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The Thinker

F O R T H O U G H T L E A D E R S

Claudio Lema Pose on

The Real Face of LA VIDA LOCA THE *MARAS* IN EL SALVADOR

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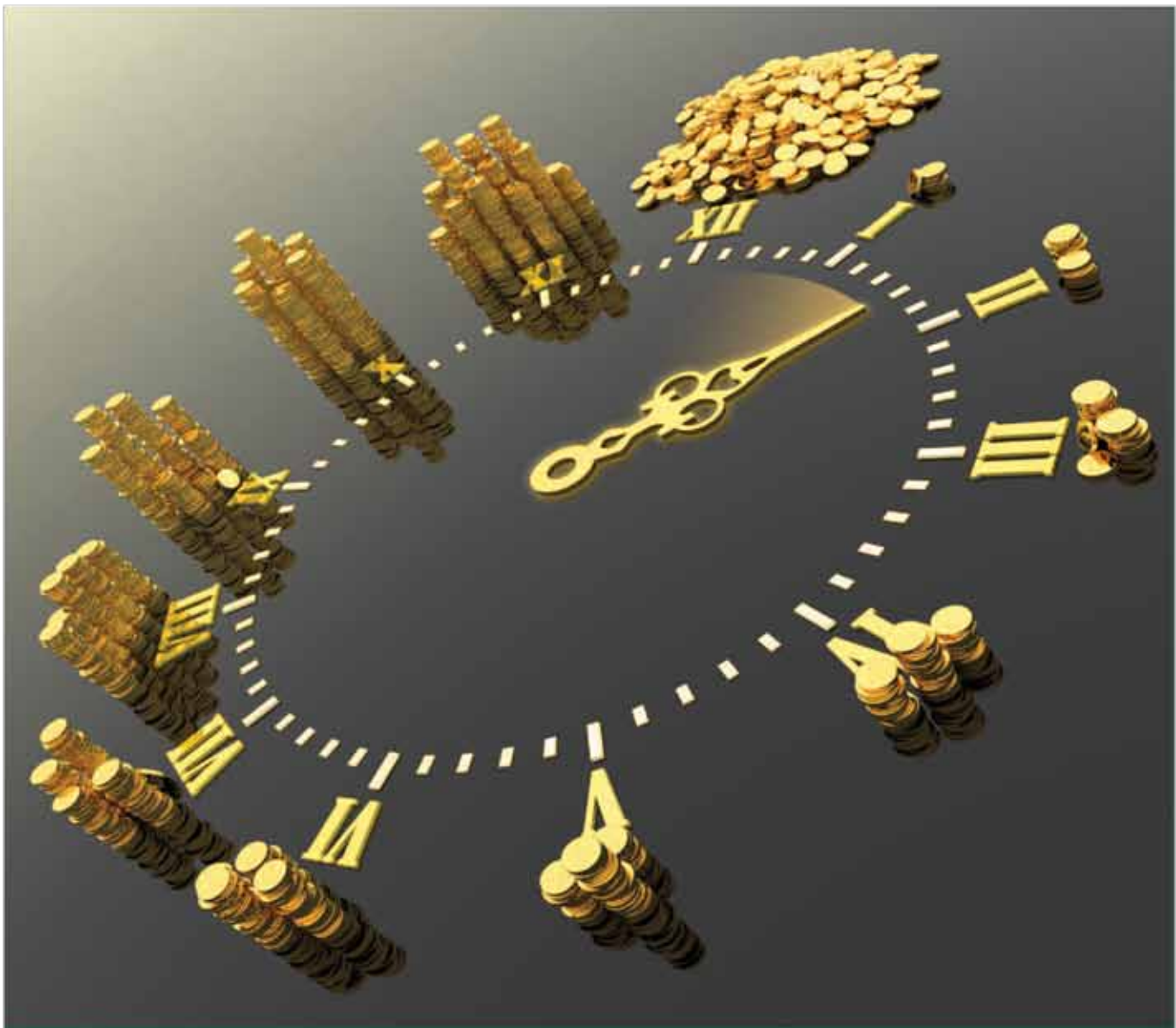
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On the Cover:

The Maras gangs – What is the correct response?

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ANC

What is to be done?

The run-up to the ANC's 53rd National Conference in Mangaung is characterised, in very many branches, by vote rigging, violence, intimidation, fierce lobbying and the mobilisation of delegates around slates. These anti-ANC activities and actions pose a serious danger to the unity, cohesion, discipline, dignity and reputation of the ANC.

At the time of writing Provincial General Council Meetings to consolidate the election list, in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Limpopo and the North West were seriously disrupted by bruising factional divisions and personality clashes. In those provinces as in other structures of the ANC the intense fights to nominate people for leadership positions were not informed by examining the theoretical or ideological positions of nominees, or their leadership qualities and track record of service to the ANC and country; the process, sadly, was driven by factional slates, patronage, cronyism and personal feuds.

These outrageous and unacceptable developments are foreign to the traditions and culture of the ANC, although the trends have been discernible for some time. Numerous ANC members at all levels and from across the Alliance have spoken out against these destructive tendencies, and yet, when the contest begins in earnest, many seem unable to hold to their principles.

Contests for positions of leadership should be a healthy democratic process reflecting the will of the majority of the ANC members. The policy that 90% of voting delegates should be chosen by branches follows good democratic practice; but when branch meetings

become a battleground (sometimes literally) for factional lobbying, the outcome is deeply distorted. The drawing up of factional slates and permitting or encouraging members to be guided by these represents an abuse of power and authority. It leads to the election of leaders who are not equipped to lead the ANC and the country. Those who rise to the top may well be the scum not the cream – scoundrels seeking personal wealth through tenders and contracts, deaf to the cries of those seeking to address poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Conference should elect those who pass the test of honesty, courage, selflessness, political intellect, maturity

“On the basis of the correct principle that the branch is the very core of the ANC and its members should elect the leadership in a secret ballot, a more democratic system may well be one where every ANC member in good standing is given the opportunity to vote according to their own conscience in a secret ballot: one member, one vote.”



and wisdom as well as a passionate commitment to our country, our continent and progressive causes internationally.

In addition, the ANC should vehemently reject the ‘winner takes all’ attitude. This leads to the systematic isolation of people perceived to have been opposed to the ‘winning side’, including good, mature, hardworking, skilled and loyal comrades who happen to favour one candidate over another. In democratic elections we should be ready to accept the choice of the delegates. No comrade should be seen or labelled as a winner or a victim, either by themselves or by other ANC members. After the election, regardless of the outcome, each comrade should remain a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC, acting to implement policy in the most effective way, and working together with all people who can assist in this enterprise (including non-ANC members).

As a perceptive Editor, Makhudu Sefara has written: “Whoever wins in Mangaung must prioritise unity. There have been desultory attempts at unity, more spoken of than practised.

“The victor must have the necessary wisdom and gumption to retain institutional memory in the ANC and government by accommodating people even when they consider them their enemies if they know such people would add value in dealing with our main challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment. That is the mark of leadership.

“Anything else will ensure that the ANC continues to rely on half of the leadership it can provide the country and allows mediocrity to creep in. It will change the true character of the ANC and make it hard even for those who love the party to relate to it.” (*The Star*, November 30th, 2012)

It is the hope and expectation of ANC members and supporters that the incoming leadership will actively prevent victimisation and eradicate factionalism.

In the context of the deep divisions occasioned by the election of the top six and the NEC of the ANC, the time may have come to re-examine the process, procedures and management of these elections.

On the basis of the correct principle that the branch is the very core of the ANC and its members should elect the leadership in a secret ballot, a more democratic system may well be one where every ANC member in

good standing is given the opportunity to vote according to their own conscience in a secret ballot: one member, one vote. These elections should be conducted through branches by a credible independent body such as the Electoral Institute of South Africa. Those elected in this manner would be more representative of the will and choice of ANC members. They would at the very least not be beholden to factions and lobbyists.

Post-Mangaung the ANC should deal with the growth of factionalism, the growth in membership of people who have no respect for the rich heritage of the movement; it should heal the wounds caused by the highly divisive pre-election process. Those who have the talent, the skills, the experience and capacity should not be isolated merely because they lost in an election or chose to support a losing candidate.

At the time of writing it is abundantly

clear that President Zuma will be re-elected. He will be the ANC's candidate for President of the country and lead the ANC's 2014 election campaign.

The ANC will most certainly win the 2014 elections, but it seems, with a lesser majority. But if the wounds are not healed, unity and cohesion restored, if pragmatism becomes the guiding philosophy, if theory and a progressive ideology is jettisoned, the ANC will be in serious danger of losing the national elections in 2019.

Such an outcome would be disastrous for progressive change in favour of the toiling masses and the wretched the earth.

The ANC must remain a glorious movement of the people of South Africa. It is the duty of each member to restore to the country, our people, the African continent and progressive forces in the world a strong, cohesive, united and revolutionary ANC. ■



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All contributing analysts write in their personal capacity

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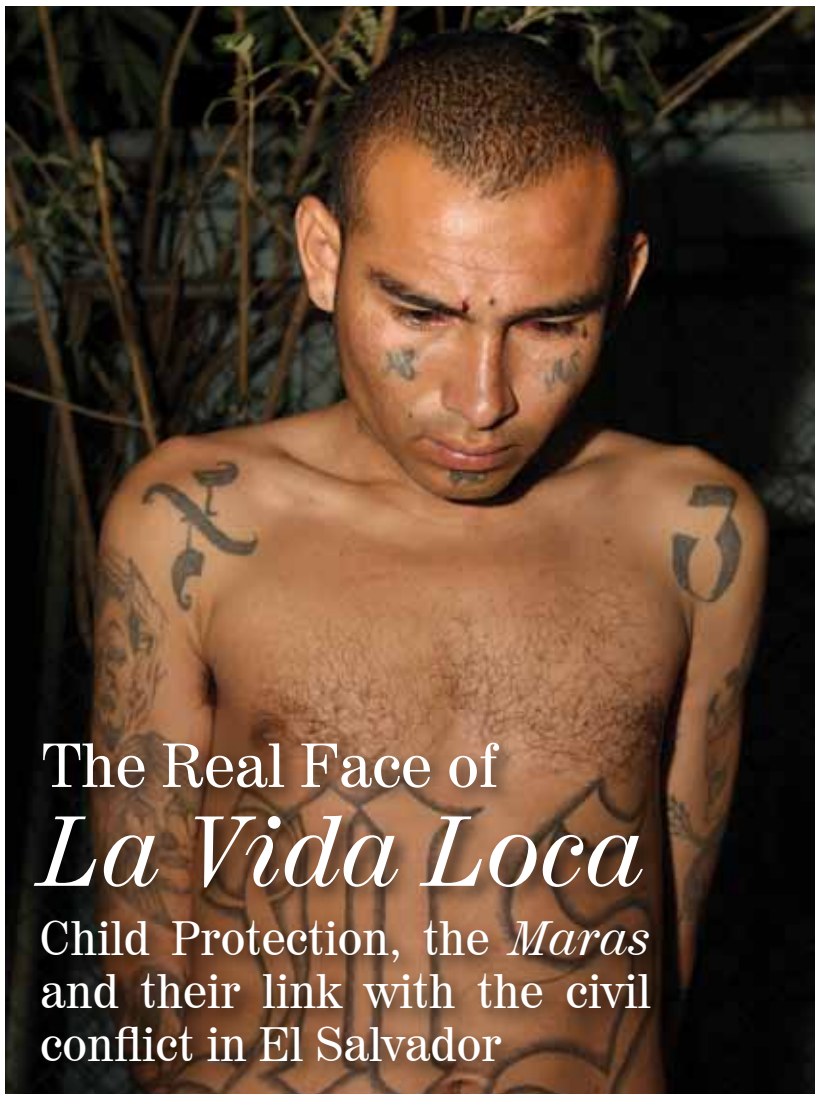
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The Real Face of *La Vida Loca* Child Protection, the *Maras* and their link with the civil conflict in El Salvador

In the past years, as Washington has focused its attention on the Middle East, it has virtually ignored a dangerous phenomenon close to home. With the United States preoccupied elsewhere, the gangs have grown in power and numbers; today, local officials estimate their size at 70,000 – 100,000 members. The *maras* now present the most serious challenge to peace in the region since the end of Central America's civil wars.

By Claudio Lema Pose

In the last years, several references have been made in publications such as *Foreign Affairs*, *The Economist* and *Newsweek* about the *maras* (a slang word in Central America Spanish for “gangs”) in Central America, particularly in El Salvador, and in the United States.¹ As El Salvador began to recover from the 12-year war that ended with the peace accords of 1992, U.S. authorities began to deport thousands of gang members to the country, where the explosion of gang violence during the late 1990s lifted El Salvador's homicide rates to levels not seen since the armed conflict. The *maras* also spread to Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua, and more recently to Mexico. The purpose of this article is to explain the relation between the *maras* and the civil conflict in El Salvador.

Blood in, blood out: enter the *maras*

The civil war in El Salvador took twelve years, left approximately 75,000 people dead and over one million refugees and internally displaced persons.² According to Fiona Terry: “Central America was the scene of large refugee movements from the late 1970s to the end of the 1980s as state repression, guerrilla warfare, human rights abuses drove millions from their homes to become displaced people within their own countries or asylum seekers in neighbouring states. El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala were the three main refugee-producing countries, and the United States, Mexico, Honduras, and Costa Rica were the principal countries of asylum.”³ Many of these refugees settled in Los Angeles, California, sometimes in impoverished and difficult neighbourhoods where gang violence was daily business. The *maras* phenomenon was a direct consequence of this process: in a position of having to protect themselves on the streets, many of the young refugees (some of them with paramilitary or guerrilla experience) turned to gangs for security. They joined either the already formed 18th Street gang (also known as Mara-18 or M-18), or the newly formed Mara Salvatrucha (also known as MS-13); two rival gangs whose animosity has increased exponentially over the years. According to Stephen

C. Johnson, a senior policy analyst for Latin America, through a report he gave for the U.S. Congress Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere in 2005, M-18 began to operate in the 1960s and “it was the first Hispanic gang known to recruit outside its home city and state”. His report also says that Mara Salvatrucha was formed in the same neighbourhood that had been displaced due to El Salvador’s civil war.⁴ Since then, the *maras* problem has considerably escalated to the point of even being called “a threat to national security in their region (Central America) and to the United States”.⁵

It is appropriate to remark that this article does not deal with the gang problematic in general, either in the US or Central America, but with the particular case of the *maras*, especially Mara Salvatrucha, the most well-known *maras*. Newsweek reported that Mara Salvatrucha is considered the fastest-growing, most violent and least understood of the nation’s street gangs – in part because U.S. law enforcement has not been watching as closely as it might have. As authorities have focused their attention on the war against terrorism, gangs have proliferated. This analysis is shared by another article published in *Foreign Affairs* in 2005: “...the growing power of Central America’s gangs and their ability to shuttle between their home countries and the United States. In the past years, as Washington has focused its attention on the Middle East, it has virtually ignored a dangerous phenomenon close to home. With the United States preoccupied elsewhere, the gangs have grown in power and numbers; today, local officials estimate their size at 70,000 – 100,000 members. The *maras* now present the most serious challenge to peace in the region since the end of Central America’s civil wars. Nor is the danger limited to the region. Fed by an explosive growth in the area’s youth population and by a host of social problems such as poverty and unemployment, the gangs are spreading, spilling into Mexico and beyond – even back into the United States itself. With them, the *maras* are bringing rampant crime, committing thousands of murders, and contributing to a flourishing drug trade.”⁶ One of

the most vicious crimes of the *maras* was committed by Mara Salvatrucha in December 2004, in Honduras, when gang members attacked a bus and killed 28 people in order to warn the government against crackdown on gang activities in the country.⁷

There are different meanings given to the name of the group: *Maras* means people rioting or out of control. *Salva* refers to those coming from El Salvador. And *Trucha* means savvy or streetwise. *Maras* may also derive from *marabuntas*, a particular tough ant from Central America. *Maras* have their own symbols such as tattoos and graffiti and their own language both written and through hand signals. In that sense, *maras* could not be different from other

“From the late 1970s to the end of the 1980s as state repression, guerrilla warfare, human rights abuses drove millions from their homes to become displaced people within their own countries or asylum seekers in neighbouring states.”

so called “urban tribes”. However, it is the violence, from initiation to ascension into higher positions, which marks the life within the *mara*. “Blood in, blood out” (killing another person, usually a member of rival gang) is the pledge, the oath (usually for life because once a member of the gang, it is extremely difficult to leave) which represents the violence present in the rites of passage in the *mara*. For example, in order to be accepted as a member of Mara Salvatrucha, it is necessary to stand thirteen seconds of brutal beating by other members of the *mara*, without putting up any resistance (this is called “jumped in”). There are other symbols used by Mara

Salvatrucha: the colours blue and white (the colours of the flag of El Salvador) to identify its territory; gang members “mark the highly localized territory of their barrios with the insignia of Los Angeles’s telephone area codes and street numbers”⁸, handshakes, etc.

