics and politics", *The Agora: Political Science Undergraduate Journal* Vol.3 (2013) 73 – 91 at 77.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

of the moral virtues as magnanimous leaders exhibit high-mindedness, altruism and benevolence to remain credible, honourable and acceptable in society.

On life of contemplation, *Gerhard Schumacher* poses a question: *Why is contemplation so highly regarded by Aristotle?* In his response to this question, Schumacher states that Aristotle viewed human beings as the hybrid between the animal and God. On one hand, Aristotle defined human beings as the species whose actions, if not controlled, are driven by desires and emotions. On the other, he believed that human beings have the rational part in themselves in form of soul and psyche. It is this rational part of human beings, which is relevant to *life of contemplation*. In his view, contemplation is a human engagement in rational activity. He derived his ideas on contemplation from both Socrates and Plato who believed that contemplation is the highest form of human activity – something which distinguishes human beings from all other living organisms such as the animals and plants.¹¹ But, Aristotle was cautious about civility of human beings as he stated that “*at his best, [a human being] is the noblest of all animals; separated from law and justice he is the worst.*”¹²

Writing about Aristotle’s ideas on ethics and politics, *Chris Berger* argues that Aristotle makes a compelling case for unity of ethics and politics. For this reason, Berger persuades us to consider it in how we do and think about politics in our times.¹³ If we agree that Aristotle suggests unity of ethics and politics, good ethical behaviour and good politics go hand in hand.¹⁴ Good political leaders would be those who embody Aristotle’s intellectual and moral virtues. In his view, ethical conduct derives from development and exercise of intellectual and moral virtues. Other writers¹⁵ agree with this and his contention that ethical leaders live up to values of conduct crucial for their offices, adhere to a more universal standard of behaviour and set the example for the members and other people in society.

PRINCIPLES OF ETHICAL LEADERSHIP

Different schools of thought on the subject emphasize certain aspects as the primary components of ethical leadership. Notwithstanding this, values of the phenomenon in many of the perspectives are not dis-

tinctly different.

Honesty, respect, service, community and justice are but some of the fundamental values, which provide the foundation for sound ethical leadership. These values can be traced back to Aristotle’s ethical virtues, which are very necessary in any political community or society – some of which we have already mentioned.

HONESTY

Ethical leaders are honest. They do not lie or misrepresent reality. In a literary contribution titled *The Ethical Imperative*, *Dalla Costa* states that ethical leaders “*Do not promise what [they] can’t deliver, do not misrepresent [reality], do not hide behind spin-doctored evasions, do not suppress obligations, [and] do not evade accountability.*”¹⁶ Or, dishonest leaders lie, are unreliable and their decisions are always objectionable.

RESPECT FOR OTHERS

Ethical leaders respect others. In Immanuel Kant’s words,¹⁷ they treat others as ends in themselves with their own established goals, not as means to other person’s personal goals. This includes giving credence to other’s ideas and confirming them as human beings; nurturing them to become aware of their needs, values and purposes;¹⁸ and also assisting them in integrating theirs with the organisational needs, values and purposes.¹⁹

SERVING THE PEOPLE

Ethical leaders serve other people. Responsibility to serve other people in politics is similar to health care principle of beneficence. This principle derives from Hippocratic tradition, which requires health professionals to make choices that benefit patients. Used in politics, this principle requires leaders to help people pursue their interests and achieve goals. Which, in essence, means that ethical leaders are of service to the people and take decisions that are beneficial to the people.

COMMUNITY AND CITIZENSHIP

Ethical leaders build communities. One of the features distinguishing ethical leaders from other leaders in or-

¹¹ *Gerhard Schumacher “Why is contemplation so highly regarded by Aristotle?”*

¹² *Aristotle 384 – 322 BC*

¹³ *Berger at 88*

¹⁴ *Berger at 82.*

¹⁵ See *Thomas, C (2001) The Ethical Leader, Executive Excellence (Vol. 18) who is cited in Mihelic et al at p.32*

¹⁶ *Dalla Costa, J (1998) The Ethical Imperative: Why moral leadership is good business. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley*

¹⁷ *1724 – 1804*

¹⁸ *Burns, JM (1978) Leadership. New York: Harper & Row*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

ganisations and society is their selflessness. Because of their belief in and determination to serve other people, they set aside their personal interests and prioritize interests of the people and communities. Driving them is always their civic duty to the community and their unwavering commitment to building their communities to become better places in which people can live and work.

FAIRNESS AND JUSTICE

Ethical leaders are just and fair. As the custodians of justice and fairness in society, ethical leaders promote values of justice and fairness and dare not deviate from these values for fear of bringing about chaos to society.²⁰

The principle of justice requires all leaders and their organisations in democratic societies to place issues of fairness at the centre of decision-making. It requires leaders to play by the rules, not to take advantage of other people and to make informed decisions. When taking decisions, they consider ethical implications. Or, they do not take unethical decisions they know people will reject.

Most importantly, the principle of justice also requires leaders to treat human beings as equals. Guiding these leaders is a general rule, which stipulates that no person must receive special treatment from the leaders. Special treatment may only be allowed if there are clear and reasonable grounds based on ethical values, which are not questionable in society.

As ardent advocates for justice and fairness in democratic societies, ethical leaders should guide the process of mobilizing masses of the people against the injustices and unfairness in society, as that struggle is morally justified. As John Rawls stated, a concern for the issues of fairness and justice in any society is necessary for the people who work together to promote ideas, activities and programmes for the common good.

ON ETHICS AND THE POLITICS OF THE ANC

In requiring all its members and leaders to embody values such as *loyalty to the organisation and the people's cause, service, selflessness, integrity, honesty and humility*; the ANC must have intended to instil ethical

values and to promote and entrench ethical behaviour in the organisation. It must have wanted to make itself ethical in order to be credible and to gain confidence of the people. This is precisely why Joel Netshitenzhe states that defective leadership does not only hold back the attainment of the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution, but presents a difficult conundrum for the ANC – to embrace defects of leaders it has chosen as its defects and allow these defects to become its blind spots and subconscious attributes in public imagination.²¹ Since its value system demands ethical conduct, the ANC has to decisively deal with this shambolic situation with a view to defending itself against self-destruction and to minimize the political impact of any un-ethical conduct. As a people committed to promoting ethical behaviour in their organisation, ANC members have a duty to help their organisation to address these challenges. However, they must always be mindful of and alive to Machiavellian thinking that “*the leader who wants to act virtuously in every way necessarily comes to grief among so many who are not virtuous.*”²² With its ethics-based value system, the ANC cannot subscribe to this skeptical thinking. Neither can it embrace realist view that “*leaders cannot afford ethics in a world of serious responsibilities, powerful institutions and committed adversaries.*”²³

ANC leaders are critically important to defend the organisation from all potential risks posed from within and outside the organisation. As a leader of the revolution, ANC needs capable and respected leaders, as it is these leaders who must help it lead the revolution. It is them who must lead the ANC in helping people liberate themselves from oppression and exploitation to which they have been subjected for decades. This, in essence, means that ANC leaders must be “*organizers, sources of inspiration, forces of example and paragons of the transformative virtue*” (to use the words of Joel Netshitenzhe).²⁴ Without these virtues and attributes, leaders will not gain trust and confidence of the people. Or, the people will not be comfortable when their struggle is led by an organisation with leaders that are questionable from the perspective of ethics. Like Oliver Tambo, leaders of an organisation that leads the revolution should command reverence and admiration in an organisation which leads the revolution, and as well as in society – not because they demand respect from the people or instil fear in the minds of the people.²⁵ South Africa and its people need this kind of leadership to set the example and inspire the masses of the people in society.