This sense of identity, from the tattooing gang references over their bodies to the strong friendship bonds and the excitement associated with the ongoing turf war against rival gangs and the police, provides many young people without a family setting, a set of strict codes and rules to live by: the *mara*, then, becomes their family and their way of life.

Gangs offer “refuge from home, an alternative family, and financial security”.⁹ They also give “stability, identity, status, and protection”.¹⁰ Often the children who join the gang come from broken homes – a condition which is becoming increasingly relevant with the constant cycle of immigration and deportation occurring between the United States and Central America. Globalisation has caused “an unsettling of national citizenship”.¹¹ There are three types of gang membership:

- *Activos*, or active members, are the full members of the gang who are involved in all of its activities;
- *Colaboradores*, or collaborators, are involved with the gang in more peripheral way, either as business partners or friends; and finally
- *Calmados*, or “cool down”, inactive members who have been given permission to leave in order to work or have a family (but, as we mentioned before, leaving a *mara* is extremely difficult and there are numerous examples of former gang members being murdered after ceasing involvement in the gang).

Authorities say that they are becoming increasingly sophisticated and organised, with better weapons and better coordination and communication skills. The common response of authorities in El Salvador and other Central American countries (particularly in Honduras) to this improvement in the “*mara* management” is to jail *mara* members. The prison system becomes overcrowded and it only serves to reinforce gang culture, not to deter

it.¹² Ana Arana resumed the point: “The solutions (to the gang problems) attempted so far (in Central America) – largely confined to military and police operations - have only aggravated the problem; prisons acts as gangland finishing schools”.¹³ Like the solidarity formed by the shared experience of imprisonment and suffering in the gulags of the former Soviet Union or in the nazi concentration camps, *maras* members’ bonds are developed further by spending time together in prison.

How to deal with the *maras*?

We have identified three different approaches in order to deal with the *maras*, depending on the actor in charge:

(A) Deportations: the international dimension of the *maras* is being exacerbated by the mass deportation of gang members from the United States to Central America. “The combined effects of political instability and economic devastation in El Salvador made continued UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) presence and oversight essential. Many Salvadorans who fled to the United States remained there. The U.S. Government granted the refugees Temporary Protected Status from 1990 through June 1992 and then granted them Deferred Enforced Departure. When The UN Observance Mission (ONUSAL) departed from El Salvador 190,128 asylum applications from Salvadorans were pending before the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service”.¹⁴ According to Ana Arana: “In the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots (1991), police there determined that most of the looting and violence had been carried out by local gangs, including *Mara Salvatrucha*, then a little-known group of Salvadoran immigrants. In response, California implemented strict new anti-gang laws. Prosecutors began to charge young gang member as adults instead of minors, and hundreds were sent to jail for felonies and other serious crimes. Next came the “three strikes and you are out” legislation, passed in California/USA in 1994, which dramatically increased jail time for offenders convicted of three or more felonies. In 1996, Congress extended

the get-tough approach to immigration law”.¹⁵ That year the U.S. passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, a broad piece of legislation aimed at reducing illegal immigration, which increased the pace of deportation of *maras* members. Non-citizens sentenced to a year or more in prison would now be repatriated to their countries of origin, and even foreign-born American felons could be stripped of their citizenship and expelled once they served their prison terms. Since then, deportation has become the US government’s key tactic for dealing with *maras*. As such, deported gang members take the gang structures and rivalry –that had spilled the blood of thousands in the US - back to El Salvador and the war of the streets is being extended to Central America whose governments have far less skills and resources to face the problem than the US. According to Andrew Papachristos: “In 1996, around 38,000 immigrants were deported after committing a crime; by 2003, the number had jumped to almost 80,000.”¹⁶

Although in the past the *maras* problem in the US was in second place in relation to terrorism, day after day, the *maras* are hitting headlines and attracting more attention from the authorities. It is evident that the US authorities are now dealing with *Mara Salvatrucha* in ways similar to the way the FBI once dealt with the mafia.¹⁷ Following that line, federal racketeering against gangs is being conducted under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (also known as RICO) statute and deportation still remains a pillar of the anti-gang policy of the US.

This approach does not fully take into account what happens to these people upon their arrival in their native country. Many deportees had lived in the United States for almost their whole lives – some did not even speak Spanish, and yet they were expected to be able to survive in a country like El Salvador simply because they were born there. One deportee, once he was back in El Salvador with no other prospects than his gang connections and experience, said: “They (US) might as well have put me on Mars”.¹⁸ Therefore, it was not surprising that

the *maras* deportees joined together with other *maras* members who had been deported and recreated the LA gangs *Vida Loca* (crazy life) in Central America; or that many of them attempted to return to the United States illegally.

(B) *Mano Dura*: The governments of Central America (mainly El Salvador and Honduras) responded to the *maras* problem by criminalising *maras* membership through a policy known as *Mano Dura* (or “firm/strong hand”) which is modelled after “zero-tolerance” policies in the United States but they go beyond that. The core of *Mano Dura* policies is that “illicit association” is a crime. In other words, it is illegal *per se* to be a member of or associated with a gang. *Mano Dura* was introduced in Honduras with a series of laws empowering the government to imprison people merely on the suspicion of gang membership often determined simply by the presence of distinctive tattoos.

El Salvador copied this *Mano Dura* path and passed into law draconian measures to seek to discourage membership in the *maras* and their activities (the *Plan Mano Super Dura* or Super Firm/Strong Hand Plan). One example of this is the Anti-Maras Act (“AMA”) which contravened various international treaties and instruments El Salvador had ratified. Article 144 of the Constitution of El Salvador states that international treaties ratified by El Salvador shall be deemed “laws of the Republic”. This article also states that a law cannot “modify or annul what has been agreed” in an international treaty and, finally, that where any conflict arises between common law and an international treaty the latter shall prevail, establishing, therefore, a hierarchy of norms. In addition to this, El Salvador ratified the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), without reservations, on 10 June 1990. Following the legal analysis above, CRC prevails over AMA (in accordance with article 144 of the Constitution El Salvador). However, as we understand, AMA contradicts CRC in the following points:

- Article 3.1 of the CRC establishes that in terms of measures concerning children (persons under 18) taken,

among others, by legislative bodies, public entities in general and the courts, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration. According to Amnesty International: "The AMA contains provisions relating to minors aged between 12 and 18, and foresees the possible application to them of legislation which applies to adults. AMA even includes a special procedure which applies to children under twelve years of age. In fact, Article 2 of AMA states that when a minor aged between 12 and 18 commits crimes or misdemeanours included in AMA or in the Penal Code, and is deemed to have the discernment of an adult by the Attorney General's Office, he will be classified as an adult and the relevant legislation shall apply".¹⁹

- Article 16.1 of the CRC stipulates that children have the right not to suffer arbitrary interference in their privacy. However, Article 1 of AMA considers that the features that characterise *mara* as delinquent include their members' "use of signs or symbols as a means of identification", such as tattoos on their bodies. These features should not be grounds for criminalisation since all individuals in their private lives have the right - which the State cannot validly oppose - to be tattooed or to adopt particular identity symbols (as long as they are not offensive to others).
- Article 37 (b) of the CRC states that detention or imprisonment of a child shall be a measure of last resort. However, in AMA, confinement is the mechanism of choice out of the different sanctions that apply to children.
- Article 29 of AMA breaches general standards of protection when a sanction in the form of a fine is introduced for anyone found wandering about without an identity document in any settlement, without justified cause or who is not known by the inhabitants. This sanction infringes Articles 7 and 22 of the American Convention on Human Rights (also known as the San José de Costa Rica Treaty) which protects the rights to personal freedom and free movement within

the territories of the States Parties.²⁰

On 1 April 2004 the Constitutional Division of the Supreme Court of Justice of El Salvador found AMA to be in breach of the constitution because it violated basic principles of equality before the law. The court found that AMA presumed that individuals would engage in criminal activity, based on personal or social circumstances and not whether they actually committed a crime. Furthermore, the court found that by providing the possibility for

“ Non-citizens sentenced to a year or more in prison would now be repatriated to their countries of origin, and even foreign-born American felons could be stripped of their citizenship and expelled once they served their prison terms.”

a child to be prosecuted as an adult, AMA put children in an unfavourable situation, as well as breaching the CRC. Similarly, in the case of Honduras, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child recently considered AMA to be in breach of the CRC and recommended its suspension.²¹ Amnesty International called on the Legislative Assembly of El Salvador to abandon any attempt to pass further Anti-Maras legislation that contravenes the Constitution and international human right standards.²²

There is little evidence that the AMA approach has had any effect in reducing gang violence, although it seems to be popular with the electorate. Human rights groups say the Salvadoran government should invest more in anti-poverty programmes rather than relying on tough tactics. The social causes such as poverty, family disintegration, violence at home, lack of opportunity, poor education, inequality and

drugs should be addressed as well as focusing more on prevention than on force. As we have explained before in this article, for children living under extreme social deprivation the *mara* represents not only a possibility of achieving recognition but also the closest thing to a family they may have. New policies are needed; the youth of the region must be given back its fundamental rights. Education should be a priority, so that communities are not abandoned. The whole social environment of the young must be modified so that they are provided with skills and opportunities so that in time they will be able to contribute to their communities and feel a part of them.

(C) Prevention: in many ways, the *mara* are a type of youth formation, through which young people learn to socialise and interact with their environment, but the important difference is the negative impact this organisation may have in terms of violence. What may be needed in terms of intervention, therefore, is to transform the vast organisational capital of gangs into something entirely positive. The "Homies Unidos" project takes this approach, working with (rather than against) *mara* in El Salvador, aiming to transform the negative organisational capacity of *mara* into a productive force.²³

Homies Unidos is a non-profit gang violence prevention and intervention organisation with projects in San Salvador, El Salvador and in Los Angeles, California. The organisation was founded in 1996 in San Salvador and formally began organising in the United States in 1997. Since its founding, this NGO has provided educational and social programmes in an effort to rehabilitate gang youth and provide positive options for their future. The founding members of the project are trained in the principles of non-violence, conflict resolution, counselling and personal motivation. They also provide information about HIV/AIDS and perform rap music as a way to reach out to other gang members. Thus the gang members are given ownership of the project, and a sense of responsibility, purpose and respect. By operating within existing gang structures, the project

aims not to destroy the positive aspects of gang life (like strong friendship and loyalty), but rather to transform them. The project also works to create job training, employment and income opportunities for gang members. According to Homies Unidos: “We are the only organisation that is run by gangs and by active gang members. We don’t pull people out of the gangs. We say ‘we want you to remain gang members’ because we think that the gangs are not all negative. If you have a dysfunctional government and a dysfunctional family, the only family they have is the gang structure. For us to tear that away, what are we leaving them with? So we say that we’re going to build a positive role model of gang members. So our guys, we ask them to renounce violence, renounce drugs, or to be in the process of moving away from that. Our job is to find a way to reach youth and excite them about a vision that is bigger than the violence they see right now – to make them see beyond the obstacles”.⁽²⁴⁾

Homies Unidos recognises that within gang structures delinquency, organised crime, drugs, and other negative factors exist, but they also recognise the untapped potential of the youth that become involved with gangs. The NGOs believe that the disintegration of the family unit caused by failed economic and social policies, the years of war and military intervention both in El Salvador and the United States, has greatly contributed to the cycle of violence in both countries.

Another very creative preventive approach to the *mara* problem took place in Guatemala. This is a reality TV show designed to help former gang members to turn their skills into valuable business assets. The basic premise of the show is ten strangers sharing a house for two weeks while they learn the basics of accounting, market management, and public relations. Members of rival gangs must learn to get along with one another, in addition to learning how to survive the business world. Early accounts say that the show is having positive results.

At the government level in Central America, one exception to the *Mano Dura* approach has been Panama. According to Kyle De Beausset:

“President Torrijos of Panama is one of the only few politicians to try a different approach with his *Mano Amiga* or helping hand policies. The purpose of them is to offer positive alternatives to at risk youth through activities like theatre and sports”.²⁵

Conclusion

The growth and strength of the *mara* brings the possibility that they could become a *de facto* authority in some areas of Central America. It is clear to everybody that the solution to the *mara* problem needs a solution with multilateral approaches, combining police work with prevention and addressing the social causes as well.

Taking out the heart of the leadership is very hard if not impossible when there is no clear or definitive leadership or supreme command in the *mara*. They do have some structure and common identity, and in many ways they

“ The court found that AMA presumed that individuals would engage in criminal activity, based on personal or social circumstances and not whether they actually committed a crime.”

operate like a business franchise, but with many independent cells operating under the name or brand, such as *Mara Salvatrucha*, but without a centralised structure. As such, trying to fight *mara* and prosecute their members in the same way that organised crime was fought in the past in the US is simply not effective. Deportation is not resolving the problem either. In fact, once the gangs got started in Central America, the problem snowballed. As such, deportation exacerbates the problem and contributes to the proliferation and expansion of violence cycles (as well as some sort of vigilantism which is present in El Salvador). The origins and evolution of *Mara Salvatrucha* can be traced and its causes are fairly logical and simple to understand once all the pieces of the process are put together. And yet, many of the authorities seem to have little idea

of how to combat *Mara Salvatrucha*, and resort to heavy-handed tactics to deal with it. Tattoos, for example, are a sign of gang involvement and very hard to get rid of, therefore make it extremely difficult for gang members to change their lifestyles due to the fact that many employees refuse to hire people with visible tattooing. As such, a simple thing like a tattoo removal programme with a laser machine utilised by specialists in the field of tattoo removal could have a huge positive impact provided that they are available at no charge and be accessible to all youth.

Other possible measures to consider could include:

- providing recreational and educational programmes exclusive for youth at risk and gang-involved youth, easily accessible by the community;
- offering drug and alcohol rehabilitation facilities;
- providing educational and follow up programmes for deportees, including the facilitation of documentation and the registration process;
- sentencing young people convicted of minor crimes to supervised community services, such as graffiti removal, street maintenance, green spaces projects, etc.; and
- offering tax incentives to private sector companies who provide employment opportunities to former gang members.

There are also a number of lessons that can be learnt from the United Nations experiences in El Salvador. The United Nations Observance Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)²⁶ set a positive benchmark for subsequent, more demanding missions, and should be lauded for its pioneering efforts in such areas as disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration. However, for future cases, specific Child Protection programmes should be added as part of the peacekeeping mission mandate and the subsequent nation-building strategy. Other lessons to learn and apply are:

- Direct UN participation in pre-settlement negotiations can facilitate a transition to democracy.
- The integration of insurgent groups into a democratic political process is critical to ensure a lasting peace.

- The reintegration of ex-combatants into society and the demobilisation of police and other security forces need to be carefully paced and supervised in a country with high levels of unemployment and crime.
- The deployment of international civilian police can help to control organised and other forms of crime.
- The rebuilding internal security needs to address all components of the justice system: police, judges, prosecutors, the rule of law, and detention facilities.
- A more rapid and well-funded reintegration programme for former combatants might have reduced subsequent problems in El Salvador.
- Efforts should be made to prevent the recruitment of children.
- Child soldiers run a higher risk of being excluded from release (demobilisation) and reintegration programs.
- The role of the family and school in the reintegration of former child soldiers are key factors in Child Protection.

Understanding everyday violence in poor urban communities requires a holistic framework that positions violence in terms of three interrelated components: the different categories of the phenomenon; the underlying causal factors; and the costs and consequences of violent actions. It is the interrelationship between these three components that provides the necessary contextualisation for the identification of the fourth component, namely the range of violence-reduction interventions. These should include advocacy, research, state programmes and community-level projects.

Realising appropriate and effective participatory activities in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations is particularly challenging. It is important, for example, to be aware of the aggravated risks that young people may face if they engage in community development and peace-building activities in a society torn apart by war. Participation is important in many ways. It helps to restore dignity to the population by allowing people to play a role in the decisions that affect their lives. It contributes to the quality of the humanitarian

response by helping humanitarian actors understand the complete reality of a community. Involving people in their own development also ensures more sustainable outcomes. Education is a strategic part of the assistance provided to children living in complex emergencies and post-conflict situations. It provides children with the skills they need to become productive members of their society and has a “normalising” effect during times of conflict, by restoring a sense of stability, routine and safety.

Projects which combine a public health approach to drug education and rehabilitation and a conflict resolution approach to dialogue and peaceful mediation illustrate another path to follow in order to transform the negative aspects of the *maras* into a productive force. Local enforcement officials can also take some positive actions in the fight against *maras* if they focus on prevention rather than punishment. Visiting high schools and talking to children and young people about the dangers of gangs, and providing community development programmes that give children in difficult environments different alternatives from joining a gang could also have a big impact.

Finally, although it could be helpful during election times to present easy-consumer stereotypes and portray gangs such as *Mara Salvatrucha* as killing machines requiring heavy handed policies in order to save the society from their actions, it is clear that this is not a long term solution (or a solution at all). The gang gives to many young people something that, at least in their view, society has been unable to provide (solidarity, respect, family, identity, protection, friendship). Therefore, in order to deal with the *maras* effectively, the underlying social problems which cause the *maras* phenomenon in the first place must be dealt with, such as poverty, unemployment, and broken homes. It does not pay to merely treat the symptoms of the problem and ignore the causes. ■

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MY REFLECTIONS ON THE THABO MBEKI FOUNDATION YOUTH RETREAT



Is another Afrika possible?

One of the biggest problems with Afrika in general but South Afrika in particular, is the depoliticisation of youth. The youth of South Afrika has removed the retina from its eyes and has ceased to be a questioning youth. We have instead begun to embrace a culture of crass materialism and are obsessed with individual accumulation of wealth and power.

By Malaika Wa Azania

“Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it” - Frantz Fanon

In mid-September I received an urgent message from a researcher working for the Thabo Mbeki Foundation (TMF) inviting me to a youth retreat organised by the organisation. My initial thought was that there would be very little point in attending an occasion organised by an organisation whose patron I agree with on very little. My views around former president Thabo Mbeki have never been secret and I continue to hold most of them, mainly as they relate to the economic question. Mbeki’s championing of policies such

as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) are different from my understanding of what auto-centric developmental policies ought to represent. They also stand in contrast to my belief that the Afrikan continent’s solution to class inequalities lies within a Socialist ideology.

All Southern Afrikan countries, including South Afrika, have adopted trade liberalisation policies which over-emphasise the belief that the private sector and businesses are the key driving force behind an economy. Policies of this nature create fertile ground for the fermentation of what is known as the “race to the bottom”, which is a term used to refer to desperate attempts by countries (or regions within countries)

to attract investment at almost any cost. In many Southern Afrikan countries, the introduction of Export Processing Zones has seen many transnational mega-corporations being exempted from adhering to the environmental regulations and even labour laws. This not only makes allowance for the legitimisation of exploitation, but it also places the sovereignty of Afrikan states at risk from the over-bearing influence of foreign investors and businesses. So I was rather sceptical of accepting the invitation to the youth retreat but curiosity got the better of me and I accepted.

There is a need for me to briefly touch on the week preceding the retreat. A week before the retreat was

to take place, myself and a group of Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy for Girls (OWLAG) students finalised the launch of an initiative that we had been planning for quite a while. We have started what we call the Black Consciousness Book Club: Re-writing the Afrikan Narrative at Rhodes University, where we are all students. The main objective of this book club is to create a platform where young students are given the space and the opportunities can find to discuss issues relating to race and class contradictions. But more than that, we wanted to re-introduce Afrikan literature to the literary discourse of our peers. This initiative was met with great hostility by a section of the student body, for it was felt that it is racist and antagonistic to White students. The second incident that transpired the week prior to the retreat was that the former branch secretary of a student organisation which I belong to published a statement on behalf of the organisation declaring that my views are not in line with the views of the organisation. This was informed by articles that I had written in my own capacity, which dealt with the issue of racism in the institution. The view of the secretary was that to address these issues is tantamount to being "racist" and that the formation of the book club was an attempt to create a divisive line between the Black student population and "the others".

These two incidents left me feeling rather dejected about the future because it introduced me to the reality that in spite of the challenges we face in the country, there are still a number of young people who are not prepared or willing to engage in issues that form part of their social narrative. The refusal by that section of the student body to accept a book club whose main objective is to popularise Afrikan literature can only imply that within the young and educated student population of Rhodes University, there exist some who do not understand the importance of reading Afrikan stories.

The assertions by my branch secretary that writing papers that seek to engage the student population on issues of racism in the institution is "racist" deepened my frustrations, for

it clearly implied that the leadership of my organisation, at least in the branch, does not want the race issue engaged even where race is used as a vehicle to suppress others, as is happening at Rhodes University. Both incidents implied that there are people who believe that we must accept the status quo, that we must continue to accept being part of a society where tales of the hunt in Afrika are told by the Western hunter who has, for centuries, conditioned us into believing that we are lesser humans, that we are incapable of writing our own narrative.

I left the Eastern Cape province and headed to Protea Hotel in Midrand where the retreat was to take place. Upon arrival, I walked into a seminar room where a roundtable discussion was taking place and was I immediately struck by the number of women present. Living in a heteropatriarchal society and being part of a student organisation that has inherited this regressive socialisation, I have come to acknowledge the reality that women are perpetually ostracised in political discussions of serious depth, not because we lack the capacity to reason, but because many of our male comrades lack the capacity to understand that our gender is not a representation of our intellectual depth. So seeing a room with so many women from different racial backgrounds stunned me. It also introduced me to the uniqueness of the Thabo Mbeki Foundation's outlook.

The first session on the first day of the retreat was headed by Mr Mike Boon of the Vulindlela Network. Titled "Understanding Afrikan Leadership", the session dealt with issues relating to how the youth of the continent can contribute to becoming agents of positive change by reclaiming leadership of the continent so as to awaken the continent from its soporific state.

I have always had a passion for physical science. Since my high school days, Physical Science and Biology have been my favourite subjects. As a first year student today, I am majoring in Earth Sciences and Geography and I have every intention of continuing my studies in the discipline of physical and geological sciences. Unlike social

sciences, which include subjects such as Sociology, Economics, Law, Criminology, Anthropology and Developmental Studies to name but a few, that deal with the study of society and human behaviour's influence on the world around us, physical sciences studies the very chemistry of nature. It deals with phenomena which can be measured with definite accuracy.

The other beauty of physical science is how it influences humanity's outlook on life or what we call Philosophy, which has been the foundation of many a scientific path. At every stage in history, human-beings have sought, and continue to seek, a definition of the world which they occupy. This world has been defined through their observations of nature and the generalisation of their experiences. So philosophy is traditionally expressed in terms of fundamental attitudes towards such basic questions as the general nature of existence or being (ontology), of the nature, limits and extent of knowledge (epistemology or logic) of the problems of human values (ethics) of social organisation (political or social philosophy) and of art and beauty (aesthetics).

However, one of the fundamental problems of philosophy concerns the relation of thinking to being. This fundamental problem is handled through philosophical tendencies, which divide themselves into two main camps, namely idealism and materialism. These philosophical tendencies have been the subject of many debates, mainly because philosophers have always looked at them in contrast to one another. Simply put, philosophers and scientists have viewed idealism to be the OPPOSITE of materialism and as such, have strived to prove that one is accurate and the other flawed. By all indications, the latter camp has found greater expression than the former, perhaps because of the spread of scientific socialism or what is popularly known as Marxism. Scientific socialism or Marxism is the name given to the body of ideas first worked out by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 19th century. In their totality, these ideas provide a theoretical basis for the struggle of the working class to attain

a higher Socialism-cum-Communism. This science has rooted itself in human society because of its accurate analysis of that society in relation to class struggle, which has defined the existence of every human epoch.

Dialectical materialism is the scientific philosophy concerned with the general laws of the evolution of nature, society and thought. This school of thought, however, considers thought and consciousness as secondary and matter as primary. This is captured most aptly by the father of scientific socialism, Karl Marx, when he says: "It is not the consciousness of man that determines their being but their being that determines their consciousness". This means that all that we are and that which we understand of our world and existence is a product of our material world. That which informs our consciousness is the material world in which we are located. As such, it is not what we think that decides our reality but rather, it is rather our reality that decides what we are capable of thinking. Idealism on the other hand is much more concerned with the mind and consciousness and opposes the materialistic view that mind and thought are products and functions of matter.

I have held the view, like many people do, that Idealism is unscientific. Because as an ontological doctrine Idealism asserts that all entities are composed of mind or spirit, there is great neglect of the importance of matter, which has been reduced to a state of immateriality. And while indeed the historical influence of Idealism remains central even to the philosophical schools of thought that reject its metaphysical assumptions, there has always been a great contrast between it and Materialism. At the recent Thabo Mbeki Foundation Youth Retreat, this knowledge that I had long harboured, the belief that Idealism is the opposite of Materialism, was put to the test by Mr Mike Boon of Vulindlela Network, who was the lead discussant in the discussion on a topic titled "Understanding Afrikan Leadership", which focused primarily on how Afrika can produce thought leaders who would re-write the Afrikan narrative that is defined by the conditioning and

oppression of the Afrikan people. The discussion was very clear cut until the last fifteen minutes, where Mr Boon made a point that informs this article.

Using a crystalised water particle, Mr Boon showed us photographic evidence of how human emotions can alter the state of matter. According to the evidence shown, water molecules react to external HUMAN influences which are informed by HUMAN emotions. When a person who is in a troubled state of mind speaks into a container holding water, the molecular composition remains the same (that is to say, 2 hydrogen atoms and 1 oxygen atom) but the STATE of the water changes. When captured on a camera with high mega-pixel lenses, the water can be seen to be scattered and somewhat grainy. However, the same water, when spoken into by a person in a tranquil state of mind, forms a very smooth and clear crystal with a rather ethereal shape. I was stunned by this revelation and the scientist in me refused to believe in such mysticism. And so I did what I always do when I find out something that I am sceptical about: I arrived at school and spent hours in the library and online doing my own independent research so as to refute the claims that Mr Boon had made. To my utter shock, my preliminary research not only indicates that this "mysticism" is in fact true, it has also indicated that there is, in fact, SCIENTIFIC proof of its existence, qualified through actual experiments and observations.

Noetic Science is defined by the Institute of Noetic Sciences as "a multidisciplinary field that brings objective scientific tools and techniques together with subjective inner knowing to study the full range of human experiences". This science categorically proves that human thought, if properly focused, has the ability to affect and change physical mass. This means that our consciousness, our thoughts, interact with the physical world and thus affect change down to the subatomic realm. According to Newton's Law of Universal Gravitation, "every point mass in the universe attracts every other point mass with a force that is directly proportional to the product of their masses and

inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them". Those of us who have studied physical sciences have always understood this law to mean that every OBJECT on earth attracts and is attracted by every other OBJECT. However, according to Noetic Sciences, it is not only OBJECTS that experience this force, but also, THOUGHTS. And unlike the orthodox idealist school of thought that believes thought to be an inner phenomenon, Noetic Scientists believe thought or human consciousness to be a substance outside the confines of the human body.

Human consciousness or thought is thus a highly ordered energy that is capable of altering the physical world. Impossible as this might sound, the field of Noetic Science has made numerous quantum leaps forward in the 21st century. In the United States of AmeriKKKa, for example, an event that altered the course of human history was studied by Noetic Scientists who revealed very shocking results. During the tragic events of 9/11, four scientists who were observing Random Event Generators (these are Electrogaiagrams that are used to test whether human consciousness extends a field around the earth which can change the results of random events) discovered that science behind cosmic consciousness. As the world united in its grief and sorrow, the output of more than thirty-five Random Event Generators around the world became measurably less random. This proved, scientifically, that the coalescing of billions of minds affect the randomising function of these machines and thus, corroborated that a vast coalescing of human intention is capable of interacting with physical matter. As such, it is evident that focused thought can even affect the synchronisation of separately automated systems and even the chemical reactions in the human body.

This science, which I had known nothing about until the Youth Retreat, is a very interesting science because of its fusion of ancient mysticism and physical science as we know it. Unlike general Idealism which does not provide tangible evidence to its claims of the spiritual world, Noetic

Sciences prove with the usage of mathematical formulae and Laws of Physical Chemistry, that thought is measurable in quantity. The mistake that must not be made is to dismiss the Materialist view that thought is a product of matter, but rather, we must seek to draw an understanding of how synchronised thought can be combined with an understanding of our prevailing material conditions, to re-write the Afrikan narrative. Both the Materialist and the Idealist school of thought have a lot to offer the continent in the quest to realising an Afrikan Renaissance where our collective humanity is placed above all else. Perhaps instead of concluding that Materialists are correct in the view that thought is a product of matter while Idealists are incorrect in the view that matter is a product of thought, we ought to introduce a thesis that says that material conditions as we see them today are a product of destructive thought (or vice versa) and in order for these material conditions to be altered for the good of collective humanity, constructive thought must be synchronised so as to write a new world order.

The presentation was followed with discussions by the delegates. The night ended with the screening of a movie called *ENDGAME*, which is based on a book titled "The Fall of Apartheid" by Robert Harvey. The movie focuses on the last few years of the apartheid regime and the road to the negotiations for a democratic South Afrika.

The second day of the retreat began very early. Breakfast was immediately followed by a session with Ms Syriana Maesela, the Chairperson of the Pitseng Women's Fund, who led the discussion on the role of women in advancing Afrika's developmental agenda. This session was of particular significance for me not only because of its focus on a part of the gender question but also, because of how the lead discussant, Ms Maesela, juxtaposed the historical role of Afrikan women with the Afrikan Renaissance agenda which is being driven by the Thabo Mbeki Foundation. The role that Afrikan women played in the struggle for the liberation of the Afrikan continent is often marginalised even from the most progressive of history books. Far

too often, these books narrate HISTory without including HERstory.

The next session was led by the former president of the South African Students Congress and current Researcher at the Mpungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA), Mr David Maimela. The dialogue was titled "Mobilising the youth towards the Afrikan Renaissance". While all sessions were important and I enjoyed them immensely, the one led by comrade David was my personal favourite. I began this article with a quote from Frantz Fanon that says: "Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it". It is within this quote that I locate the presentation of comrade David. One of the biggest problems with Afrika in general but South Afrika in particular, is the depoliticisation of youth. The youth of South Afrika has removed the retina from its eyes and has ceased to be a questioning youth. We have instead begun to embrace a culture of crass materialism and are obsessed with individual accumulation of wealth and power. Comrade David's discussion focused on how we can utilise our collective energies and ideas towards the re-awakening of the Afrikan dream of prosperity, equality and development.

The third session of the day was led by Mr Tito Mboweni, the former governor of the South African Reserve Bank and current International Advisor for Goldman Sachs. The dialogue was on the prospects for Afrikan economic integration. This dialogue was more complex than my Economics lectures and I found myself taking more notes than I did in most other sessions. It was also the session that truly tested my discipline, for on more than one occasion, I found myself tempted to shoot up my hand and object to what I personally found to be problematic statements that were being made by the former governor. The over-emphasis on the role of the private sector and businesses in the driving of the continent's economy, which champions modern economics as defined by the father of Capitalism, Adam Smith, is an anti-thesis to my belief in auto centric development that is Socialist orientated. Nonetheless,

there was a lot to learn from the former governor and the session was fruitful, more so because of his brilliant sense of humour.

After this dialogue, we went to breakaway sessions where three different groups were formed to discuss different issues. The topics for discussion were as follows:

- Reflections on the Afrikan Youth Charter
- Reflections on the Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance
- Afrika's economic integration

I was selected as the Chairperson of the second group. The group was very robust in its engagement and the debates were fierce, albeit progressive.

The last session of the night was a very poignant one where two young people from different parts of the Afrikan continent shared their stories with us. The first one was Mr Nelson Tugume from Uganda, who runs a very successful business that is focused on mobilising young people from across Afrika to invest their ideas and time to building a prosperous Afrika. The second was Mr Navigue Konate, a youth leader from Cote d'Ivoire, who was part of the youth brigade that protected the former president of that country, Mr Laurent Gbagbo, during the time when the country was invaded by NATO and the French government troops. These young people surrounded the former president's home to provide human shelter against the incessant bombings by the French troops. They did it to protect the very thing which president Gbagbo had been fighting to protect: the sovereignty of Cote d'Ivoire, which its former coloniser, France, had wanted to undermine.

Navigue's presentation took me back to a debate which had been aired on national radio over a year ago between me and Shadrack Gutto, Director for the Centre for African Renaissance Studies at the University of South Africa. In this debate, I had argued that the African Union and all Afrikan states had contributed to the post-election violence in Cote d'Ivoire by not being decisive in the stance that Afrikan problems must be resolved by Afrikans without the interference of Western and Eastern

powers. I felt strongly, as I continue to, that the silence and inaction of Afrikan leaders is the manure that feeds the plants of the destruction of the Afrikan continent, for it creates a fragmentation between and within nation states on the continent. When this happens, Afrikan unity is undermined and allowance is made for institutions such as NATO and even the United Nations Security Council to bulldoze Afrikan leaders who stand firm in their convictions that Afrika belongs to Afrikans. The reality of the situation is that leaders such as Gbagbo have been produced by our continent before. In Burkina Faso we had president Thomas Isidore Sankara, in Zaire we had Prime Minister Patrice Emery Lumumba, in Mozambique we had president Samora Machel to name but a few. All of them met the same fate because all of them stood for the same cause. All of them were brutally assassinated with the assistance of colonial masters because all of them stood for a united Afrika that would be freed from the chains of colonialism. All of them championed and advocated an Afrikan Renaissance.