²⁰ Writing about “*Conception and application of justice in S.E.K Mqhayi’s Ityala Lamawele*”, Abner Nyamende reminds us that King is above the law in African traditional societies and a custodian of the law, but dares not break the law for fear of bringing chaos to the land.

²¹ Joel Netshitenzhe “*Oliver Tambo Centenary Lecture*” in *Fourways*, 20 October 2012

²² Patrick Dobel “*Political Prudence and the Ethics of leadership*” *Public Administration Review*, January/February 1998 Vol. 58, No.1 at 74.

²³ Mongenthau cited in Patrick Dobel at 74.

²⁴ Netshitenzhe

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Like any organisation aspiring to be ethical and credible in society, the ANC must have understood that a journey to achieve this would be long and finishing it may not be possible without focused attention and resilience.

The ANC could not have started this important journey believing that the road will always be smooth or destination will be reached without any difficulties along the way. It is not possible that the ANC overlooked the fact that objective and subjective factors may present challenges to its efforts to make itself ethical and credible. Or, it cannot have been unknown to the ANC that lapses of judgment may become a reality and provide fertile ground for mischief-makers and opportunists to win over some members of the organisation to justify the politically unjustifiable moves and confuse unsuspecting people in society to believe and advance their propaganda that a journey of the ANC to achieve ethical character was no longer pursued.

It could not have been unknown that mischief-makers and opportunists may use ethical challenges facing the ANC to plot its demise. To dislodge their agenda and interrupt their maneuvers, action needs to be taken without any delay to get rid of rotten potatoes, lest many other members become infected. In cleansing the organisation, we must always be alive to the reality that culprits will not take anything lying down. They will embark on intensive counter maneuvers. Central in their counter strategy will be to rubbish cleansing process as a witch-hunt. They will be quick to seek refuge in conspiracy theories to rubbish questions about their unethical conduct and actions, which compromise the image and credibility of the organisation in society.

As an organisation on a mission to make itself ethical in the eyes and minds of the people within and beyond the country and to change society for better, the ANC must have anticipated subjective and objective challenges at particular intervals and developed decisive plans in advance to respond to the challenges which have a potential to disrupt any organisational efforts to make ANC an ethical organisation with a view to clearing the ground for further advances in entrenching ethics within the organisation and to ethicize politics throughout the country.

Because it understands material conditions in which struggle is waged, the ANC could not have planned to abandon the journey when objective and subjective factors present difficulties. With its knowledge of tactics in a revolution, it must have anticipated that there may be difficulties to which it has to respond. Most importantly, it must have known that its detractors and

enemies of the revolution would be quick to use any isolated incidences attributable to certain individuals to rubbish it as an organisation which does not have any ethics or morals - as if nature and character of an organisation depends on conduct of few individuals - as opposed to the collective behaviour of the majority of members.

Because achieving an ethical nature and character can be a long journey, the ANC could not have forgotten that mistakes may be made in the process as human beings are by nature not infallible. Despite this, isolated lapses of judgment on the part of the individuals cannot be attributed to all other members or the organisation as a whole. Neither could lapses of this nature have made the ANC forget or neglect its own mission to make itself ethical, credible and respected. Or, it is not possible that few lapses can prevent the movement from continuing with discharging its historical role to lead the struggle for better life for all the people.

While it may pride itself with the value system underpinned by the people's ethics, the ANC cannot claim to be immune to unethical behaviour, which troubles many organisations and institutions in various societies throughout the world. It cannot claim with utmost confidence that none of its members and leaders allow short-term gain, greed and other non-ethical values to take precedence over the ethical values such as integrity, honesty, selflessness and accountability. For this reason, there are questions that should be posed to the ANC - as the organisation aspiring to be ethical and credible in society. But, these questions must assist the ANC to think creatively about entrenching ethical politics within itself and in society.

To what extent has the ANC been able to deal with situations where its members or leaders acted contrary to the generally accepted ethics in society? How has the ANC responded to the conduct of the leaders that contravened ANC values? What lessons have been learnt? Since leaders must protect and promote ethical values, how will we deal with ethical challenges going forward? How do we ensure that leaders of the ANC become paragons of the revolutionary ethics and command some reverence - not because they demand respect or instil fear, but because of their ethical outlook and conduct?

As and when we respond to the important questions about ethical behaviour and actions within the organisation, we should avoid being overly simplistic and narrow in our approach. Guiding us should be a desire and mission to address the organisational weaknesses and to entrench ethical behaviour in the organisation.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

In reality, most people within the organisations and in society watch more what leaders do rather than what they say.²⁶ For this reason, many people believe that if leader’s behaviour is inconsistent with the ethics of the organisation or those of society, his integrity will be lost.²⁷ It does not help a leader to know the ethical values without applying them in practice.

As a country, we have to exercise our collective responsibility and ensure that all leaders act in ways, which are compatible with their acceptance of the leadership positions and offices they hold. This requires us to work together as the organisations and as the people to ensure that all leaders demonstrate honesty and integrity; are open about the way in which they reach decisions; set aside their own personal interests and prioritise community interest; show leadership to other people; and are prepared to be held accountable for their conduct and actions through the most appropriate mechanisms in their organisations, government and other areas of power and influence in society.

Leaders have primary influence on the conduct within the organisations as they are responsible for initiating and directing implementation of the norms and codes of conduct. It is for this very reason that all leaders are supposed to be the first people to demonstrate ethical conduct. This must be the case because leaders of the organisation ought to know that their members and other people in society, especially the unsuspecting ones, may follow the conduct leaders exhibit.

In a literary work titled ‘*Some perspectives of managerial ethical leadership*’, Enderle²⁸ proposes three main tasks for the leaders, which tasks are geared towards promoting ethical behaviour in organisations and broader society. In particular, Enderle challenges the leaders to perceive, interpret and create reality; to show responsibility for the effects of their decisions on the members, the organisations they lead and broader society, and to be responsible for implementing the organisational goals, values and principles. When leaders of the organisations or society fail to do that which Enderle suggests all leaders do to promote ethical conduct or fail to adhere to ethics associated with the prominent positions and offices they occupy – be it in their organisations or the government; organisations and their members as well as other people

in broader society have a collective responsibility to rebuke unethical leaders. This should be done with a view to correcting the unethical behaviour of the leaders concerned and to promoting ethical politics across organisations and society as a whole. Unethical leaders must either be corrected or get out of politics because there can never be any justifiable grounds to reject the interventions against leaders that are unethical. But, any corrective interventions should never be unethical, as unethical responses will undermine the efforts of society to promote and entrench ethical politics.

CONCLUSION

Like any other democratic society, which attaches significant value to ethical values and conduct; South Africa deserves credible leaders who can promote and entrench politics that are based on ethical values and principles. Ours will never be ethical politics if those leaders who are a disgrace to the country populate our political and public spaces. Echoing similar sentiments, Jeffery Sehume states that “[our country] cannot afford to have leaders without ethics”.²⁹ Sehume goes on to remind us that “ethical leadership is an imperative that separates us from the past and doubles as a bridge to the future.”³⁰

As stated above, some think that all actions or inactions of the leaders are attributable to the organisations they lead. Decisions and actions of leaders that are not in line with organisational principles cannot be attributed to the organisation. For this reason, unethical conduct of individual leaders does not define culture of the organisation to which they belong. But, constant defence of unethical decisions and actions of leaders by their organisations as if nothing unethical has happened puts the organisations in very untenable situation. It is this situation, which will definitely cause people to ask disturbing questions about the will and commitment of these political organisations to entrench ethical politics within themselves and in society.