On the last day of the retreat, the patron, Mr Thabo Mbeki sat through the discussions to the very end. The first session was led by Ms Nene Molefi of Mandate Molefi HR Consultants. It focused on values and leadership. The video footage of this session needs to be availed to student organisations, civil society movements, businesses and governments departments all across the Afrikan continent. It was that poignant. Ms. Molefi raised very important questions around the values that a leader ought to have, but not with the narrowness of most "experts" who have written and presented on this particular topic. She employed a sociological perspective in addressing this question. She dealt with the anthropological angle which many people always neglect when addressing this issue and that approach opened up room for debate, which has not been done before. This forced us to appreciate the role that socialisation plays in the shaping of our values, morals and the norms that are inherited by the different communities and societies in which we all belong. I feel that it is only in understanding

the role of this socialisation that we can truly be able to reconstruct and redefine our path as an Afrikan people united in our diversity.

The second session of the day was led by Dr Sydney Mufamadi, the head of the School of Leadership at the University of Johannesburg. This dialogue focused on the challenges and opportunities for Afrika. In his *Theses on Feuerbach*, the father of Scientific Socialism, Karl Marx, states: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point is, however, to change it." Dr. Mufamadi's presentation captured this most aptly. Indeed, Afrika's history has been defined by its struggles. For many centuries the continent has been plagued with civil wars and genocide, political strife and imperialism. For centuries we have been colonised and defeated in attempts to reclaim that which we were dispossessed of, be it land, mineral wealth and even our dignity and humanness. Today, as we sit on the threshold of an Afrikan Renaissance, we continue to be plagued with the ramifications of all these historical challenges. We continue to be subjected to imperial rule as was witnessed in Cote d'Ivoire with the demise of Gbagbo and in Libya as was witnessed with the brutal and unfortunate assassination of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. We continue to face the struggle against incompetent leaders who believe the role of being the head of state is to be served as opposed to serving. Our people continue to starve in the Horn of Afrika and in Somalia. Child soldiers are still being trained in some parts of the continent. The triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality continue to find expression in South Africa and political instability is rife. We have articulated and written about these problems, the weaknesses and the threats that face the continent. But what opportunities do we have and what opportunities can we create for ourselves? This is the question that the discussant was mostly focusing on and the delegates were very passionate and engaged about the possible solutions and resources at our disposal that we can utilise.

Finally, the facilitators of the programme, Ambassador Dumisani Kumalo, the Chief Executive Officer

of the Thabo Mbeki Foundation and Ms Thabi Shange of the Ubuqotho Integrity Institute, opened a dialogue on the way forward for the youth of Afrika that was present at the retreat. Having presented the reports from our breakaway sessions earlier on in the day, we were tasked with articulating resolutions that would be implemented as an outcome of the retreat. One of these resolutions was the formation of what is called the African Unity Coalition (AUC), which would act as an umbrella for organisations championing an Afrikan Renaissance. This coalition would see to it that more young people at grassroots level are engaged and involved in activities and programmes that seek to unite the Afrikan continent and to restore its forgotten glory. A task team of 12 young people from all over the Afrikan continent was elected to carry the responsibility of facilitating these programmes. Having been the Chairperson of the committee of "Reflections on the Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance", I was selected to be part of this continental task team.

My experience in the youth retreat is invaluable, for it restored faith in me that there is hope for the Afrikan continent. I entered a space where I was not ashamed to declare that Afrika belongs to Afrikans. I entered a space where, when I raised dissenting views, I was not insulted and ridiculed, but was engaged with utmost respect. I felt, for the first time since I left the NGO sector to join student politics and youth movements, that there is a youth on this continent that is not interested in politics of power, of numbers and of factionalism. There is a youth on this continent that wants to re-awaken the Afrikan continent from its state of soporification. These young men and women are filled with zest and enthusiasm, energy and dedication to work towards the realisation of an Afrikan dream, a dream of a united Afrika. My love for the continent was strengthened and my dedication to being part of the solution to Afrika's problems was deepened. Our mission of being agents of change has been discovered and we dare not betray it.

ANOTHER AFRIKA IS POSSIBLE! ■

SMME DEVELOPMENT INCENTIVES



Government has prioritised entrepreneurship and the advancement of Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) as the catalyst to achieving economic growth and development. The Department of Trade and Industry (**the dti**) plays a key role in implementing SMME-related policies and providing adequate financial and non-financial assistance to ensure sustainability.

the dti offers the following incentives to support and grow the SMME sector:

Co-operatives Incentive Scheme

- A 90:10 cost-sharing grant for enterprises incorporated and registered in South Africa in terms of the Co-operatives Act of 2005.
 - Maximum grant of R350 000.

Black Business Supplier Development Programme

- A cost-sharing grant for small enterprises with a 51% majority black shareholding, in operation for at least a year and have an annual turnover of R250 000 to R35 million.
 - R800 000 for tools, machinery and equipment on a 50:50 cost-sharing basis; and R200 000 for business development and training interventions per eligible enterprise to improve their corporate governance, management, marketing, productivity and the use of modern technology on a 80:20 cost-sharing basis.

Bavumile

- Targets rural women entrepreneurs with basic skills in sewing, with the aim of improving the quality of cultural products and ensuring their commercial viability.
 - Training and equipment.

Enterprise Investment Programme (EIP) – Tourism Support Programme

- A reimbursable cash grant for investors in new and expanding projects in the South African tourism industry.
 - Investment grants of 30% of the investment cost of qualifying assets for new or expansion projects below R5 million; and investment grants of between 15% to 30% of the investment cost of qualifying assets for new or expansion projects above R5 million. Qualifying assets include furniture, equipment, buildings and tourism vehicles for new establishments or expansions.

Export Marketing and Investment Assistance Scheme (EMIA)

- Assists South African export trading houses that represent at least three SMMEs or businesses owned by historically disadvantaged individuals to showcase local products at international exhibitions.
 - the dti bears costs for space rental, the construction and maintenance of stands, electricity and water charges, as well as freight charges up to a maximum of three cubic metres or two tonnes per exhibitor.

Support Programme for Industrial Innovation (SPII)

- Promotes technology development in South Africa's industry, through the provision of financial assistance for the development of innovative products and/or processes. Production must take place in and intellectual property must reside in South Africa.
 1. Product process development scheme: Maximum grant of R1 million;
 2. Matching scheme: Maximum grant of R3 million; or
 3. Partnership scheme: Maximum contribution of R3 million.

Technology and Human Resources for Industry Programme (THRIP)

- Supports science, engineering and technology research collaborations, which address the technology needs of participating firms and encourage the development and mobility of research personnel and students.
 - Projects are funded per the following ratios: R1:R3, R1:R2, R1:R1 or R2:R1, depending on the company's size as defined by the National Small Business Act, 1996 (Act No.102 of 1996).

For more information on the above incentives, visit www.thedti.gov.za ☐ Customer Contact Centre: 0861 843 384

A BITTER WAR AND A FORGOTTEN CREATION



90 Years on from the Irish Free State

In many respects, the Irish Free State is a reminder of the disjunct between the ideals of revolution and independence versus the realities of governance and self-government. Like the present South African state, the Irish Free State may not have been to everyone's liking but proved a stable form in the opening decades of Irish independence. It favoured gradual modification and reform in the interests of stability.

By Jason Robinson

The Irish Free State was born out of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6th December 1921. The historic agreement between Great Britain and Ireland granted effective dominion status to the 26 counties of Southern Ireland, yet ultimately sowed the seeds of a civil war that split apart the dominant Sinn Féin party and plagued the early years of the Irish Free State. The Free State officially came into being on 6th December 1922, a year after the Treaty's signing, with the Civil War in full swing and the new Government of the Free State faced

with a war of survival at its inception. Although the War itself lasted little under a year, from June 1922 to May 1923, the bloodshed and divisions caused reverberated throughout the Irish state for years to come. The Irish Free State, the first embodiment of Irish Independence, never recovered in the public mindset and subsequent popular history.

The Irish Free State would last fifteen years, from 1922-1937, until the then President of the National Executive (e.g. Prime Minister) and later Irish President, Mr Eamon de

Valera, removed the last vestiges of Ireland's dominion status and a new constitution, Bunreacht na hÉireann, emerged. The state of Éire, or Ireland, came into being. The Irish Free State is little remembered and hardly commemorated, despite its crucial position within Irish political and cultural history. The reasons for this are many, but what Professor Tom Garvin deems "The Fianna Fáil school of historical revisionism" is surely a major factor. Furthermore, as Historian John Regan notes, the State's creation was ultimately compromised by the

pressure the British Government put on the Sinn Féin negotiating delegation and nascent Free State Government: “The treaty on which it was established was a coerced settlement, as was the Free State constitution. This meant in effect that in the eyes of republicans the Free State was illegitimate, and in turn this later justified the dismantlement of the treaty in the 1930s by Fianna Fáil under (Eamon) de Valera”. The passing of the Free State happened without much of a whimper: ninety years on, it is necessary to consider the legacy of the Irish Civil War and the template the Irish Free State set for Irish political and constitutional development.

The Irish Free State itself was a curious entity: it was not the creation fought for by Irish separatists for decades previous, yet it represented the culmination of a successful combination of diplomatic pressure and guerrilla warfare against the British Administration in Ireland. On the diplomatic front lay the Sinn Féin party of Arthur Griffith, the party that gained 73 of the 105 Irish seats on offer in the 1918 British & Irish General Election and proceeded to set up an abstentionist Irish parliament, Dáil Éireann, in 1919; and a campaign of violence launched by the Irish Volunteers, later the Irish Republican Army (IRA), against symbols of British rule in Ireland and in particular, the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) police force.

The Easter Rising of 1916 has retrospectively been seen as the spark for the new independence struggle in Ireland which took hold soon after the First World War, as Irishmen and women previously happy to support the cause of Home Rule turned to the Republican and Separatist Sinn Féin party. The Rising holds the same emotive and symbolic power as the Sharpeville Massacre or Soweto Uprisings, as members of the Irish Republican Army, Citizens Army, Irish Volunteers and Cumann na mBan gathered in Dublin’s city centre to launch a rebellion against British rule in Ireland (other smaller engagements happened around the country). However, the Rising itself only gained such significance given the ensuing British reaction and course of Irish resistance to British rule. Militarily

unsuccessful and initially dismissed by the public, the British Government’s policy of executing many of the leaders of the Rising, and furthermore labelling the rising ‘the Sinn Féin Rising’, led to the events of Easter 1916 taking on a new potent flavour. As a result, Sinn Féin grew enormously in popularity despite the fact that it was the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and Citizens Army who were the chief organisers of the Rising. The party’s popularity soon sky-rocketed as it opposed the possible conscription of Irish men into the British Army (for World War I) and soon the party replaced the Home Rule Party as the dominant political voice in (Southern) Irish nationalist politics. In 1919,

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Sinn Féin set up its abstentionist Irish Parliament in Dublin, with its coterie of MPs taking their seats in their own Irish parliament in Dublin’s Mansion House. Although illusory in its claims of a separate, Republican administration in Southern Ireland, Dáil Éireann proved a major thorn in the side of British administration in Ireland and provided a focal propagandist platform for the Sinn Féin message of separatist Republicanism.

Sinn Féin spent considerable time trying to persuade world leaders to

recognise the existence of its Irish Republican administration (which, evidently, was deemed illegal by the British authorities and banned, meaning it only met infrequently) and played on the calls of Woodrow Wilson’s ‘Fourteen Points’ and his evocation of the rights of small nations to self-determination. Much like the ANC and PAC’s international operations during Apartheid, Sinn Féin saw the utility of foreign missions and a major effort was made to get official recognition for the Irish Republic declared at the onset of the 1916 Rising and re-affirmed in 1919 at the opening of its revolutionary Irish Parliament. In keeping with this was the military aspect of the struggle headed by the Irish Volunteers, which intermixed in complex ways with the political opposition to British rule. Mirroring similar debates within the ANC and PAC, the role of the Volunteers, later the IRA, was hotly debated throughout this period: issues of control and leadership abounded and an uneasy mix often existed beneath official rhetoric of military control. Attacks were often more sporadic and uncoordinated than the political leadership ever admitted.

From 1919-1921, as the rival Republican Government was set up and functioned with greater frequency (setting up de facto Government Departments and defying British edicts), violence against the RIC and British armed forces by the IRA quickly rose. In 1921, the IRA came under the ostensible control of Dáil Éireann, after the IRA command acceded to the demands of the Republican Government. Come July 1921, by which time a Truce was signed between Prime Minister Lloyd George’s Government and Eamon de Valera, ‘President’ of the Irish Republic, the conflict and tension in Ireland had become a major international issue and it was thought a final settlement of the Irish problem would finally emerge. Negotiations between the Irish delegation and the British Government began in the Autumn of 1921 and on the 6th of December 1921, the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed. On return home, however, the deal struck proved highly controversial, resulting in a split in the Sinn Féin ranks. After a vote on the Treaty in the Dáil on the 14th January

1922 resulted in 64 voting for and 57 voting against the document, it seemed to many that Civil War was inevitable. Despite six months of negotiations, both in political and military circles, civil war broke out shortly after the June 1922 General Election.

The Civil War itself would see the pro-Treaty forces, replete with British arms and support, pursue the War with a vigour and zeal which would come to haunt the new state for years. Thousands of anti-Treaty IRA activists were interned during this period, dwarfing the years of British Colonial rule and the internment policies of the Northern Ireland Government in its early years. In terms of executions, over seventy-seven anti-Treaty IRA figures were executed by the Free State regime, including four prominent IRA figures in December 1922 in a clearly illegal reprisal killing which provoked outcry at the time. As Dr Bill Kissane has noted, the Irish Civil War may not have been as bloody as other comparable civil wars of the time (Finland, for example), but it was certainly brutal. The state that ultimately emerged struggled to escape this legacy.

The Irish Free State was not what Irish republicans and separatists had wished for, yet it represented the best practical vehicle for independence aspirations Ireland could hope to achieve. The Oath of Allegiance to the Crown (albeit a highly watered down oath in British Commonwealth terms) and the permanent loss of the six counties of Northern Ireland were continually used against the pro-Treaty forces as indicative of the shame and embarrassment of the compromise settlement. What difference a decade makes: for in 1912 it was a Third Home Rule Bill that entered the House of Commons and appeared the most likely outlet for Irish independence aspirations. A Home Rule Ireland would have provided an Irish legislature, yet one still operating very much within the confines of the United Kingdom and British crown and devoid of independence in the realm of Foreign Affairs. The Irish Free State, however, provided much more space for innovation and independence in the international sphere, something

“The Rising holds the same emotive and symbolic power as the Sharpeville Massacre or Soweto Uprisings”

the Free State utilised in joining the League of Nations and pushing for more dominion autonomy at Imperial conferences.

The early years of the Irish Free State faced many political and financial obstacles. The Civil War had left a country badly needing infrastructure and security and the first years of the state centred around institutional development and ensuring law and order. The pro-Treatyites formed a new political party called Cumann na nGaedheal and dedicated themselves to forging the new state. The new administration that emerged was devoid of some of its key figures from the Civil War such as Arthur Griffith (who died of a heart attack in August 1922) and Michael Collins (Chairman of the Provisional Government and Commander in Chief of the Free State forces, who was killed in an ambush weeks later), but made up of many able-minded figures from pre-Treaty Sinn Féin. An attempted Army Mutiny in 1924, less than a year after the Civil

“Mirroring similar debates within the ANC and PAC, the role of the Volunteers, later the IRA, was hotly debated throughout this period: issues of control and leadership abounded and an uneasy mix often existed beneath official rhetoric of military control.”

War's end, showed the precarious nature of military-political relations and the dangers that lay ahead for the Irish Free State. With parallels to the ANC's recent history of factionalisation and the emergence of Cope, shortly after the Mutiny a splinter party emerged out of the ruling party dubbed 'The National Group'. Nine members of the ruling party left in protest at the treatment of the 1924 Army mutineers and it appeared to offer the first major test of the new Government's staying power. The threat from this party ultimately evaporated as it failed to contest all but one of the seats it vacated in a subsequent set of by-elections, yet the spectre of democratic instability remained.

Not long after the Mutiny came another major focal point in the life of the pro-Treaty Government, as the Boundary Commission, the body that was meant to adjudicate on outstanding land issues between the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, had its report leaked to the Press. The report indicated that rather than the Irish Free State gaining land in the ultimate decision, it may indeed lose some territory - a far cry from the promises of pro-Treaty politicians prior to the Civil War. The report was quickly shelved and in a bold move, the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland Government agreed to leave the borders as they were. A Council of Ireland, intended to foster relations between the two states, was effectively shelved. Relations between the two nations ended in many respects and it was not until 1965, almost forty years later, that an Irish Taoiseach (Prime Minister) actually visited a Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. This political inertia, and short-sightedness from leaders North and South, no doubt led to much of the political misunderstanding which pervaded North-South interactions for decades, a relationship which is still rather ambiguous in the present day.