For any organisation to be respected in society, ethical values should be integral part of its internal politics and outlook. With ethical values and principles underpinning practice of politics within organisations and in government, there can never be any corruption and misdemeanors in any political organisation and politics of the country.³¹

²⁶ Kelly Manahan “A Review of the literature Concerning Ethical Leadership in organizations” *Emerging Leadership Journeys*, Vol. 5, Issue 1, 2012 56 -66 at 60
²⁷ Malphurs cited in Kelly Manahan at 60
²⁸ Enderle is cited in Mihelic, Lipicnik and Tekavcic “Ethical leadership” *International Journal of Management and Information Systems – Fourth Quarter 2010* Vol.14, No.5, 31 – 41 at 37.
²⁹ Jeffrey Sehume “Troubled SA cannot afford to have leaders without ethics”, *BusinessDay*, Monday, 25 April 2016 at page 7.
³⁰ *Ibid.*
³¹ These were the strong views expressed by the Constitutional Court in the so-called Nkandla judgment, 2016

Success in forging unity of ethics and politics in our country will depend on the extent to which organisations and society in general succeed in suppressing unethical tendencies and in promoting ethical politics in our political space. It is the leaders themselves who must have the will and commitment to infuse ethical values into a practice of leadership and to promote ethical behaviour in their respective organisations and society. What should be emphasized is that, organisations may come up with ethical values and principles with good intentions of promoting ethical behaviour and ethical politics, but if the leaders of the organisations and other sectors of society fail to reflect ethical values and principles in their behaviour and conduct, all efforts of their respective organisations will be in vain – and our politics will remain unethical.

When unethical tendencies are allowed to become defining features or integral part of politics of the organisation or society, many people will doubt if politics is (indeed) for the common good. Or, they will be skeptical of anything to do with politics. It will be at this stage where we may be witnessing practice of politics fast losing its credibility, relevance and meaning – something which may mark the end of politics as defined in Aristotle's political philosophy as a science concerned with the human good. Once this happens, not only the revolution will be in trouble, but also the practice of politics. Is that possible or we are alarmist to the extreme?, some people may ask. **Anything is possible in politics!**

Thando Ntlemeza is Member of the ANC Parklands Branch and Member of the PEC Subcommittee on Political Education.

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The Red Flag Still Flies High: **95 YEARS OF THE SACP**

■ *By* **KGOLANE RUDOLPH PHALA**

40

THIS YEAR, 2016, the people of Africa and South Africa are commemorating the 95th year of the founding of the Communist Party of South Africa in July 1921. 95 years of militant tireless struggles for national liberation, people's power and socialism. This is exactly five short years to the centenary of the SACP in 2021. This is the first and for a very long time the only Communist Party on the African Continent. We are commemorating the birth of this giant colossus of the freedom struggle when the revolution in South Africa is going through a difficult phase.

The modern-day SACP has its initial original roots in the discoveries of diamond in Griqualand-west in 1867 and of gold on the Reef in 1886. These major discoveries led to the arrival on our shores of skilled and semi-skilled White artisans from Europe, Canada, Australia and elsewhere to come and work in the nascent mines. As Lerumo puts it, *"the discovery of diamonds, and particularly that of underground resources of vast potential at what is now Kimberly, brought a rush of wealth-seekers and work-seekers from all over the world."*(Lerumo. p.22)

Some of these workers from Europe and America already had experience of working-class and early trade union struggles in their own countries. The party has its roots in these conscientised white workers from the first world. They laid the embryonic foundations for socialist ideas, early trade unions and the communist party. It is they who gathered in 1915 to form the ISL, the local communist parties in Brakpan, Springs, Benoni, Johannesburg, Cape Town and elsewhere.

EARLY ORIGINS

Nascent roots of the CPSA can be found in the early embryonic trade unions that got established among the white workers in the early mines on the Reef and Kimberly. Some of these workers were veterans of worker struggles in their own home countries. Lerumo says, *"As early as the nineteenth century, branches of British trade unions had been established in Cape Town and other coastal cities. The mines became the arena of fierce class struggle where monopoly capitalism confronted the tens of thousands of immigrant workers in the De Beers-owned and run town of Kimberly and in the turbulent 'mining-camp' atmosphere of the Witwatersrand. Strikes were frequent, prolonged and often bloody... The development of trade unions was accompanied as in other capitalist countries by the formation of working class political parties with more or less clearly defined socialist objectives."*(Lerumo. p.30)

It is those progressive whites that formed the International Socialist League (ISL) in 1915. The ISL itself pioneered the establishment of Black trade unions amongst the proletarianised indigenous people. The Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA) and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) are a case in point. These were first Black trade unions. They were pioneers of an untried, untraveled and new front of the struggle. They represented a continuation of the struggle pioneered by the warrior-kings and united under the ANC since 1912. It was a continuation of the struggle of the Black man under new conditions, using new methods of war. They represented a spear-



▲ SACP May Day banner declaring “SOCIALISM IS THE FUTURE: Build it now!”

head of resistance by the Black people. The ICU itself grew into a giant force of the struggle organising all categories of workers as a general union of some kind.

THE CPSA IS LAUNCHED IN 1921

On 30 July 1921, the ISL and a variety of socialist formations of all kind merged to form the Communist Party of South Africa, the first Marxist-Leninist party on the African continent. It was an all-white affair. The great October Socialist revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution that gave birth to the Soviet Union gave impetus to Bolshevism globally including on our shores. The CPSA is that offspring in South Africa. On 25 May 1922 the CPSA established the Young Communist League (YCL). It was to be a robust and militant home of young CPSA members. The YCL was declared an illegal organisation with its mother body with the advent of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950.

In 1922 there was a major militant strike by white mine workers on the Rand. The Party supported the demands of the strike without siding with every slogan printed or chanted by the strikers. The 1922 white mine workers strike, otherwise called, the Rand Revolt, was the most militant strike by white workers. It was both anti-boss and anti-black workers. At this stage the Party was lily-white, composed mainly of leftist whites mostly originating from industrialised countries and buoyed by the Bolshevik revolution.

The lily-white CPSA inaugural executive in 1921 was composed of C. B. Tyler as chairman, W.H. Andrews as secretary, S. P. Bunting as treasurer, J. den Bakker, T. Chapman, R. Rabb, Rebecca Bunting, G. Arnold, R. Geldblum, H. Lee and E. M. Pincus as additional members. In 1924 the CPSA took a historic resolution to Africanise itself. African communists such as J. B. Marks, Johannes Nkosi, T.W. Thibedi, Gana Makabeni, Dora Tamana, Edwin Thabo Mofutsanyana and Josie

Mpama joined the CPSA. T.W. Thibedi became the first African to be elected to the CPSA Executive. The process of Africanisation was so successful that by 1928 the party was fully Africanised – of its 1750 members 1600 were black.

Meanwhile in 1928, the Comintern, a communist international organisation to which the CPSA belonged, tasked the South African communists to transform the ANC into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation. The fact that today the ANC is a giant national liberation movement ruling party with more than a million paid-up members, voted by more than 10 million in every election since 1994, with 104 years of existence on South African soil as a people’s mass movement, is a living testimony to the success of this initiative. It is communists that went knee-deep in the difficult work of building the ANC from a small organisation that existed almost just as an annual national conference, to a people’s movement on the ground, in communities, among the workers and the poor.

By 1929 the Party adopted the black republic thesis as, “*the most direct line of advance to socialism runs through the mass struggle for majority rule.*” It is now history that when it was relaunched in the underground in 1953, after its ban in 1950, the party decided to further indigenise itself by changing its name from the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) to the South African Communist Party (SACP). By this gargantuan act of historic significance it was further entrenching itself as not being a branch of any other communist party in the world.

As part and parcel of the Africanisation process the Party also changed the name of its official organ from *The South African worker* to *Umsebenzi* which stands for a worker in indigenous Nguni languages. The party’s quarterly periodical was later also correctly named *The African Communist*. The Industrial and Commer-

cial Workers Union (ICU) had been formed in 1919 as a general union that organised every worker. It grew in stature and strength into a giant organisation of workers. At the zenith of its power and success it was bigger than the ANC and the CPSA. In 1926 under Clements Kadalie it expelled all communists and begins to dwindle as a giant trade union. By the early thirties it was totally liquidated.

Sectarianism got hold of the party in the early thirties and itself was weakened as was the ANC by factionalism. In that period of sectarianism, factionalism and cabalism the ICU, the ANC and the CPSA dwindled in influence, support and membership. The CPSA and the ANC got involved in individual struggles for survival, revival, reorganisation and rebuilding. It is history that both were very successful in that regard.

In 1935 Moses Kotane wrote the Cradock letter and begins a process of rebuilding the CPSA. Party branches emerges in townships and party was at the forefront of every democratic demand of the struggle, be it formation of black trade unions, progressive newspapers, anti-pass campaigns, anti-group areas act, anti-war movement, strike against starvation wages, rent boycott, high bus fares and recognition of black trade unions. It is because of this gargantuan and tireless work of the struggle that the Nationalist Party declared communism its first enemy that must be destroyed and liquidated. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 is part of that arsenal.

THE CPSA IS BANNED IN 1950

The nationalist party wanted to pass a law to declare the communist party and ideas of communism illegal. The CPSA decided to disband before that Bill became a law. In 1953 the CPSA re-emerged underground as the South African Communist Party (SACP). It had an underground head office in the Lillysleaf farm, Rivonia. It conducted all the difficult and tortuous clandestine work of the struggle from there. It clandestinely participated in all the work of the struggle throughout the roaring fifties. Party cadres were at the forefront of mass campaigns of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa.

Those campaigns included the mobilisation, conscientisation and mass defiance by the people, the Bantu education campaign, mayday strikes, anti-pass campaigns, the defiance of unjust laws campaign, the demands of the people campaign, the congress of the people, the freedom charter, Alexander azikhwelwa, the Sophiatown forced removals, the rural uprisings, the potatoe boycotts, bus and rent boycotts.

As a consequence of the roaring fifties the ANC itself

was banned in 1960. It formed a joint venture with the SACP to form the spear of the nation, Umkhonto we sizwe in 1961. The SACP then convened its sixth National Congress in 1962 to analyse the situation and map a way forward. That historic congress articulated thoroughly on the road to South African freedom. That Party programme guided the liberation movement for many difficult years of exile, prison and repression. Hundreds of communists were themselves banned, banished, killed, exiled, jailed or hanged in the massive repression that followed the 1960 bans. Some like Vuyisile Mini, Bram Fisher and many others were sent to the gallows. Most were hanged singing freedom songs.

The Party participated centrally in building both the underground existence and the exile survival of the ANC. Party leaders such as Dan Tloome, Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Mabhida, Joe Slovo and many others were knee-deep in this work. The party then convened an Augmented Central Committee (ACC) in 1970, after the MK-ZIPRA Wankie-Spolilo operation and the ANC Morogoro Conference. The ACC resolved that a revolution is the people and therefore an armed struggle without mass mobilisation and organisation will lead nowhere. They then enhanced the work of internal reconstruction, launched a party mouth-piece called Inkululeko. It is that work that led directly and indirectly to the resurgence of the struggle in the country in form of the 1973 Durban strikes, the viva FRELIMO rallies, 1976 student uprising, re-emergence of black trade unions (MAWU, SAAWU, T&G, etc.), formation of AZASO and COSAS in 1979, etc.

When South Africa was ripe for the revolution in the roaring eighties, the SACP convened its 7th Congress to map a final way forward. That congress clearly articulated the path to power through a general mass uprising of the people. Indeed true to its analysis the apartheid edifice began to crumble in 1989 with the release of the Rivonia trialists, in 1990 with the unbanning of the ANC and SACP, and the release of Nelson Mandela, return of the exiles and the beginning of negotiations about power and freedom.

LESSONS FROM PARTY HISTORY

We learn many lessons from the party history that should guide us in today's difficulties. We learn from history that the party prioritised consistent political education. This it carried out throughout the years in workshops, meetings, night schools, ANC, in MK camps and in the trade union movement. The political education went hand in glove with discipline. Party leaders and cadres led by a communist example of honesty, sacrifice, generosity, commitment, selfless-

ness, bravery, solidarity, hard-work, humility, discipline, unity, volunteerism and collectivism.

The SACP revived the YCL on 14 December 2003 as a force to reckon with both in ideological debates, in mobilising young people and in practical struggles on the ground. With a vibrant YCL and the slogan socialism in our lifetime, the future of the SACP and of socialism in South Africa looks even brighter.

The SACP has historically been a main pillar of strength to the alliance between a national liberation movement, a trade union movement and communist party that exists in the South African revolution. This it did by providing revolutionary ideas to issues of the moment and direction into the future. This has been so in all forms that the alliance took from the Congress Alliance of the 1950s, to the Revolutionary Alliance of the exile years to the Tripartite Alliance of today. This colossal task it carries to this day. In analysis of current conjuncture, it has provided valued contribution. Whether it is analysing the 1994 break-through, the 1996 class project, the collapse of existing socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the phenomenon of tenderpreneurship, the problem of business unionism, or corporate capture of the state, its evaluation are valid and thoroughgoing. It is a trusted and dependable ally of the ANC and COSATU. It should remain relevant as an organised, militant force on the ground against capitalist barbarism. This is also because, *“never before in history has the need for a different, a humane world based on the socialist value of putting social needs before private profits been more desperately required.”*

It is the party that argued for a black republic thesis as early as the twenties. It is the CPSA that talked about building the then small and relatively insignificant ANC into a giant national liberation movement. It is the party that pioneered progressive trade unionism long before it became fashionable to do so. It is the party that pioneered progressive journalism under difficult conditions. It is the CPSA that foresaw its banning and decided to disband openly and re-emerged underground. It is the party that articulated the theory of colonialism of a special type, as a variant of bourgeoisie rule exerted beyond frontiers. It is the party that evaluated the road to South African freedom as early as 1962. It is the party that analysed the path to power in 1988.

It was the CPSA that:-

- First raised the slogan of majority rule, of one person one vote – this was 30 years before the ANC adopted the same approach;
- Was the first, and for 40 years the only, non-racial political party in the country;
- Was the first communist party on the African continent;
- Was the first to introduce and develop the science of Marxism-Leninism for South African conditions;
- And, it was communists who almost alone pioneered progressive trade unionism in our country.

Today, 95 years later, the Party is alive and well. It is dealing with challenges of the day, including, attempts to capture the state by a parasitic-bureaucratic bourgeoisie class that has burrowed into upper echelons of the state and wants to run the state through the back door. They want to make super-profiteering by hook or crook using state departments and public entities. These attempts both real and imagined are not new, nor are they last. The fact is that an unelected cabal wants to decide the fate of millions of South Africans. White minority capital is still the principal enemy of the national democratic revolution and a key stumbling block to the building of a non-racial, non-sexiest, united, democratic and a prosperous South Africa.

CONCLUSION

The Party is as relevant today as when it was formed in 1921. Today it is celebrating 95 long solid years of militant struggles for national liberation, people's power and socialism. It must continue to fight against labour brokering, e-tolls, retrenchments, tenderpreneurship, parasitic bourgeoisie, monopoly capital, the 1996 class project, state capture, anti-majoritarian liberal offensive, business unionism, corruption, factionalism, exploitation, unilateralism, terrorism, militarism and capitalism.