The final test of the Free State's staying power and the health of Irish democracy came in 1927, when Kevin O'Higgins, Vice-President of the Executive Council, was killed by IRA gunmen. It appeared the spectre of instability and renewed bloodshed

would re-appear in the new State. However, O'Higgins' death in fact spurred the emergence of a two-party democracy as the abstentionist Fianna Fáil party (made up of key figures from the anti-Treaty Sinn Féin bloc, including Eamon de Valera) were forced to take the Oath of Allegiance as a pre-requisite to entering the Irish Parliament following the subsequent election. Democracy had been secured and multi-party democracy began in earnest. Genuine policy differences, such as the pursuit of *laissez-faire* economic policy (by the Government) over protectionism (favoured by Fianna Fáil), emerged as civil war issues gradually faded to the background. Come 1932, Fianna Fáil would come to power on a wave of promises of jobs and social grants. The Irish Free State had served its purpose and passed the 'turnover test' for a nascent democracy: the Irish people had escaped the shadow of Civil War and moved fully into the democratic realm. Within five years, however, de Valera and his Government would introduce a new constitution and after a narrow referendum victory, the Irish Free State was no more.

The 90th anniversary of the Irish Free state will pass with little fanfare in the Republic of Ireland. It was an entity few had wished for, but many had come to accept. As Risteárd Mulcahy, son of Free State Minister Richard Mulcahy stated, "Dad couldn't care less what our constitution was, as long as we ran our own country... It was by the 1916 people ergo you had to be a Republic. But he couldn't care less..." The Pro-Treaty side that ultimately won the Civil War wished to foster the Free State for its practical realities, not its symbolic failings. Its strange position in Irish political history has remained to this day and takes on added significance in the midst of a crisis of national identity that has pervaded since the IMF/EU bailout of 2010.

Ireland's current woes and the financial recklessness which preceded its bailout have raised the idea of a parliament out of control and removed from the population. Recent debate on political reform has centred around changes to local government and the

“The Civil War itself would see the pro-Treaty forces, replete with British arms and support, pursue the War with a vigour and zeal which would come to haunt the new state for years.”

possible abolition of the upper house in the Irish Parliament, the Irish Senate (Seanad Éireann). Although the upper house was briefly abolished in 1936, it re-emerged under the new 1937 Constitution and has existed to this day. Critics claim its utility is questionable and expense unwarranted. One of the last legacies of the Irish Free State, a chamber which has fostered minority views and important rejoinders to government policy, is under threat for short-term political gain and illusory cost-cutting. Ireland's Senate is selected through indirect election, much like the National Council of Provinces in South Africa, yet the Irish process is more convoluted and leaves the Upper House removed from the vast majority of the population. The Irish Senate is certainly in need of reform, that much is clear: its abolition, however, will leave the Irish nation and Irish democracy much worse off. As we remember the 90th anniversary of the Irish Free State, perhaps the greatest tribute Irish citizens could give

“Ireland's current woes and the financial recklessness which preceded its bailout have raised the idea of a parliament out of control and removed from the population.”

to its founding state is the reform and ultimate protection of a key element of its democratic institutions and ideals, bicameralism.

The history of Ireland from 1922-2012 is intriguing and complex, often seen in a parochial and simplistic light within the confines of Ireland. The Irish Free State was an innovative and important entity, yet one that has been subsumed within the larger Nationalist narrative of Irish history. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was, as John Regan has noted, a 'protean settlement': one that allowed for evolution and innovation as the state progressed. The appeal of Republicanism has stayed throughout Irish history and the blemish of the Civil War haunted the Cumann na nGaedheal governments in the first 10 years of the Irish Free State. As historian Ronan Fanning correctly states, "The Irish Free State never escaped the bloody shadow civil war cast on its birth... [the] legacy of death and destruction was only the beginning, the tip of a grotesquely-shaped iceberg which was forever to haunt the helmsmen of the new state..." In a supreme irony, the Republic of Ireland which was created in 1949 was done so by a Fine Gael-led Government, the successor party to Cumann na nGaedheal and the Treatyites of yesteryear. The party that promised a stepping stone approach to Irish freedom and Republicanism during the Treaty debates had, in many respects, achieved exactly that.

In many respects, the Irish Free State is a reminder of the disjunct between the ideals of revolution and independence versus the realities of governance and self-government. Like the present South African state, the Irish Free State may not have been to everyone's liking but proved a stable form in the opening decades of Irish independence. It favoured gradual modification and reform in the interests of stability. After fifteen years of its existence, democratic certainty had been achieved. In the present-day search for national identity and meaning, the Irish Free State should be celebrated as the practical manifestation of nationalist ideals, a ready template that evolved with the times. ■


MARIKANA

MINING DEEP

THE ORIGINS OF THE LABOUR STRUCTURE
IN SOUTH AFRICA

A sign of a deeper and broader malaise

MORLEY NKOSI

The economic, social and racial inequalities deeply embedded in this labour structure will continue to ignite violent reactions among black workers across all sectors of the economy unless and until the labour structure itself is deconstructed, and a more equitable and less hierarchic one is developed.

By Morley Nkosi

The world-wide welter of varied reactions triggered by the Marikana shootings and the inquiries underway are understandable and to be expected. So are the accompanying recriminations and frustrations within South Africa and many parts of the world.

What seems to be missing in these reactions and recriminations is that Marikana represents a much deeper malaise, lodged in South Africa's labour structure which originated in its primitive form on the agricultural and pastoral plantations of the early Cape colony under the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) and developed during the formative years of the mining industry.

The DEIC authorised the capture and importation of slaves into the Cape colony to alleviate the shortage of labour for its station and free burghers (colonists). The dependence on slave labour created a labour structure which had on the one hand, the DEIC employees and colonists, and on the other hand, black slaves. Europeans began then to degrade hard manual work and relegate it to slave and later African labour in general.

This racial and hierarchic character of the labour structure was adopted and developed further in the copper, diamond and gold mining industries that followed the agricultural and pastoral industry of the early Cape colony. It became a model for all other industries that developed around and because of the mining industry. Every industry adjusted this model to suit its particular operations and labour process.

Copper mining in Namaqualand began in the 1840s and was the first mining industry in the Cape Colony. Skilled miners from Cornwall were recruited by mining capitalists to work on the copper mines. The traditional way of working mines used by Cornishmen extensively was subcontracting or tributing. This method of working the mines positioned the Cornishmen as partners to mining capital or subcontractors and not wage-labourers. They thus became a labour aristocracy whose interests coincided with those of mining capital.

Cornish miners were easily co-opted by mining capitalists who used them to control and direct local European and African labour which had already been divided along racial lines during the DEIC period.

Consequently, the labour structure that emerged on the copper mines consisted of European and African workers, with Europeans being fewer in number than the large mass of Africans. There were two classes of European labour: the highly paid, with mining or other skills that could be used in mining copper, and the moderately paid, who had no applicable or useful skills in mining. Below this group of unskilled Europeans were Africans who also fell into two categories of labour – a small skilled minority and an inordinately large unskilled majority. Both groups were paid a pittance. This cheap and unskilled African labour force consisted of men, women and children who were new to the experience of capitalist enterprise and wage-labour system.

It was in the diamond and gold mining industries which followed that the greatest adjustment of this labour structure occurred. The rapid amalgamation of diamond mines in the 1880s, which culminated in the consolidation of all the major diamond mines in Griqualand West (Kimberley) into one company, De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines Limited, in March 1883, witnessed the emergence of a new mining system. This system was based on the principle that deep-level mining depended on skilled immigrant miners directing and supervising massive numbers of unskilled African labourers, an extension of the labour structure in the copper mines. Attracting skilled white miners and artisans from Europe, Australia and the United States was not difficult because the wages and salaries offered by mine owners for white labour were among the highest in the mining world.

At the turn of the century, the deep-level gold mines of the Witwatersrand were operated on a large scale like the industrial organisations developing in the United States. Mining on this scale required huge organisations of an industrial character with enormous

capital, labour and material resources. Labour, both skilled and unskilled, was extensively differentiated because of the increasingly specialised nature of the operations that were required. The experiences gained and training received on the diamond mines of Kimberley by both the mining capitalists and white labour in particular were extremely useful.

Between 1890 and 1899 the ownership, administration, management and actual working of these large enterprises were clearly

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defined and delineated. The mine manager occupied a pivotal position in the actual daily operations of a mine. Under him were several employees directly engaged in actual mining activities and crucial in their directing and supervisory roles. These were the mine overseer, the surface foreman, the shift boss, and the ganger. All these jobs from mine manager down to even generally unskilled white men, both above and below ground, were occupied by immigrant and colonial white men.

These immigrant and colonial white men constituted the white part of the racially and hierarchically divided labour structure. They were the labour aristocrats who were paid well, occupied respectable social positions and carried significant political clout. This aristocracy was itself sharply divided. First, there were the skilled immigrant miners and second, were other immigrants who were not miners as well as white men from the Cape and Natal colonies. Below this white part of the labour structure were black mineworkers.

The black mineworkers comprised African drillmen, shovellers, trammers and helpers attached to white skilled miners, engine drivers, fitters, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, amalgamators and any other skilled white workers. It was not uncommon for a white miner to be given his tools and told “...here’s a nigger”, an experience one William (Bill) Andrews, an experienced British immigrant fitter, recalled on his first day at work on the Geldenhuis Estate mine in 1894. Comrade Bill, as he was referred to later, had come from Birmingham where from 1891 to August 1893 when he left for South Africa he was a member of the Radicals who occasionally pitted themselves against Empire builders such as Joseph Chamberlain and Captain (later Lord) Lugard. Andrews was a founding member of the Communist Party of South Africa.

Speaking about “Native Labour in South Africa” at the Cannon Street Hotel on 15th July 1903, Earl Grey (a link between Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain) referred to mines in Kimberley, Johannesburg and Rhodesia when emphasising the close connection between the prosperity of the white population and its ability to employ native unskilled labour. He cited four small mines under one management in the Gwanda District of Matabeleland. Reports from these mines showed that in April 1902, 130 white men and 1 213 natives were employed. He then says “It is beyond dispute that not one of these 130 white men would have received employment at all if they had not been able to attract

to the mines the native labour required for work which, in existing conditions, could not possibly be undertaken by white men, except at wages which no white man in South Africa should be asked to accept."

Earl Grey pointed out that because management has been able to secure sufficient Kaffir labour, these mines were able to offer highly-paid employment to white men; create a necessity for shops, foundries, hostels, recreation rooms, livery stables, schools, churches, hospitals, and a branch railway to meet the requirements of the industry and of its employees; buy mining material and expensive machinery, manufactured by British workmen; purchase large supplies of groceries and other provisions supplied by British firms; make an appreciable contribution to the world's supply of gold; and earn, it is hoped, for the shareholders of their companies, substantial profits. He concludes this part of his speech by saying that these results are typical of what may be expected if the principle of freedom of labour is applied to South African enterprise.

The freedom of white labour was guaranteed by successive white governments beginning with the South African Republic and the Chamber of Mines who trained and educated young white men to become the young miners. These miners would then join recognised trade unions, professional and technical associations, knowing that their positions and advancement in the hierarchy of the labour structure were assured – and that they would definitely be above the black mineworkers they would be bossing and supervising no matter what level of skills and experience the latter acquired.

South Africa was to a large extent built on the burgeoning diamond and particularly the gold mining industries. These industries also promoted the mining of other minerals such as platinum, antimony, copper, zinc, uranium, asbestos and coal. Mining fostered agriculture, transport and communications, public utilities, building and construction, manufacturing and general production sectors. These were all fostered by

“It was not uncommon for a white miner to be given his tools and told “...here’s a nigger”, an experience one William (Bill) Andrews, an experienced British immigrant fitter, recalled on his first day at work on the Geldenhuis Estate mine in 1894.”

the mining industries, especially gold mining. All these industries also adopted the labour structure that had developed in the gold mines because it was a highly profitable model and guaranteed the hegemony of white labour.

Unfortunately, this labour structure model is efficient but ruthlessly exploitative. It has become the model for accumulation and has deeply entrenched inequalities based on race and the subjugation of blacks throughout the world of work. The wealth extracted from this form of institutionalised economic and political racism has extracted huge value from black labour and generated enormous wealth for white South Africans in general. It is, therefore, not surprising to see the skewed, wide, and increasing divergence in the distribution of incomes and wealth between whites and blacks throughout the country over a long period in South Africa's history. The black mineworkers at Marikana are seeking to change this condition. And they are not alone. The

“Mining fostered agriculture, transport and communications, public utilities, building and construction, manufacturing and general production sectors... All these industries also adopted the labour structure that had developed in the gold mines because it was a highly profitable model and guaranteed the hegemony of white labour.”

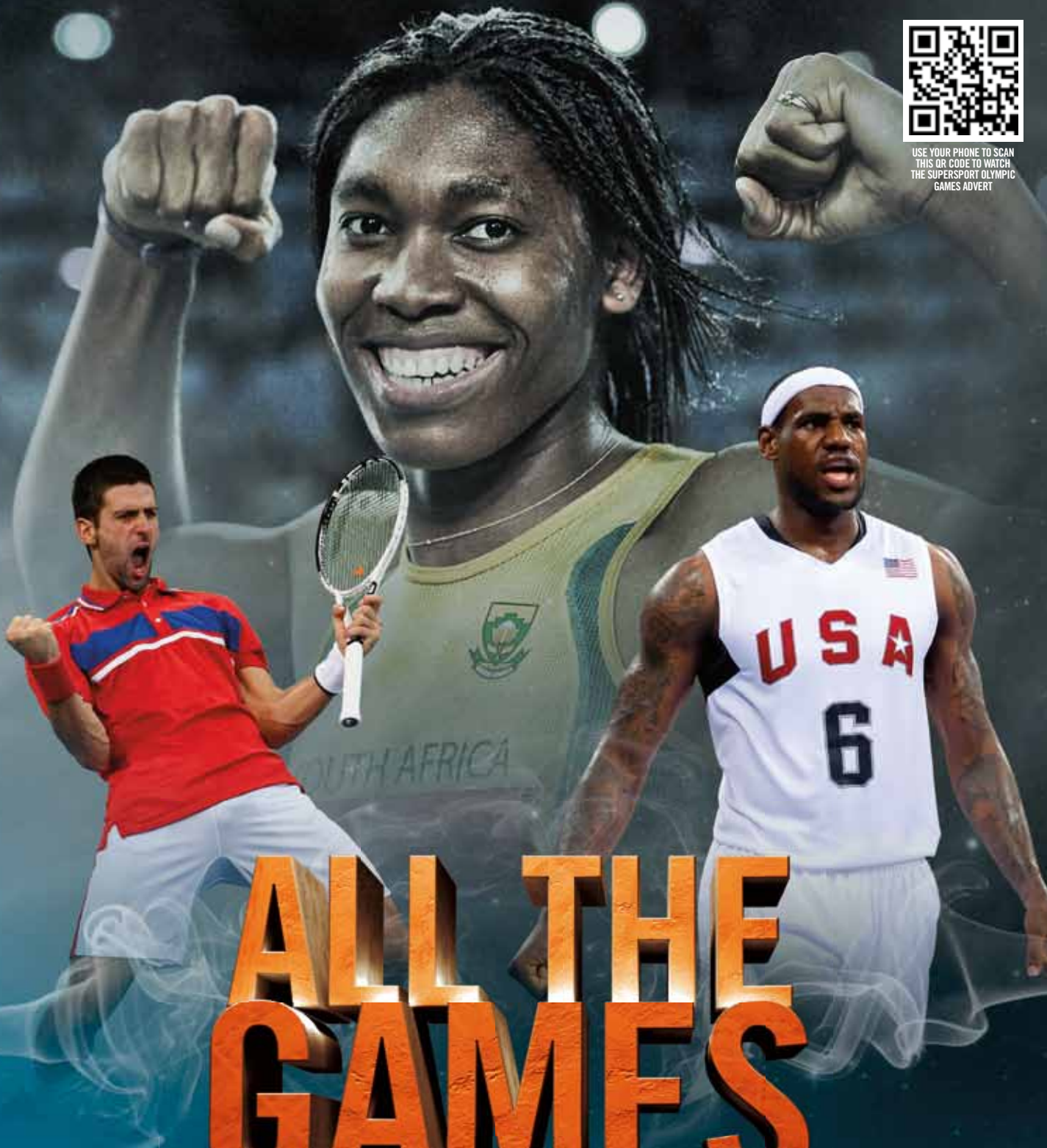
increase in number and geographical spread of strikes in different sectors of the economy are an indication of the growing frustration and anger of black workers at the economic and social disparities generated by this rigid labour structure.