The Party in its 95 years of existence has produced and been a product of many giant colossuses of the struggle for national liberation and socialism. This is the Party of David Ivon Jones, Sydney Percival Bunting, Sonia Bunting, Bill Andrews, J.B. Marks, T.W. Thibedi, Thabo Edwin Mofutsanyana, Zebediela Legodi, Jimmy La Guma, Eddie Roux, Johnny Gomas, Gana Makabeni, Alex la Guma, Dora Tamana, Johannes Nkosi, Alpheus Malivha, Josie Mpama, Eli Weinberg, Albert Nzula, Sam Kahn, Ray Alexander-Simons, Jack Simons, Moses Kotane, Duma Nokwe, Yusuf Dadoo, Monty Naicker, Flag Boshielo, Moses Mabhida, Govan Mbeki, Jack Hodgson, Vuyisile Mini, Michael Harmel, Joe Gqabi, Dan Tloome, Bram Fischer, Brian Bunting, Nelson Mandela, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motswaledi, Joe Slovo, John Nkadimeng, Mark Shope, Ahmed Timol, Harry Gwala, Ruth First, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Essop Pahad, Jabulani Mzala Nxumalo, Billy Nair, John Gomomo, Kay Moonsamy, Eric Mtshali, Kgalema Motlanthe, Lawrence Phokanoka and many more outstanding communists that people its rich 95 year history. **Socialism is the future, build it now!**

HISTORY

A BUILD UP TO THE THIRTY YEARS SINCE THE TALKS ABOUT TALKS ON GOREE ISLAND, DAKAR, SENEGAL

■ *By* **THEMBISILE MAJOLA**

44

I would like to begin this short article with the disclaimer; I am not by any stretch of the imagination a historian, but truly believe that it is important to pause and reflect on the path we have travelled, in order to inform the way forward and to ensure the lessons of the past serve as beacons for our future. I would like to take a look at what was the political, socio-economic and general global dynamics at the time that the ANC held the historic meeting with the Afrikaner intellectuals on the island of Goree in 1987. It will be 30 years next year.

The ANC Kabwe conference of 1985, was an important milestone for the ANC. It gave the movement an opportunity to renew itself, its leadership and to assess its functioning and address criticism of a lack of internal democracy. Members of all races were able to stand for election and be elected to the highest levels of decision making and leadership. The Conference had to ensure that delegates were representative and accountable, so feedback would be provided to members and branches. Arguably, one of the most important decisions of the Kabwe Conference was that the ANC, for the first time in its history, elected non-African members to the ANC NEC. This took place at a time, when internally, the Mass Democratic Movement and its associated structures were a living testimony of democracy at play. In 1983, when the UDF was formed, it was with a clear, deliberate non-racial, non-sexist leadership.

The Kabwe Conference took place at a time when the newly recruited Youth, MK cadres and students were becoming increasingly impatient with the slow pace of the escalation of the armed and international struggle led by the ANC, in the face of increased repression and brutality in the country. This mood was further compounded by the unfortunate events in the 'West', in our military Region of Angola that were a result of a festering discontent with the pace and manner of deployment of cadres to the Front, and the perceived abuse of power and authority by our Security, providing conditions for a mutiny in the camps. Many Cadres had spent years in the bush, and their only wish was to be given an opportunity to go back home and fight. A key, critical decision taken at the conference was the resolution related to the intensification of the People's War, in the context of the rise of the UDF and the dramatic increases, in strikes, stay-aways and popular uprisings of our people in the country. However, the lack of organised structures internally of Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK), made it close to impossible for MK to respond to the popular uprisings by our people.

While the organisation did not make any public pronouncements initially, it had began to meet, in Lusaka and elsewhere, some prominent Afrikaners from the academia and the opposition parties. The ANC maintained that any negotiations with the regime would be about dismantling the Apartheid system, and these engagements were being carefully managed so as not



to compromise our struggle and to ensure that our people are not made to believe that their struggle was being compromised. It was clear that the regime was facing an existential crisis, and was looking for a way out without compromising too much and hoping to finally meet and negotiate with the liberation movement on its own terms.

It was at this critical juncture, that President OR Tambo said that the ANC had to learn from the experiences of the other liberation movements in the region. The apartheid regime had reached agreement with Angola and Mozambique, and had promptly gone about violating these same agreements. This was not a government to be trusted. The ANC's public pronouncements were consistent: Any engagement with the regime would be about the dismantling of apartheid and the transfer of power to the people; as well as the unconditional release of all political prisoners. It was also clear that it would need the intensification of military struggle and political struggle, to ensure a precipitated demise of the regime. However, this was to be carried out without compromising the position that civilian casualties were to be avoided. Maintaining this correct position, as adopted by Kabwe, gave the movement the moral high ground, but became increasingly difficult in the face of increased persecution, and a brutal State of Emergency backed by the might of the entire state machinery and institutions. All manner of propaganda warfare and military hardware, agent provocateurs, assassins and tanks were unleashed against our people in the townships.

The visit to Lusaka by business, religious leaders, civil society groups, representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement, grew in intensity and in numbers over a period of 5 to 6 years. It was clear for the world to see, including allies of the regime such as the governments of the USA, UK and France, that there would be no solution or negotiations in South Africa without the African national congress. The process of 'Talks about Talks', that began looking at what would be required to enter into formal Talks and negotiations were formally underway. This increase in flow and frequency of meeting with our people in the country, also enabled a better and more dynamic communication channel to be opened between the leadership in exile and leadership on Robben Island. Lusaka was a busy hub of delegations from home and across the world. This free flow of information and intelligence, enabled the ANC to accurately diagnose the extent of the impact of 'ungovernability' in the country and begin to plan how best to infiltrate Cadres back into the country to set up supporting structures internally. The ANC was recognised and accepted as the leader of the people and struggle for the liberation of South Africa, and a key to any hope for a peaceful transition to a democratic transition in South Africa.

1987 was the 75th Anniversary of the ANC, and had been declared as the: "Year of Advance to People's Power". It was indeed a year in which the regime were not only killing and massacring our people in cold blood, but they carried out cross-border operations into Mozambique, Zimbabwe and intensified their armed in-

cursions into Angola. The blood of our people flowed freely across the country, though there were areas of particular focus, like Pietermaritzburg, where the blood of our people, particularly our Black people's blood flowed freely.

It was during this period while I was in Angola during 1987, as a member of our glorious people army, uMkhonto we Sizwe, it became increasingly evident that the regime was prepared to go to any lengths to weaken and even destroy our people's army, a sizeable number of arrivals to the camps were agents of the regime. Heightened vigilance was required of all of us, and irregular incidents were on the increase as they sought to sow confusion, mistrust and a loss of confidence of the soldiers in the leadership. Security drills and alerts became the order of the nights, as ammunition was sabotaged and in some instances, bullets were thrown into our open fires causing uncontrolled shots and panic. The enemy was not only around our camps and towns, but also in our midst.

We, however, remained steadfast in our commitment to the total emancipation of our people, and to the goal of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. We refused to be demoralised by an enemy that sought to maintain the vast majority of our people in perpetual bondage, and as second class citizens in the land of their fore-bearers. The clarion call: *'Forward ever, backward never!'* was our lived reality. We were firm in our belief, in our conviction that ours was a just cause and no power on earth could stop our march to Freedom. This single-minded focus and belief focused all our minds, our hearts and bodies on the ultimate goal – our liberation and the destruction of that inhuman institutionalised system of racial segregation and separate development. We truly believed that we have nothing to lose but our chains!

The vetting of our members had to be stepped up, as our ranks swelled on a daily basis, due to the arrival of an endless flow of many young, militant and very angry students and young men and women of South Africa, who felt that their time to acquire the requisite military skills in guerilla warfare, as well as the art of managing the different ordinance had come. The apartheid regime was growing more desperate, more brutal and repressive and was going for the total onslaught through attacks on the ANC and the Front Line States that harboured or actively supported the liberation struggle, while imposing a State of Emergency that enabled it to arrest and detain our people without due judicial process or accountability. Disappearances of comrades, political activists, ordinary people who were perceived to be sympathisers or linked in any way to anti-apartheid activists, were the order of the day.

President OR Tambo said in his January 8th statement in 1988: *"As our Jubilee Year came to a close, it was clear that our country has polarised into two opposing camps, one representing liberation, democracy and peace and the other, oppression, racism and war. Throughout this past year our enemy has tried to defeat and suppress the forces of national liberation and democratic change. At the same time the racists have sought to increase their own strength by working to consolidate their own ranks and luring to their side as many people as possible. All this has been without success."*

"The failure of the enemy to achieve these objectives constitutes for us a strategic advance and is central to our assessment on the continuing shift in the balance of forces in our favour and therefore our advance towards people's power."

These were the conditions, briefly, of the conditions at play at home and beyond. I have been made to believe that the meetings that Frederic van Zyl and Breyten Breytenbach held with the ANC leadership in exile during those turbulent years in the eighties, had a major impact and influence on their decision to resign from active parliamentary politics, and setup IDASA. The Institute for a Democratic alternative in South Africa played a critical role in mobilising and facilitating the meeting of 47 prominent South Africans from business, the churches, the media and activists with the ANC on the island of Goree, in Dakar, Senegal.

The meetings took place over a period of 4 days, 9-12 July, 1987. It was to be a turning point for many, and seen as an important milestone in preparing for formal negotiations with the regime. The propaganda by the regime of the Red danger 'rooi gevaar' had failed, and the myth that the ANC and the SACP was led by blood-thirsty communist seeking to establish a Marxist state in South Africa had been completely destroyed.

The historic meeting on Goree Island, was an important milestone in our march to dismantle Apartheid. Following that historic meeting between the exiled leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and a significant group of influential civil society representatives and researchers from South Africa in Dakar on July 1987. The Goree Institute has now been established, and this was made possible by the formal statute granted by the government of Senegal in 1991. The Institute was established on 25 June 1992 by a group of African who have a passion, a deep interest and commitment to the African continent and its future. The Institute is Pan-African in character and is involved in peace building, development and the promotion of arts and culture across Africa.

Goree is now a place of vigorous intellectual debate, research and hosts meetings of scholars and institutions with interest in the Pan-African discourse and culture. The Executive Director is Professor Breyten Breytenbach, a development that is not insignificant as he was a key organiser and participant of the Goree meeting. The meeting is considered to have made a major contribution to the process of confidence building in the process of talks about talks.

This development is of particular historic significance as Goree also has the dubious honour of hosting the 'Door of no Return'. As Goree Island was most western tip of Africa, it was also the point where a significant number of slaves spent their last days before being shipped away, never to see their homeland, the African continent again, to be sold to slavery in the sugar plantations of the Americas. Passage through the 'Door of no Return' meant that one was either thrown to the sharks if you were not in good health or did not meet the size, weight and height requirements; or you were packed like sardines into the slave ships and those that died enroute were thrown overboard and those who survived the journey never returned. Whatever the reason, there was never any option of a return from the 'Door of no Return'.

Many scholars have speculated that since the Island was conquered and used as a transit and a key point of departure throughout the slave trade, with the successive Portuguese, Dutch and French administrations, that there is a very real probability that the Dutch would have stopped at both Goree and Robben Island in their voyages of discovery and conquest. It is therefore fitting, that South Africa and Senegal have finally concluded and signed a Twinning Agreement of Robben Island and Goree Island, both of which a UNESCO Heritage sights. These two Island have a very important place and great significance in the history of our two countries, our continent of Africa and for the world patrimony.

It is critical that we do not forget all the key milestones, meetings and the contexts in which these occurred lest we are accused of rewriting history and not ensuring that our very rich history, the solidarity, the sacrifices and the incredibly high price that many of our people paid for this freedom are forgotten or minimised. It was indeed a very long, very painful and difficult road to freedom and we dare not forget, as



these could leave us vulnerable to revisionists and those who seek to cloak the system we rejected, and humanity rejected as a possible alternative to our democracy that is based on the recognition of equality for all irrespective of colour, creed or sex.

As we work and strive to build a nation, with a common identity and shared values, we must never allow the role of our people in their many and varied formations, the Frontline State, Africa, and the international community played in our liberation. Our liberation movement supported by our people in the faith community, the workers organisations, the women's movement, the students and youth galvanised all progressive forces in the fight against apartheid. While this support came in many different forms, what enabled us to maximise and channel all these energies was the fact that the African National Congress provided guidance, ensured that there was a flow of information and communications with our people at home and abroad and was always ready and available to analyse and contextualise what was happening in the country and the global context – in short: the ANC was alive and the ANC was leading. We received a lot of international support, but the ANC provided the leadership!

Amandla! Maatla! Malibongwe!

TRIBUTE



**A TRIBUTE
TO 'A SOUTH
AFRICAN AT
HEART':
Andrew
Young**

■ *By* **JEFF RADEBE**

IT IS NOT usual that a tribute is paid to a legend when he is still alive. As human beings, we are less appreciative of the giants that walk among us and choose to appreciate them when they have been called to eternal rest. I am honoured today to pay tribute to an icon in his own right, a colossus and a legend who has inspired the global struggle for justice. Wherever he goes, he brings hope and raises the spirit of no surrender against injustice. His name is Andrew Young.

From the civil rights movement, we learnt early that our struggle for justice was not going to be a zero sum game where we have to obliterate each other. From the words of Martin Luther King we knew then that we had to struggle for living together as human beings. When our icon, Nelson Mandela showed us the way of reconciliation, we had already accepted the wisdom of Reverend King when he said:

“The Negro needs the white man to free him from his fears. The white man needs the Negro to free him from his guilt.”

The American Civil rights movement, taught us the importance of overcoming fear. Many of our leaders

learnt that until they overcame the love of money and the fear of death, we were not going to be free. We continue to draw lessons from the likes of Mr Andrew Young who continue to epitomize selflessness as a solid rock on which we should build our struggle to better the lives of others.

I first came to hear of Mr Young when I was a fifteen year old student at St Augustine College in 1968. On the fourth of April that year, the Rector of the College, Father Bethuel, broke the sad news that Dr Martin Luther King, a friend and a colleague of Mr Young, had been assassinated in Memphis Tennessee.

Martin Luther King had become the face of the civil rights movement in the United States. But standing very firmly behind him were men of character who included Andrew Young to whom I am paying tribute to today. There is a corollary of this collective leadership that resonates with our own struggle against Apartheid. While President Nelson Mandela became the face and the figure representative of the struggle against injustice, it was Mr Walter Sisulu who had not only recruited them to the African National Congress, but had also groomed both President Nelson Mandela and

Oliver Tambo to be the leaders that they became.

When Father Bethuel broke the sad news of the assassination, I never knew that one day I would share a platform with Andrew Young. For us, in those days of 1968, we thought that the waters of the Atlantic were so solid that our struggle was not linked to the struggles of our brothers and sisters in the United States. It was leaders like Mr. Young who gave us hope that our blood was thicker than the waters of the Atlantic that separated us. It was a hope that injustice in South Africa was the same injustice in Southern States of the United States. This particularly forged our resolve to consider our struggle not just as a South African struggle but an international one. We were true to Reverend King's observation that

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

Through thick and thin, in happiness and in sadness you were there with Dr. King till the end. When that racist bullet ripped through his flesh in 1968 you were there as his comrade in arms. If they thought the political assassination was to end the fight and yearning for peace and justice they were mistaken. Like the biblical Moses Martin Luther King did not live to see the promised land but I am sure he must be smiling in his grave as the keys of the white house are in the hands of a black man. President Carter in 1977 appointed Mr. Young as the first African American Ambassador to the United Nations, just a year after the Soweto Uprising against injustice, Mr Young's appointment defied the logic of the Apartheid Government that Black people can be capable and they can be leaders in their own right.