The long history of racial segregation, colour bar, job reservation and apartheid have retarded many advances that blacks should have made in the workplace resulting from changes in human resource demands, particularly in the fields of education and training. South Africa's mines are the deepest in the world and some are preparing to go even deeper. The anticipated depth will require more sophisticated machinery and equipment operated by educated and well-trained miners who will command high wages and salaries. These new machines will destroy manual labour of the type most black mineworkers bring to the mines. Unemployment in the mines is destined to rise. A critical question is will any of these black mineworkers receive the requisite education and training to take on those premium jobs? The same question could be asked concerning the fate of disadvantaged black workers trapped in this labour structure but engaged in sectors going through equally rapid technological changes.

The economic, social and racial inequalities deeply embedded in this labour structure will continue to ignite violent reactions among black workers across all sectors of the economy unless and until the labour structure itself is deconstructed and a more equitable and less hierarchic one is developed. The responsibility for developing such a labour structure resides with the government, private sector representatives, labour unions and civil society organisations. The new labour structure should reward black workers equitably and allow for their growth and development along career paths that are open to advancement. Such a change would unlock the potential of massive human capital whose capacity would contribute significantly to economic growth and social development across our country. ■



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THE LULA MOMENT



Contextualising the struggle for alternatives

The developments in Brazil are of immense interest for progressives here, given that our country (notwithstanding differences in time and space) faces similar conjunctural challenges to those that Brazil tackled with some relative success.

By Chris Matlhako

One of the issues that dominated debates and captured the attention of many (in the plenary hall and outside) at the Cosatu's 11th Congress was the euphorically punted Lula Moment! Much has since been made about and of the 'Our Lula Moment', and different interpretations have subsequently surfaced of what was meant by the phrase. According to the broad thrust of Cosatu's 11th Congress articulation and subsequent CEC elaboration, the gist of the postulation can be summed

up as: Now is the time for radical social transformation – therefore, a Lula Moment of our own! We need something akin to what Lula achieved in Brazil! 'The Lula Moment' refers to former president of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the Workers' Party (PT) and the government's efforts to seek to address the fundamental contradictions of the Brazilian reality, of inequality, poverty and under-development.

There is generally broad agreement here and elsewhere that if democratic South Africa (almost 18 years into the

democratic dispensation) does not turn the corner with regard to addressing the triple challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality (PUI), the country could be heading down a slippery slope into the abyss. This concern has been accentuated recently by the increase in reckless and daring protest actions, including wildcat and unprotected strikes.

The Cosatu's 11th Congress 'Lula Moment' postulation should be welcomed, for it opens an important policy front for engagement and

serious consideration. The 'Lula Moment' has some good points, but also problematic areas that must be further engaged. The problematic, in the main, is that Cosatu's articulation has a qualification: the focus is on the second term of Lula's presidency - only the second period of Brazil's Lula is pertinent! However, therein lies the actual problem! For as we argue here, success in seeking to understand the latter period of the success of Lula's presidency, presupposes some grounding on and of the historic-political and economic dynamic and appreciation of the challenges which confronted and continued to confront Brazil.

The developments in Brazil are of immense interest for progressives here, given that our country (notwithstanding differences in time and space) faces similar conjunctural challenges to those that Brazil tackled with some relative success. Furthermore Brazil occupies a very important place in the world economy.

In eight years, Brazil became the tenth largest economy and is positioned to become the fifth largest economy in the world in the years to come. For the first time, Brazil's economy is growing with income distribution, political stability and democracy – so it is a very important case study for us as well as the progressive world.

The Lula presidency: the polemic

The Lula Moment rhetoric evokes a plethora of questions and spins off various shades of ideological and political interpretations. Since his departure from office (with the highest popularity ratings ever obtained by any Brazilian president) after an eight year mandate, his legacy has solicited varying interpretations as many sought to make sense of what propelled his successes. In the main, the frames of these arguments and interpretations, we argue can be condensed into two broad categories. These are:

- a sympathetic but critical evaluation and critique of the Lula tenure; and
- an anti-Lula and hostile praxis (riven with nostalgia for a pre-Lula era characterised by elite domination and military-backed rule).

The post-Cosatu 11th Congress

debate (in South Africa) regarding the punted Lula Moment follows broadly similar patterns of engagements, though spiced with some typical South African touches, such as:

- ending the Tripartite Alliance and launching a Workers' Party with a trade union base and sections of civil society;
- seeking the full implementation of the Freedom Charter – therefore, a Freedom Charter Moment;
- seeking an interpretation to mean radical transformation in the second phase of transition – meaning a Zuma Moment;
- out-right rejection ; or
- conceding some elements, and exploring other areas for further examination.

“Much of the scathing anti-Lula critique seeks to undermine the varying kinds of efforts made by the broad left and other progressive governments, who upon assuming state power in the region and elsewhere, seek to undertake economic transformation on a terrain dominated by capitalist forces, who eschew any such moves.”

However, others like Leon Schreiber deliberately conflate Cosatu's position to a 'factional excuse for upholding the current status quo within the ANC and government', rather than engaging the trajectory of social transformations. Some analysts seek to categorise it within a narrow Third World construct. But, as Driver and Martell argue, there is not just space for one Third Way but for many, with varying political dimensions and policy positions.

In Brazil, diverse opinions exist with respect to the achievement of Lula during his tenure. Right-wing forces - whose political and economic power hegemony has been disrupted, albeit not broken - have wasted no time in contemptuously referring to Lula's presidency as a myth. They point out that Lula was 'lucky to have been elected president at a point in time when the Brazilian economy could provide growth with some redistribution of income and without reigniting inflation'. In particular, in right-wing circles (academic and journalistic) the Lula phenomenon is presented in a disparaging manner, which under the circumstances of the advances of left and progressive forces in Latin America, falls perfectly into the broad strategy of right-wing and conservative forces' counter-offensive to try to undermine the changes transpiring in Brazil and Latin America generally, though uneven and diverse.

However, there are voices sympathetic to the leftward shift, but simultaneously decrying the fact that Lula's presidency and the current directions are giving too much to the vested interests of the industrial bourgeoisie and other oligarchies in Brazil. They argue that, given the heterogeneous nature (multi-class and broad) of the PT and the different factional interests within the party, the PT in a certain sense has become beholden to the industrial bourgeoisie and international capital. Lula's 'economic pragmatism with a human face', is understood to mean an informal acceptance of most of the neo-liberal doctrine.

'The 1990s', the argument goes, 'was characterised by democratisation and economic liberalisation and the PT strongly contributed towards the former within its own capacity as a political party'. However, economic groups (comprador bourgeoisie) more powerful than it have largely dictated the political discourse within Brazilian politics to enhance and maintain their own interests. Fernando J. Cardin de Carvalho is even more scathing of Lula and the PT, arguing; "Even a nominally left-wing government in a developing country should pursue at least four goals: full employment of labour, economic

growth and wealth redistribution, and the empowerment of dispossessed groups, spreading out citizens' rights. A left-wing administration should not be 'generous'. On the contrary, it advances a redefinition of duties and rights, redistributing power away from those used to rule, towards those in position of subordination".

Much of the scathing anti-Lula critique seeks to undermine the varying kinds of efforts made by the broad left and other progressive governments, who upon assuming state power in the region and elsewhere, seek to undertake economic transformation on a terrain dominated by capitalist forces, who eschew any such moves. Typically, what underlines such a critique is a subtle effort to maintain the rich-poor divide and perpetuate a trajectory which reproduces unsustainable levels of inequality that still characterise Brazil. This is a historic legacy resulting from the slave trade, the marginalisation of Brazil's indigenous peoples and the exploitation of its working peoples, leading to the accrual of the largest percentage of the GDP by a small fraction of powerful elites.

And as Page argues; "If there is one sight that succinctly captures the stark contrast between the Brazil of the haves and the Brazil of the have-nots, it is the view from the roof top of Hotel Nacional in São Conrado, a seaside nook hemmed in on three sides by dramatic hills that isolate it from the rest of Rio de Janeiro... [Y]et if one gazes inland, toward the north and slightly to the east, a different reality intrudes. The shacks of Rocinha, which perhaps as many as three hundred thousand Brazilians call home... Rocinha and São Conrado are two distinct worlds". And as Page reminds, Rocinha, which dates back to 1920, represents the classic Rio hillside favela, unusual only because of its enormity. Rocinha provides one of the most visible symbols of the poor circumstances in which the majority of Brazil's city dwellers now find themselves.

Pointing out these divergences is important in the endeavor to make a comprehensive evaluation and assessment of the Lula tenure, including his first term. Such a construct requires in-depth appreciation of the Brazilian

political-economy, nation and society, rather than a desktop endeavour which will inevitably fall into some predetermined (subjective) category of criteria and assessment and evaluation. Therefore, a proposed Lula Moment for our country, among others, must avoid being purely technicist and/or locked into a single period frame (second tenure of Lula - 2006-10), without taking into account the historical-political and economic realities that have characterised Brazil.

The World Bank, IMF and international financial oligarchy narrative about Brazil goes something like:

- "Brazil benefits from a positive balance-of-payment shock as a result of rising commodity prices and strong capital inflows."
- "Brazil has had a good run in the past ten years. Economic growth has picked up. Poverty has declined. Foreign investment has been abundant seeking to take advantage of the country's resource wealth and consumption-orientated emerging middle class."
- "Following the financial crisis in 2002, Brazil experienced an acceleration in economic growth. Initially, tight monetary and fiscal policies were offset by a massively supportive exchange rate, providing the impetus for export-driven growth. Later, fiscal, and less so, monetary policy turned supportive of more domestic-demand and especially consumption-driven economic growth. Finally, global commodity prices and Brazil's terms of trade began to improve on the back of accelerating global growth and, especially, rapidly growing Chinese demand for primary products, allowing further expansion in terms of final consumption."
- "From a supply-side perspective, the consolidation of economic stability under President Lula (2003-2010) enabled the wide-ranging structural reforms introduced under President Cardoso (1995-2002) to finally come to fruition. By granting the central bank operational autonomy and tightening fiscal policy, the Lula government managed to regain confidence. Brazil's growth

rate almost doubled in the 2000s compared with the 1980s and 1990s."

This analysis is partly correct but misses (or deliberately underplays/undermines) key aspects of the socio-economic and political dynamic of the country which have to be overcome, through a concerted struggle for an alternative system to capitalism. Brazil's future lies in what Lula correctly pointed out '... Brazilian society has decided it is time to blaze a new path'.

However, the OECD Economic Surveys Brazil (2011) report glowingly praises the policy mix proposals undertaken during the period of Lula's presidency and is particularly full of praise for the 'social progress (that) has also been impressive, with marked fall in poverty and inequality'. It also points out that the economy recovered rapidly from the 2008-2009 global crises - thanks to a timely policy response. Infrastructure development is (therefore) one of the main priorities on government's policy agenda. It launched a large infrastructure programme in 2007, followed in 2010 by a second programme. 'The first stage met with positive outcomes', the OECD report points out.

The Left-progressive axis: the New Development Project (NPND) in Brazil

The Partido Comunista do Brazil (PCdoB), an ally of PT in government, argues that the 'New Development Project (NPND - Portuguese acronym) - initiated by Lula, characterised by its opposition to imperialism, neo-liberalism, the latifunda and the financial oligarchy, hand in hand with its support for strengthening national sovereignty, democratisation of society, social progress and solidarity, and integration with the South and Latin America' is the most comprehensive response to the legacy of the past and most effective contribution to overcoming this legacy.

Interestingly, when Brazil launched the second phase of its national Growth Accelerated Programme (PAC 2), Paulo Bernardo, Minister of planning, budget and management, addressing foreign journalists, said; "The second phase of the Growth Acceleration Programme

opens a new range of possibilities for foreign investment in Brazil.”

The better known Lula policy issues are:

- Bolsa Familia - basic food basket;
- Zero Hunger programme;
- Minimum wage (increased by 6%);
- My House, My Life;
- The Brazilian Economic and Social Development Bank (BNDES) – created to solve market failures, emphasised its role in regional decentralisation through heavier investment in less developed regions in Brazil, and also supporting the cultural sector (economy) in movie production and the preservation of Brazil’s historic and artistic heritage;
- Social Fund – inter-generational equity and mitigating the Dutch disease;
- Sovereign Wealth Fund – counter-cyclical instrument;
- Recently launched Brasil sem Miséria; and
- Pronatec – facilitates access of unemployed and beneficiaries of Bolsa Familia to technical schools.

These are undertaken in the context of the sea of change occurring in Latin America.

The Lula presidency and its implications

But what makes the Lula Moment and presidency in South America’s largest nation so critical? What key socio-economic and political shifts were implemented by Lula, the PT and its broad political, social and progressive left alliances, since the tumultuous events that ushered in the first real progressive worker leader into the presidency of Brazil in the early 1990s?

Luiz Inácio 'Lula' da Silva was inaugurated president of Brazil with the pronouncement that "change ... is the dramatic message from Brazilian society... hope has finally conquered fear and Brazilian society has decided it is time to blaze a new path". President Lula has since become an important praxis for progressive left shifts occurring in Latin America and thus critical for those seeking to pursue a radical trajectory for social transformation.

Lula da Silva’s victory in his fourth

bid for president of Brazil, in 2002, is generally accepted to have heralded a turning point in the history of the country. It marks, as Joseph Page points out, the “most recent chapter in the saga of the Brazilian working class, composed of men and women who have provided the muscle behind the country’s industrial expansion, faced repression when they first tried to make their voices heard in matters that affected their lives, and finally, have organized themselves into a force potentially capable of uniting the nation’s impoverished majority”.

The history of Brazil is punctuated with political, economic and social crises of huge magnitude, which have left deep scars in the national psyche

“This is a historic legacy resulting from the slave trade, the marginalisation of Brazil’s indigenous peoples and the exploitation of its working peoples, leading to the accrual of the largest percentage of the GDP by a small fraction of powerful elites.”

and in some respects thwarted the emergence of the Brazilian nation - the legacy of slavery, racism, marginalisation and inequality contaminated every aspect of the Brazilian reality. Brazilian capitalist development was marked by tardiness, inequality and imperialist domination. The key element in the funding of the economy was through state-owned capital, with participation of domestic and foreign capital. In the 1940s and the second Vargas government serious endeavours to create state enterprises were undertaken, with the subsequent creation of several parastatals, including Petrobras – which

was established as result of a civic campaign O Petrólio é Nosso (The Oil is Ours) - and the National Bank for Economic Development (BNDES).

The 1981-2002 period is generally described as years characterised by deep economic decline – the two lost decades! However, this period witnessed efforts towards broad mobilisation and massive demonstrations for democratisation and for civil liberties, amnesty, the Constituent Assembly and direct elections. It is also during this period that the industrial bourgeoisie lost momentum and were no longer capable of leading a national development project.

The Collor regime, but particularly Fernando Henrique Cardoso, dabbled with the neo-liberal ideology against massive protests and mobilisation. They started the serious dismantling of the involvement of the Brazilian State in the economy, wanton privatisation and corruption of public assets and the financialisation of the economy, coupled with general stagnation and social degeneration.

Then in 2002, a bearded ex-metalworker, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva became president of Brazil in the country’s first direct presidential elections in three decades. This sent a chill into the nerve endings of the elite, which had never before had to confront the possibility of ceding power to an authentic representative of the country’s have-nots. PT, like Lula, represented the interests of a particular segment of society, the workers, the poor and the marginalised and stood for principles and programmes that promoted those interests. It was unabashedly socialist but rejected foreign models of socialism. Indeed, PT was not the first organisation to appeal to the working class in Brazil, but it broke new grounds by presenting itself as an organ founded by workers rather than politicians purporting to speak for workers – as previous regimes also patronised unions.

With Lula’s victory the nation’s decadence began to be reversed and neoliberalism on the continent was successfully challenged and engaged. Lula’s victory was also important in the context of democratisation in

Brazil. Democratic elections were set aside and suspended for much of the nation's history, as dictatorships, military-rule and inspired coups intermittently punctuated its history. During this repressive period the paternalistic 'Estado Novo' (New State) policy measures were implemented by President Vargas, including cultivating bureaucratic trade unions and making them more dependent than ever on the government. The 'Estado Novo' opposed communist penetration of the trade union movement, leading to anti-communist repression campaigns in all spheres of Brazilian society.

Even during the period of the socialised 'Brazil miracle' of 1970s, the great majority of workers saw their purchasing power decrease, even though it was a period of significant wealth redistribution in Brazil. Importantly, employers put tremendous pressure on workers to increase productivity, which in turn caused the incidence of industrial accidents to skyrocket. The unions lacked the legal authority to do anything to improve the plight of their members, the censored press could neither speak out nor inform, and the political process had been numbed.

US imperialism intervened in the internal affairs of the country, and supported wave after wave of dictatorial authoritarianism and military coups.

Indeed it was only after 1985 after massive demonstrations for democratic liberties, amnesty, realisation of the Constituent Assembly and direct elections, that Brazil was able to pull itself from the abyss. However, the period from 1990 until the victory of Lula and PT was also characterised by semi-stagnation in the economy and runaway inflation. In the political realm democracy was stained and under serious attack.