In 1994 President Clinton appointed him to chair the Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund, a \$100 million privately managed fund to provide equity to businesses in 11 countries in southern Africa. Mr Young was instrumental in the huge investment drive that Coca Cola made to South Africa through the provision of shares in the company to the Kunene Brothers. They are now the largest Black Coco-cola bottles in Africa. They have gradually increased their interest in the Coca-Cola bottling operations since 1994 that now control 75% of the soft-drink giant's geographic bottling area in SA. Apart from this Mr Young has also facilitated scholarships for South African young students to study and gain knowledge in the United States.

Mr Young took to the task like a seasoned duck to water. As Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations, he played a pivotal role in the negotiations for the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia. His interest in the struggles of African nations which were

not independent then, places him up there as a pan Africanist in the league of the Nkwame Nkrumas, the Julius Nyereres, the Jomo Kenyatta's and the Kenneth Kaundas. He could have chosen to enjoy the position he held, but he decided to extend his fight for justice throughout the world, making sure that those of us who were still in bondage, are freed from the shackles of injustice. People would generally ask for leader to be selfless and to think of the others before they think of themselves. I have seen selflessness in the leadership of Mr Andrew Young. He has lived truly to the taped recording of Martin Luther King about how he liked to be remembered. Reverend King had said

"I'd like somebody to mention that day that Martin Luther King Jr tried to give his life serving others."

He has also lived true to the good advice by Dr King when he said:

"Every man must decide whether he will walk in the light of creative altruism or in the darkness of destructive selfishness."

Whilst serving my organisation, the African National Congress as Chairperson of what was then known as the Southern Natal region, Mr Young provided assistance in the form of medical supplies books and communications equipment to our region.

As we were preparing to govern, I had the honour of inviting Mr Young to attend the first Black Business Summit in Durban as a guest speaker. I can say without fear of contradiction that Mr Young's insights at this conference aided the foundations for our understanding of Black Economic Empowerment and how to develop Small and Medium Enterprises. Both these have been become the cornerstone on which we as government are driving our agenda for economic transformation. As if this was not enough, Mr Young also organized US celebrities and activists to assist in voter education for our first democratic elections in 1994. It was through Mr Young's love for our democracy that celebrities such as Danny Glover, Angela Bassett, Reverend James Orange and many others visited South Africa to assist with voter education.

Mr Young has been recently honoured by the City of Durban as an honorary citizen. This is well deserved because Mr Young has been a South African at heart. Durban, the City of Ethekwini, has followed in the footsteps and Leadership of President Zuma, who in 2013 bestowed Ambassador Young with the order of the companions of OR Tambo. The order of the companions of OR Tambo is awarded to foreign Heads of State and other eminent persons for friendship to South Africa. As we all know that the order is named after another Icon, President OR Tambo who had

played a pivotal role in building the international anti-apartheid movement. In 1996 he chose to be married to his beautiful wife, Carolyn in South Africa. I was honoured that my wife, Bridgette and I, were asked by the late Mrs Adelaide Tambo to host their African part of the wedding at our home here in Johannesburg.

They could have chosen any other marriage officer in the world, but they chose our own Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu. We are proud that of all the cities of the world, including the well-known Paris as a city of love, and the city of Venice where they could have kissed in the gondola under the Bridge of Sighs, they chose our country for their anniversary.

He was elected to three terms in the United States House of Representatives from the Fifth Congressional District of Georgia. To serve for this long in the House of Representatives is not easily achievable and the electorate will only grant this honour to those they truly trust. The District of Georgia was able to place this trust on Mr Andrew Young. As a Mayor of the City of Atlanta, Mr Young provided the needed leadership in the successful bidding of that city for the centennial Olympics in 1996.

I was honoured to be invited by Mr Young to be the Special guest during these centennial games. In my previous capacity as Minister of Transport, I despatched a team of officials to learn from the City of Atlanta

about how we could adequately prepare for hosting the FIFA Cup. The officials whom I had sent to learn from the experiences of the successful hosting of the Olympics in 1996 were impressed with the manner in which the city had hosted these Olympics. We learnt a valuable lesson from these experiences such that our World Cup in 2010, was considered to be amongst the most successful global events.

I had the honour of meeting with Andrew Young in the historic German City of Wittenberg when we had been invited by the Wittenberg Centre for Global Ethics. Mr Young and the former German Minister of Foreign Affairs, had been invited specifically for their depth of knowledge around the issues of corporate citizenship and leadership. At this conference, Mr Young spoke eloquently about the need for ethical conduct in running businesses.

Let me go back to where I started. One of the things that Father Bethuel, the rector of St Augustine College where I did my high school education, also taught that we as human beings can thrive through adversity. He taught us the American spiritual song, We shall overcome, some day. We lived with this hope as South Africans that one day we would overcome. On that journey we knew that good American people, such as Mr Andrew Young, were marching side by side with us. It is a song that we recommend to all those afflicted by conflict and in distress. They too shall overcome.

AFRICA



WESTERN SAHARA:

the last colony in Africa

PART 4

■ *By* NATHI MTHETWA

AMONGST THE outcomes of the world war two was the formation of the United Nations Organisation, in its founding charter the organisation declares amongst others the following:

“We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

■ *to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and*

■ *to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”,*

It continues to declare the following that *“and for these ends:*

■ *to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and*

■ *to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and*

■ *to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples”.*

The charter goes on to outline the purposes of the organisation as follows:

“To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

Article 2

All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

Article 93

All Members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

Article 94

Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The African continent has witnessed historical injustice starting from the advent of colonialism up to the present day.

The colonial powers superimposed their domains on the African Continent.

The African politico-geographical map is thus a permanent liability that resulted from the three months of ignorant, greedy acquisitiveness during a period when Europe’s search for minerals and markets had become insatiable.

The Berlin conference of 1884-85, for Anghie, ‘transformed Africa into a conceptual terra nullius’, (either in the strict sense of being ‘empty’ or as ‘ownerless’) It was a conference, he argues, ‘which determined in important ways the future of the continent and which continues to have a profound influence on the politics of contemporary Africa’.

Berlin, as Judge Ammoun was later to assert, was nothing other than a ‘monstrous blunder’ erasing the pre-colonial reality of native sovereignty.

As part of the sharing of spoils, Spain took control of the region in 1884 under the rule of Captain Emilio

Bonelli Hernando. In 1900 a convention between France and Spain was signed, determining the southern border of Spain’s Sahara.

On November 14, 1975, the tripartite Madrid Agreement, signed by Spain, Morocco and Mauritania, divided Western Sahara between the two African countries whilst securing the economic interests of Spain in phosphates and fisheries. The agreement also stressed the end of Spanish *control* over the territory, but not *sovereignty*: Spain would remain the legal administrative power over Western Sahara. After the Madrid agreement, Morocco invaded the territory from the north and Mauritania from the south. As a result, thousands of Saharawi refugees fled their land and settled in the southern Algerian desert near the city of Tindouf; they have been living there for more than three decades.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

The involvement of the United Nations in the Western Sahara issue began on December 16, 1965, when the General Assembly adopted its first resolution on what was then called Spanish Sahara. The resolution requested Spain to take all necessary measures to decolonize the territory by organizing a referendum that would allow the right to self-determination for the Saharawi people, where they could choose between integration with Spain or independence.

On December 13, 1974, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution (no. 3292) requesting the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion at an early date on the following questions: “Was the Western Sahara (Saguia El-Hamra y Rio de Oro) at the time of colonization by Spain a territory belonging to no one (terra nullius)? If the answer to the first question is negative, then what were the legal ties between this territory and the Kingdom of Morocco and the Mauritanian entity?”