It is in this context that Lula's victory meant so much for many sectors of Brazilian society and in particular for the marginalised and poor. It ushered a new political cycle in Brazil, 'with the rise to the centre of power of democratic and progressive forces', asserts the Partido Comunista do Brasil (PCdoB). It is in this period that the progressive forces and the poor were able to

notch up important victories against amongst others a dominant neoliberal paradigm not only in Brazil but the Latin American continent. Lula and PT were confronted with the duality that entailed constraints and compromise in defining and implementing that transition towards a new national development project - one that could challenge the fundamental contradictions of the Brazilian reality.

There is however, general agreement that Lula's government had overcome the crises inherited, attempted to rid the country of the neo-colonial project of the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) and put an end to the continued dominance and control of the IMF. They unleashed a process

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that would direct Brazil unto a road to development for the realisation of the goals of sovereignty with a broadened economy, income redistribution and integration of the region of South America.

Clearly, that process continues even today and has not yet achieved all of the goals set out at its inception. The changes in the international situation and successive political and electoral victories of left-wing and progressive forces in Latin America have set up an unprecedented political situation that gives space for a readjustment and deepening of the integration processes. The continent is engaged in a

continuing endeavour to consolidate its 'project', with significant developments in the processes of 'solidarity' in regional integration and the momentum gained through alternatives such as ALBA, UNASUR, MERCOSUR and CELAC. It is also worth noting that Brazilian diplomacy also continued to exercise an important role as a broker in the region. Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and the Venezuelan tensions are some of the examples of these stabilisation actions. In an attempt to address a historic relation with Africa, Lula's Brazil lifted relations with the continent to a strategic and fundamental level, linking ethical values and national interests. The endeavour of deepening relations (and creating 'strategic partnerships') with emerging powers such as China, India, Russia and later South Africa, added to economic advantages and indicated the will to contribute towards the consolidation of a multi-polar international order.

What does Brazil confront today?

The PCdoB, an ally of the Lula's PT in government and the historic working class avant-garde of the struggle for socialism in Brazil, demands Brazil thoroughly implement its New National Development Project (NPND), to address the historic legacies of its political and socio-economic distortions. The 'structural and fundamental contradictions of Brazilian society', according to PCdoB, 'necessitate, a 'continuous struggle and work towards the Brazilian road to socialism during a difficult historic period'. It asserts that its ultimate goal was transition to socialism through the implementation of the NPND.

According to PCdoB, its programme of transition to socialism through the implementation of the NPND, with its assertion and strengthening of the Brazilian nation, democratisation of society and social progress, represents the "third great civilizational affirmative leap of the Brazilian nation... The combination and advance of the national, democratic, and peoples struggle, which complement each other, are the main condition for the preliminary transition to socialism". Notwithstanding the huge challenges

and contradictions (internal and external) that have come to plague Lula's PT, it is widely credited with initial steps towards the consolidation of the democratisation process in Brazil. 'The first origins of democratic consolidation centred on economic stability of the state', argues Sharifi. Democracy in Brazil arose in the throes of a period in the 1980s, during waves of protest against amongst others historically high levels hyperinflation, deficit of democracy and rising inequality and precariousness. In this period a growing confidence of social movements was witnessed, with agreement on a 'social pact'. This focus on democratisation, rather than revolutionary overthrow, was to play a crucial dimension in the coming years of the PT and Lula's rule.

Cosatu's 11th Congress – OUR LULA MOMENT

Presented as part of the Cosatu Political Report to congress and an analysis and assessment of the Cosatu Plan (2015), was the notion of two scenarios: (1) 'a low road', which is characterised by 'downward slide...'; and (2) 'a high road scenario: creating our Lula Moment?' as an attempt to elaborate the tasks for the organised detachment of the working class movement moving forward.

The political report asserts that, "... [I]f the notion of the second phase of the transition is to constitute a radical break with these patterns, a political reconfiguration and strategic shift will be required in relation to the democratic forces and the democratic state. This means that the structural features, which are inhibiting forward movement in the areas we have identified, need to be systematically addressed and transformed. The strategic interventions proposed by this Congress need to focus on transformation in the 3 key pillars we have identified - the movement, the state and the economy." This is particularly interesting, occurring as it were in the aftermath of (and into) a series of politically important developments, both here and abroad.

The Political Report analysis and assessment of the conjunctural challenges of the broad national liberation movement, occurs in a

'season of conferences and congresses' – the ANC Policy Conference in July 2012, 13th SACP Congress and the upcoming 53rd ANC National Conference. As the Political Report observes, the conjuncture is characterised by a multidimensional (and intersecting) crises, arguing that, "... a multiple crisis is emerging in society, which, if not addressed, has the potential to result in an organisational implosion, and social explosion, which could reverse the gains of our democracy, and prevent us from advancing the core tasks of the NDR." Though thin on detail – at least on the policy proposal front – the Congress Declaration and Political Report, and subsequent CEC elaborates on the 'high-road scenario', which would be characterised by, and feature more prominently interventionist social and economic policies, resulting in a more radical approach to dramatic poverty and inequality reductions similar to those achieved by the Lula government during his second term from 2006 to 2010. The 4th ANC Policy Conference recommendation that the 'second phase of the transition should be characterized by more radical policies and decisive action to effect thorough-going socio-economic and continued democratic transformation, as well as the renewal of the ANC, the Alliance and the broad democratic forces', set the tone for the 'high road scenario', that the Cosatu Political Report espouses.

However, there are different interpretations of the tenure of Lula da Silva, both here and abroad. The notion that South Africa today requires a Lula moment, may also be interpreted differently and potentially turn out, either to be a catalysing and rallying slogan, or hold the country ransom to some undefined moment! Therefore, it is well worth our while to attempt understand what the Lula moment means and to extrapolate key points for further elaboration.

Conclusion

What is abundantly clear in the contradictory legacy of Lula and the PT over the years is the interrelation and interconnectedness of the

issues. For example, though the Lula government honoured its World Bank (WB) commitments and others, it also provided the basis for Brazil in later years to not only extricate itself from the clutches of the WB and IMF but also to be a significant lender.

The contested legacy of Lula and his presidency will continue into the future. Therefore, the analysis and direction of struggle provided by the Lula and PT's ally in government for an alternative society to preceding periods of dabbling with neo-liberalism is critical. The PCdoB argues that the essence, goals and alliances in the current period of the struggle for socialism – transition through the full implementation of the NPND is critically important. "It has an anti-imperialist, anti-latifunda oligarchy essence, and seeks to supplant the neo-liberal phase of the culmination of parasitic and rent-seeking capital. Its programmatic foundation comprises the struggle for the nation's sovereignty and defence, democratisation of society, social progress, and in-solidarity integration of Latin America", assert the 12th Congress PCdoB documents.

Furthermore, it says, "This clarity regarding the targets allows us to configure a broad political and social front that has the workers at its core and comprises large segments of the Nation."

These assertions are not unfamiliar to left and progressive forces in South Africa. For this reason, the Lula Moment cannot be a singular frame of a continuous uneven, unpredictable continuum of struggle for an alternative. It will inherently comprise tactical considerations, dictated by the conjuncture at a domestic, regional and international level.

There is no doubt that Brazil is a unique story of a lively economic policy laboratory - which deserves our collective engagement and study! Furthermore, it shows that long held neo-liberal policy prescriptions are redundant and thus innovative approaches are emerging which prioritise social policies at appropriate levels as key elements to achieve higher levels of inclusive growth and development. ■

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China's Sovereignty over Diaoyu Islands Allows No Challenge

CHINA

Senkaku islands



By Tian Xuejun

The Japanese government announced the “purchase” of Diaoyu Dao islands in September this year, causing tension in China-Japan relations and attracting worldwide attention. Many friends in South Africa have asked me about this issue, and I think it might be necessary to explain a little bit about what has happened and what is going on with respect to the Diaoyu Dao islands.

Diaoyu Dao and its affiliated islands have been an integral part of China’s territory since ancient times. As early as in the 14th Century, China discovered and named these islands. In the early years of the Ming Dynasty (the Dynasty started from Year 1368), China placed Diaoyu Dao under its coastal defense to guard against the invasion of Japanese pirates along the southeast coast. The Qing court (roughly from 1662 to 1912) not only incorporated the Diaoyu Dao islands into the scope of China’s coastal defense as the Ming court did, but also clearly placed the islands under the jurisdiction of the local government of Taiwan. Many official maps, both Chinese and foreign ones, marked Diaoyu Dao as China’s territory. The book *Illustrated Outline of the Three Countries* written by a Japanese called Hayashi Shihei in 1785 was the earliest Japanese literature to mention Diaoyu Dao, identifying the islands as Chinese territory.

Japan secretly “included” Diaoyu Dao in its territory at the end of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, by the time it was clear that the then Qing court of China was to lose the war. After the Second World War, Diaoyu Dao and its affiliated islands were returned to China, a winner of the War, according to the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation. However, in 1951, with China being excluded, the United States, Japan and a number of other countries signed the Treaty of Peace (commonly known as the Treaty of San Francisco), placing the Nansei Islands under the United States’ trusteeship, and later, arbitrarily expanded the trusteeship to include the Diaoyu Dao islands. The Chinese government immediately issued a statement, declaring the Treaty to be illegal and invalid. This shows that China has never

recognised any provision regarding China’s territory from the Treaty of San Francisco, especially those concerning the Diaoyu Dao islands. In 1971, the Ryukyu Islands and Diaoyu Dao were “returned” to Japan by the United States, and this triggered strong opposition from all the Chinese people, including those living in Taiwan. The US government was forced to clarify that they were only “returning” the power of administration which had nothing to do with sovereignty of the islands. In September this year, the US Congress made a report reconfirming that “the United States believes that a return of administrative rights over those islands to Japan can in no way prejudice any underlying claims.”

It is a fact that there have been disputes between China and Japan over the sovereignty of Diaoyu Dao and its affiliated islands. This was once an obstacle hampering the normalisation of China-Japan diplomatic relationships in the 1970s. At that time, when concluding the China-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship, the then leaders of the two countries, acting in the larger interest of China-Japan relations, reached an important understanding and consensus on “leaving the issue of Diaoyu Dao to be resolved later.” This part of history is well documented. Thanks to such understanding and consensus, Diaoyu Dao has not been a major issue in China-Japan relations for 40 years. Cooperation between the two countries has been able to develop smoothly in different areas.

However, in recent years, Japan has been back-peddling concerning its position on the Diaoyu Dao issue. It not only denied the fact that there have been disputes over sovereignty of the islands, but also betrayed the understanding and consensus of the late leaders. The Japanese side deliberately enhanced its so-called “de facto control” over the islands, and took a set of unilateral actions, including naming the islands, landing on them, running investigations, revising the laws and carrying out inspection tours. What they desired was to impose their unilateral claim. In particular, since the beginning of this year, Japan has scaled up its efforts by “purchasing and

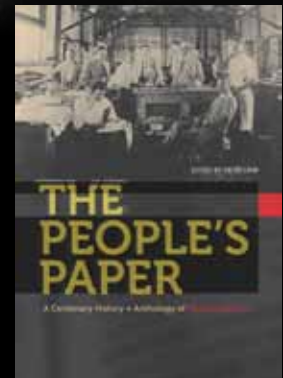
nationalising” the islands despite strong protest from the Chinese side. They intended to, through these actions, change the status quo, enhance their “de facto” control and legitimise their claims. They attempted to force China to take the bitter pill. But this is something that the Chinese side will never agree to.

Japan’s “purchase” of the islands has not only grossly violated China’s territorial sovereignty, but also rejected and challenged the outcomes of the victory of the World Anti-Fascist War. Japan fails to reflect deeply on what they did in WWII. The Yasukuni Shrine is still enshrining Class A war criminals of the Second World War, with many high-ranking Japanese government officials worshipping them on a frequent basis. In recent years, the right-wingers have been gaining momentum, many politicians and political groups are even competing with each other to see who does better in denying and whitewashing their invasions in the history of that region. The “purchase” of Diaoyu Dao islands is only one manifestation of the right-wing shift in Japan. Therefore, we should be on high alert about what Japan will bring to the regional and international landscape if it continues on this right wing track, further denying its invasion of other countries in the past.

The tensions surrounding Diaoyu Dao have been stirred up solely by the Japanese. This is an action devoid of integrity and has violated China’s territorial sovereignty. The Chinese side has taken a series of resolute measures. The future development of the issue all depends on how Japan corrects its own mistakes. The ball is now in their court. The Chinese side longs for a stable China-Japan relationships; but this never means that China will swallow the bitter pill. Japan should not expect that “dilatatory tactics” can ease the situation. Nor should they indulge in the illusion that they can occupy the islands. From the Chinese side, we never ask for trouble, but we will always confront problems. To ease and end the serious tension in China-Japan relations, the Japanese side must understand reality, correct its mistakes and go back to negotiations. ■



The ANC's first newspaper recovered



Despite its significance, remarkably little is written about the paper. Why, so central to South African politics, are the voices of early ANC historical actors associated with it still buried in obscurity?

By Peter Limb

The 2012 centenary of the African National Congress is also that of the closely-allied newspaper, *Abantu-Batho* (The People). Established in October 1912 by ANC convener Pixley ka Isaka Seme, with financial assistance from Queen Regent Labotsibeni of Swaziland, it attracted the best of a rising company of African intellectuals, political figures and literati such as Cleopas Kunene, Saul Msane, Richard V. S. Thema, T. D. Mweliso Skota, J. T. Gumede, A. W. G. Champion, Robert Grendon, S. E. K. Mqhayi and Nontsizi Mgwetho. In its pages burning issues of the day, from the pass laws, Land Act and World War to strikes and socialism, the founding of Fort Hare, the rights of black women, and Garveyism were articulated, just as mundane events such as football matches and marriages were reported. It was also a forum for letters and literary contributions, some of the highest calibre, others of a plebeian bluntness.

Despite its significance, remarkably little is written about the paper. Why, so central to South African politics, are the voices of early ANC historical actors associated with it still buried in obscurity? Black history has faced the condescension of an essentially white scholarly edifice. *Abantu-Batho* was not even collected by libraries: only a two-year run, 1930–31, survives. There are a few reprints in contemporary papers, notably *Ilanga lase Natal* and *Tsala ea Batho*, and in periodicals such as *Christian Express* and *Negro Year Book* and in West Africa (testament to emerging networks of solidarity). There are clippings, translations and the odd issue in archives in Pretoria, Lobamba, Durban, Harare, Oxford, Atlanta and Moscow. And a few extracts appear in collections such as *Outlook on a Century* and the *Garvey Papers*.

Writers have often lamented this lacuna, one result of which has been that most studies of the ANC failed to penetrate the internal life reflected in its columns. Similarly, those who write on black socio-intellectual life have tended to elide Johannesburg of this period and the associational life around *Abantu-Batho*, notably the African Club, thus missing a major formative aspect of black politics and culture. In its place, a sanitised version of history

privileging the institutions and press approved by the Chamber of Mines and some white liberals and their black acolytes has held sway in South African historiography of this time.

Even the date of its first issue has left few traces - such uncertainty is typical of many aspects of its history. But contemporaries took note of its arrival. In 1917 the young Modiri Molema wrote of the birth of “Abantu or Batho ... edited and published by a competent staff”. A few years later, young communist Eddie Roux “called often at the office of the *Abantu-Batho*, the organ of the ANC. There I met two educated Africans, [J.W.] Dunjwa

“Gathering a team as well as some experts in indigenous languages, we painstakingly re-assembled the fragments and began recovering the stories of its writers so long shrouded in mist.”

and [D.S.] Letanka. With them I could converse with ease.” He emphasised it was “one of the most outstanding” achievements of the ANC. It unified small papers, attracted outstanding journalists, achieved “wide popularity”, and led struggles against the Land Act and “the victorious fight against the women’s pass law”.¹ Some of Roux’s facts, such as amalgamation with *Umlomo wa Bantu* in 1913 (rather than 1916) and a 1935 (instead of 1931) demise would be uncritically adopted by later writers, but his highlighting of its significance is confirmed by new research.

Instead of simply lamenting this lacuna, we decided to act. Gathering a team as well as some experts in indigenous languages, we painstakingly re-assembled the fragments and began recovering the stories of its writers so long shrouded in mist. The result is a new book, *The People’s Paper: A Centenary History and Anthology of*

Abantu-Batho.² We have recovered enough of this hidden archive to recreate the political and intellectual life that had hitherto escaped attention. Some startling discoveries here are forcing a re-writing of the history of 1912–31.