In response to the first question, the Court answered: “No”. Western Sahara was not *terra nullius*. In fact, Western Sahara belonged to a people; it was “inhabited by peoples who, if nomadic, were socially and politically organized in tribes and under chiefs competent to represent them”. In other words, the ICJ had determined that Western Sahara had belonged to the indigenous Western Saharans at the time of the Spanish colonization. On the second question, the Court found no evidence of any legal ties of territorial sovereignty between Western Sahara and Morocco. Therefore, the ICJ ruled that the native Saharawi population was the sovereign power in the Western Sahara, formally known as Spanish Sahara. However, Morocco and Mauritania ignored the court’s ruling and invaded Western Sahara anyway, with the result

that the Polisario Front waged a struggle for liberation against the new invaders.

In another victory for the progressive forces under the banner of the Polisario Front, in the recent ruling delivered by the General Court of the European Court of Justice on the 10th of December 2015 delivered a judgment in the case of Frente Polisario v. Council of the European Union (case T-512/12) granting Frente Polisario standing before the Court and annulling the European Union-Morocco agreement on agricultural products, processed agricultural products, and fish and fishery products insofar as it applies to Western Sahara. Morocco has denounced this judgment as politically motivated.

It was expected of Morocco to denounce the judgements and defy them against the swelling international opinion. This defiance by the Morocco has serious implications for the rule of law.

UNDERLYING INTEREST

What is prolonging this conflict? There are underlying interest that sustain the conflict despite the human tragedy it continues to inflict. There are in the main four countries that have a direct interest in the maintenance of the current status quo.

Morocco

Firstly, the conflict is very important for the stability of the Moroccan monarchy, which uses it to gain legitimacy and popular support. Zartman notes that *“the political usefulness of the issue as a common bond and creed of the political system since 1974 is great, to the point where it imposes constraints on the policy latitude of the incumbent or any other government”*.

Secondly, the regional aspiration of Morocco also contributes to its interest in this conflict: Rabat strives to be the dominant player in the North African region. Besides these political interests, Western Sahara represents economic interests for Morocco as well. The region has large amounts of phosphates and other natural resources that make a significant contribution to the Moroccan economy.

Spain

From a legal perspective, Spain did not sign away sovereignty over what was its fifty-third province, the Spanish Sahara: as a result, Western Sahara still remains a non-decolonized territory.

France: has been the main supporter of the Moroccan position on Western Sahara, and has been more consistent in its support than any other outside power in this enduring conflict. In fact, France has

threatened several times to use its veto power at the Security Council if the UN ever decided to enforce a solution undesirable to Morocco. According to experts on this conflict, the French position is derived from geopolitical and geostrategic interests. For France, preservation and protection of the Moroccan regime was and is important in terms of maintaining French economic, political, military and cultural influence in North, West and Central Africa.

Furthermore, France stands with Morocco because of its competition with major powers such as US and Spain over its sphere of influence in the North African region. As Zoubir and Darbouche clearly state, through its strong political and economic presence in Morocco, France hopes not only to curtail growing US influence in the region, but also to prevent the establishment of an independent Saharawi state, whose population speaks Spanish.

Besides these factors, there are also economic and commercial reasons that drive the French position on Western Sahara. France is Morocco's main trading partner and the principal investor in that country. Hence, it is inevitable that France continues to maintain a consistent stand regarding this conflict.

The United States

According to experts on this matter, the US's role in this conflict started when the war broke out in 1975. The Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations had provided financial and military support for Morocco's invasion and occupation of Western Sahara from 1975 to 1991. The Bush senior and Clinton administrations maintained a silent position on the UN referendum process from 1992 to 1996. The US government's view regarding the conflict has been to leave it to the parties to reach a mutual solution, while maintaining undeclared support for the Moroccan Autonomy Plan: local self-rule for the Sahrawi people under Moroccan sovereignty.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The Secretary General of the United Nations decided to embark on the tour of that part of the world to familiarise himself of the conditions in that region of the world. His tour had four main objectives which are the following:

First, he wanted to make his own assessment and contribution to the search for a settlement.

Secondly, he sought to visit MINURSO and pay tribute to its civilian personnel and military observers, who serve under very difficult conditions.

Thirdly, is the first visit to the refugee camps by a Secretary-General since 1998, he wanted to bear witness to this protracted humanitarian plight.

Finally, he desired to exchange views on other issues of mutual interest with relevant leaders of the region.

In Nouakchott, Rabouni and Algiers, he held political discussions with the leaders of Mauritania, Frente Polisario and Algeria on the status of the negotiating process and how to make progress.

During the visit, he visited the Smara refugee camp, and had this to say about the conditions there. "I saw first-hand the deep emotions and profound frustrations resulting from more than 40 years of living without the prospect of a better future. he went on to meet with the youth and made this observation, *"I met youth representatives later the same day in Rabouni. I witnessed anger and bitterness at the international community, the United Nations, Morocco and Frente Polisario alike. I recoiled at the inhumane conditions and extremely harsh environment in which the refugees live. With every interlocutor, I stressed the urgent need for progress towards a mutually acceptable political solution, which will provide for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara. I also committed myself to doing more to encourage greater humanitarian assistance for the camps"*.

In November 2015, I visited, the refugee camps near the town of Tindouf, in Algeria. The observations made by the Secretary General are indeed true. I saw in the mind's eye the suffering of a simple peasant folk.

The frustrations I witnessed among Western Saharans, coupled with the expansion of criminal and extremist networks in the Sahel-Sahara region, present increased risks for the stability and security of all the countries of the region. A settlement of the Western Sahara conflict would mitigate these potential risks and promote regional cooperation in the face of common threats and regional integration to bolster economic opportunity.

EMERGENCY CONDITIONS

Following the heavy floods of October 2015, UNHCR led the inter-agency emergency response with other humanitarian actors in close collaboration with the Government of Algeria, the Algerian Red Crescent and partners on the ground. UNHCR, WFP, UNICEF and WHO launched an inter-agency appeal of \$19.8 million. UNHCR distributed urgently needed shelter and relief items, including 4,205 emergency family tents and 15,822 essential life-sustaining relief items. Evacuation of stagnant water and an awareness campaign on the dangers of the most common waterborne diseases

were simultaneously conducted. WFP distributed 205 metric tons of food commodities in the immediate aftermath of the floods; 85,000 individual rations were distributed in early November. UNICEF set up 57 temporary learning facilities and distributed some 36,000 school supplies, allowing all children to take their exams. In addition, 15 schools and kindergartens were rehabilitated and 17 temporary health facilities and 5 temporary child-friendly spaces were established.

Owing to a lack of funding, shelter rehabilitation activities could only target the 2,000 most vulnerable families of the 17,841 families affected. As a result, many families continue to live in temporary tents and damaged houses, or have found accommodation with other refugee families. The second phase of the emergency response, along with the rehabilitation of 50 school classrooms, continues in 2016. With only \$11.9 million received thus far, the inter-agency appeal is 40 per cent underfunded.

Similarly, funding shortfalls compelled WFP to adjust the number of food items provided during the year, resulting in a less diversified food basket. Between August and October 2015, it was forced to reduce food rations by up to 20 per cent. In the health sector, UNHCR and its partners continued to cover up to 80 per cent of the needs in the camps. Chronic conditions such as hypertension, diabetes, anaemia and kidney failure remained the main health concerns.

Given the low level of financial support, the retention of skilled staff remains a key challenge in the health sector.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

As part of the progressive humanity, we need to express our gratitude to the people and government of Algeria for their support and unwavering commitment to the cause of Western Sahara.

CONCLUSION

Consistent with the United Nations founding Charter, progressive humanity must redouble its efforts for the speedy resolution of the crisis.

We should not allow few countries to put the whole of humanity in danger because they pursue their selfish interest.

Because humanity by its very nature are social animals, the pain that is inflicted on one, it is the pain we share. Our human conscious does not permit us to tolerate the suffering of Saharawi People.





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