The idea of a multilingual newspaper with a truly national focus was raised at a 1911 meeting in Johannesburg that led to the January 1912 founding of Congress.³ The story of *Abantu-Batho*’s eventual launch in October is told in the book. The need for such a paper on the Rand was apparent. In the white press Africans appeared, if at all, mainly as villains. Some recruited as editors: first Cleopas Kunene then Robert Grendon. Both had close ties with Swazi rulers, reflected in a series of articles on Swazi affairs. In September *Ilanga lase Natal* announced the name of the new paper and revealed it would be a weekly, published in English, Sesotho, isiZulu and isiXhosa, and linked to Congress. Africans soon made good use of it to communicate and organise. A new political culture articulated via the press and public meetings emerged. As with the subaltern press in other colonial situations such as India, state censors closely monitored it; officials hauled managing editor Seme before them to explain stridently anti-imperial wartime editorials. There was thus a need for studied moderation. But given its location on the Rand, amidst the country’s political storms, and its centrality to Congress and vernacular discourses there was every chance it would become more radical - and it did.

That *Abantu-Batho* would be adopted as an organ of Congress and articulate its policies flowed from the fact that the movement’s founder, Seme, had founded it. There is nothing about a press organ in the 1919 ANC constitution but Article 19 of the Transvaal Congress constitution specifies “the official organ of the Congress shall be the ABANTU-BATHO”.⁴ Yet it was more than a mere party “organ”. The very title spoke meaningfully to readers in a wide range of languages and clearly to the vision of ANC founders for unity and nation building.⁵ Over its 19 years, it played an important role in influencing and

reflecting African political thought and intellectual life. Political slogans such as “Mayibuye i Afrika” were first coined in its columns. And it was the vigorous, popular approach epitomised by *Abantu-Batho* that would eventually mobilise wide sections of “the people” to overcome colonialism and apartheid.

Writers associated with the Congress Alliance commented on the paper. Mary Benson cites one editor, Mweliso Skota that “we were dreaming of changes, of the day when Africans would sit in Parliament and would be able to buy land”. After its 1931 demise the ANC keenly felt its loss. Its 1937 conference resolved to find a replacement. In the ‘40s, A. B. Xuma and Govan Mbeki wanted to resurrect a national organ. In 1955 the ANC still dreamed of its own paper, lack of which was a ‘very serious weakness’. Lionel Forman was keen to track down copies, roping in Mac Maharaj to search London libraries, to no avail. Lacking access to issues, he repeated S. P. Bunting’s claim that *Abantu-Batho* was “never noticeable for its militancy”, but recognised its significance. In 1960 Bunting’s son Brian characterised it as “vigorous and militant”. Mbeki, in a subterranean Robben Island missive, remarked how after the ANC failed to keep *Abantu-Batho* alive, it had to rely instead on word of mouth or leaflets. The ANC-in-exile kept alive its memory in histories by Jack and Ray Simons and Francis Meli and in *Mayibuye* and *Sechaba*. Even today a need is felt for a replacement. In 2010 the Nkoane Maditsi Youth League secretary mused that “A similar newspaper is much required now”. In December 2010 a new paper, *New Age*, did appear, in some ways claiming its mantle but in other ways lacking its radical investigative journalism or multi-lingual reach.⁶

The political context was complex. *Abantu-Batho* emerged at a time of intense black protest focused on the racist clauses of the Act of Union and the Land Act. The political tone was moderate-to-radical; ‘centre-left’ in today’s parlance. There was an eclectic philosophic mix, with editors appropriating ideas from Garvey, Mill, Marx and, in Grendon’s case,

Swedenborg. Yet by 1931 editors claimed a consistency in its philosophy over the years and indeed there were common threads of African nationalism, Pan-Africanism and anti-racism.

The paper went through distinct phases. From 1912 to 1917 it was generally moderate. Yet already in 1916 signs of a growing radicalism were evident. 1917 - 20 is the first radical phase. The strikes of February 1920 mark the high point of this radicalism; afterwards comes stagnation and

“The paper went through distinct phases. From 1912 to 1917 it was generally moderate. Yet already in 1916 signs of a growing radicalism were evident. 1917 - 20 is the first radical phase. The strikes of February 1920 mark the high point of this radicalism; afterwards comes stagnation and ostracism.”

ostracism. The paucity of the 1921 - 27 issues makes characterisation of its politics then difficult, but growing Garveyist influence sits side by side with moderate voices. A second radical phase, identifying more closely with the Communist Party, develops from 1927. After his election as ANC president in 1927, J. T. Gumede made the paper the national ANC organ, but this ended in 1930 when he was defeated by Seme, who ironically distanced himself from the very paper he had founded. The end came in July 1931, hastened by lack of resources and Chamber of Mines’ hostility that had given birth to a vitriolic rival, *Umteteli wa Bantu*, which drew away staff.

The new book provides firstly an overview of *Abantu-Batho*, surveying

its history and prominent themes, including politics, racism, solidarity, war, labour, and gender, and the socio-cultural lives and religious, educational, literary and leisure pursuits of Africans. The next section examines the role of founders and editors: Seme, Labotsibeni, and editor-poet Robert Grendon. “Themes and Connections” then addresses: the Swazi royal connection; poetic contributions of Xhosa poets Nontsizi Mqgqwetho and S.E.K. Mqhayi; complexities of language and translation in reporting the 1918 Rand “Shilling Strike”; discourses around African royalty; Garveyism; and the associational context (clubs). It concludes by assessing *Abantu-Batho*’s legacy. It left a memory of investigative journalism and combative politics that persisted in popular consciousness; it also left behind experienced journalists who went on to other newspapers and readers who hungered for a similarly committed voice.

Abantu-Batho played a major role in challenging in print (and mobilising against) the hegemony of a settler state increasingly moving to complete denial of black rights. It helped stimulate public debate, and interest in black journalism and literary work, developing an African public sphere. Today’s politics underlines more than ever the need for such work to continue. ■

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"...the day should not be far off, when we shall have a people's shrine, a Freedom Park, where we shall honour with all the dignity they deserve, those who endured pain so we should experience the joy of freedom." - Nelson Mandela

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What does BRICS mean to South Africa and the continent's development?

Africa's big five should analyse South Africa's role in BRICS and explore the possibilities, determining whether it will boost the continent's growth or will open doors for opportunistic countries to prey on the continent's minerals.

By Tshepiso Mphehlo

The demise of apartheid (1994) led to a new democratic nation born in Africa. This historic event made it possible to seek reconciliation between the people of South Africa, divided by racial conflicts for over three centuries.

It led to a highly recognised humanitarian constitution, a progressive foreign policy, international investments and policies which gave hope and expectation for development, job creation, poverty eradication, good education and proper health care for all.

It made possible the signing of numerous multilateral agreements such as the ones with the European Union, the India, Brazil, South Africa Forum (IBSA) and in 2011 with Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRICS). Multilateral Agreements amongst the developing countries has been a popular phenomenon in the 21st century. However the 'Non-Aligned Movement', a movement of third

world countries considering themselves not aligned with or against any of the world's major power formations, has not had much of an impact on the development of developing countries. The focus now should be given to groupings such as IBSA, BRICS and FOCAC (Forum on China Africa Cooperation), and productive bilateral trade agreements. Amongst the three developing continents (Africa, Asia and Latin America) Africa more than the others suffers from hardships of high poverty rates, high unemployment rates, low GDP, low life expectancy and other socio-economic challenges, making one wonder if Africa is really potentially rich with mineral resources or not.

The idea of developing countries coming together as a unit to form multilateral agreements was a strategic move to improve development in these countries, to have a say and influence in international organs such as the United Nations, the International

Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank and also to counter-balance the global western influence.

An Overview of BRICS and its influence in Africa

Above all, relationships amongst developing countries have proven to be effective in promoting and strengthening the socio-economic and political aspects of development. The founding member states were Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC). The original conceptualisation of the BRIC acronym was coined by Jim O'Neill, the Goldman Sachs Asset Management chairperson. O'Neill identified these countries as the fastest growing economies, with promising and vibrant markets, as well as economic leaders of the future (Klomegah, 2011). Even with the presence of Russia BRICS is still considered a South-South multilateral group; this is motivated by the ideological and multilateral relations Russia has had with Africa, Latin America, and Asia during the Cold-War era.

The first BRIC summit was held in Yekaterinburg, Russia, in 2009 (Alden and Sidiropoulos, 2011). This was a starting point for BRIC as a formal body to make its mark in international politics. At the 2011 Sanya summit in China, South Africa was ushered in as a new member and the club became known as BRICS. According to Graceffos (2011) BRICS in totality represents roughly one third of the global population and carries an estimated US\$ 4 trillion in foreign reserves. However these countries are nevertheless still in their developmental phase, but they are distinguished by their large economies and significant influence on the regional and global stage. As the democratic regional powers of the 'South' were uniting, South Africa's entry into BRICS was accompanied by doubts. Jim O'Neill is of the view that "For South Africa to be treated as part of BRIC doesn't make any sense to me" but he modified this statement by adding, "but South Africa as a representative of the African continent is a different story" (Hervieu, 2011).

South Africa, compared to its BRICS counterparts, is small in everything: economy, population, GDP rate and

rate of economic growth. However, the continent's economic power house, South Africa, has been involved in much global socio-economic and political participation and it is well experienced in the cut-throat world of international politics. South Africa brings to BRICS the entire African market as was suggested by the minister of International Relations and Cooperation (Haijun, 2012). This will also contribute in boosting the country's influence in the group. South Africa is one of the founding member states of the IBSA forum, which the former President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki called the G8 of the South. This was one of the turning points for the country in forming alliances with partners sharing common ideologies and visions for development.

South Africa faces a high level of youth unemployment, both graduates and non-graduates. The country faces serious political, economic and social challenges including crime and xenophobia. The severity of these challenges coupled with the schisms and factionalism in the ANC put in doubt the hegemony of South Africa in the continent. The ANC must shape up while it still has time to assist in building a country that will be an example of success in the continent. Currently no political organisation enjoys such overwhelming majority support as the ANC. But this support is starting to fade away as the other small emerging political organisations claim some municipalities and provinces, and poor service delivery undermines the credibility of the ruling party. The ANC government should provide its people with basic necessities in order to have stability in the country and if they want to continue being an organisation relevant to the people. The country needs not only a strong economy that can compete globally, but an economy that can create jobs for its people, particularly the youth.

South Africa needs to take advantage of its membership in BRICS as they carry the whole continent on their shoulders. This country must advocate for the development of Africa, increase and promote production, and export goods, rather than exporting raw materials and consuming finished

goods especially from China. African alliance/unity needs to be re-visited and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) must be used as a tool for driving the economic re-awakening of the continent.

Global Chinese influence cannot be ignored, but the manner in which the Chinese products are fuelling African markets poses a lot of danger to domestic production. This phenomenon must be analysed intensively to safeguard the African market. Early warning signs such as these must keep South Africa on its toes as a leading continental economic force. Countries such as the African big five (South Africa, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria and Algeria) should provide direction and defend the African economy. Africa needs to take a strong stand through its united efforts to start to produce finished goods and get involved in the modern technological economy. Africa's big five should analyse South Africa's role in BRICS and explore the possibilities, determining whether it will boost the continent's growth or will open doors for opportunistic countries to prey on the continent's minerals. Africa's big five must share ideas and eliminate what does not work.

Below, *Aneki.com* outlines Africa's big five, the largest economies in Africa by GDP in the year 2011.

Country	GDP
1. South Africa	524,000,000,000
2. Egypt:	497,800,000,000
3. Nigeria:	377,900,000,000
4. Algeria:	251,100,000,000
5. Morocco:	151,400,000,000

The above figures by *Aneki.com* can double or triple if the big five can engage heavily in new trade and investment, infrastructural development, modern agricultural production, green technology and mineral beneficiation. Imperialist trading in Africa must be dealt with especially in the Francophone countries. The 21st century must be Africa's century; this continent must also be given a chance to develop and grow as other continents.

Haile Selassie, during the formation

of the OAU, said that "History teaches us that unity is strength". That unity is needed more than ever by Africa today, to end conflicts, corruption, famine and poverty in all its shapes and forms, and focus on building a powerful African Union. The ideas are there, people are there, minerals are there: in fact Africa lacks nothing but true leaders that are decisive, brave and most of all 'PATRIOTIC'. The Mbeki vision of the G8 of the South can be put into practice in the modern Africa under the banner of the African Union (AU).

As the BRICS summit will be hosted by South Africa in 2013 one of the major issues that needs to be addressed is Africa's socio-economic development. South Africa should use its membership to put forward the AU's African Agenda, the need for the continent to benefitate its natural mineral resources, to develop local manufacturing and industries, to become an integral part of the technological revolution and to promote authentic local research and development.

Whilst strengthening, developing and promoting all-round ties and relations with BRICS, Africa should also strengthen its economic ties with Europe and North America. But to play their critical role in international affairs African countries must strengthen intra-African diplomatic ties, unity and cohesion. This would enable Africa to project and promote a consolidated view as a united continent on global issues, challenges and solutions that affect it economically and politically. ■

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Let history speak

What are we to make of this Morogoro Conference and its outcome? We must derive from this the important lesson that ascending to positions of leadership should not be at a cost to the unity of the movement; and that leadership and respect is earned.

By Radinaledi Mosiane

Cuba's revolutionary patriot, Jose Marti, wrote movingly in his celebrated essay of 1891 entitled "Our America", that: "the prideful villager thinks his hometown contains the whole world; as long as he can stay on as mayor or humiliate the rival who stole his sweetheart or watch his nest egg accumulating in its strong box he believes the universe to be in good order, unaware of the giants in seven-league boots who can crush him underfoot or the battling comets in the heavens that go through the air devouring the sleeping world". Writing this, he must have had in mind the need to have a big picture and to outgrow parochial self-interest.

At the time when this article was written the Mangaung conference was fast approaching. At this point

in time we are challenged to retrieve some of our history with a view to consider good lessons. In this instance, the proceedings and outcome of the Morogoro Conference of the ANC in 1969 is apposite and offers a fecund barometer for analysis towards Mangaung. Needless to say, the value of this important Conference is often lost to many if not placed in its proper context. This notwithstanding, many are agreed that the Morogoro Conference was a 'turning point', yet few demonstrate sufficient appreciation of the complexities that seized conference participants.

Let us interpolate briefly to dissect this. Of central importance for the delegates to the Conference was the general disillusionment among the membership of the ANC. In large measure, the general displeasure was

with the leadership under Kaizana Tambo, including his own inability to resolve the disaffection of members.

Accusations against the leadership included a cover-up of the rape of a female cadre by an NEC member; corruption and mismanagement; allegations that some in the leadership were funnelling foreign donated clothes to the People's Bazaar in Dar, where the leadership was doing thriving business; that camp leaders were revealing things to prostitutes. All these came to a head after Chris Hani and four others vituperated being abandoned in prison in Botswana. As Callinicos (2004) points out, it was the memorandum of Chris Hani and others that had blown the lid off the organisation. Those fingered in the accusation included Duma Nokwe, Joe Modise and Moses Kotane. Tambo himself did not escape

censure, being accused of 'failing to adhere to democratic principles', and of continuing to 'keep his own men in position'.

The importance of the widely circulated memorandum by Chris Hani and others should not be underestimated. So popular was its content that some in the leadership are said to have been highly angered by its contents, especially since it named names. According to Smith and Tromp (2009), among others the memo alleged that Joe Modise spent too much time on a furniture factory in Livingstone and was paid a salary; his relative, Shadrack Tladi, was flirting with US Peace Corps (essentially a CIA front); and that the wife of a senior ANC official was working for the Israeli intelligence agency. The consequence of crafting such an explosive document was a vote for the execution of the signatories by a military tribunal consisting of Mzwai Piliso, Jonas Matlou and Siphon Mthembu. Why the execution did not happen is a matter of debate. Needless to say, the events surrounding this illustrate the tumultuous situation then obtaining in the ANC. This situation went on to infest proceedings at the 1969 Morogoro Conference.

The tension at the conference was aptly dramatised in Tambo's walk out after a delegate made a clumsy remark. But this notwithstanding, it is interesting that amidst all the palaver, delegates were alive to the centrality of unity (and of Tambo the person) as the lifeblood of the movement in the context of Cold War geopolitics. It was against this recognition and the need to jettison parochial self-interest that JB Marks was instructed to approach Tambo and return him back to Conference.

There are three points one wishes to flag. Note first that Tambo had resigned his position because, as he reportedly said, "I thought that the leadership was not correctly understood by the ordinary people. I wanted to relieve myself of the responsibility of president to get down and reach the people". This act by Tambo served to cement his stature within the ranks of the movement. It was therefore not fortuitous that when a vote was taken, Tambo was the only

one to be re-elected, and unanimously at that. He was willing to relieve himself of the position of leadership in the interest of the unity of the movement. In this seemingly miniscule occurrence, we are introduced to an understanding that the 'me at all costs' attitude is antithetical to revolutionary praxis.

Secondly, all participants at Conference jettisoned their 'airs and graces' in submission to the centrality of the unity of the organisation. The positive outcome of the initially tumultuous and tense Conference bears testimony to the selflessness characteristic of those assembled in Morogoro in 1969. In the context of a chaos-infested ANC of 1969 we must agree that the attainment of Unity in the near dysfunctional organisation must be characterised as an advance, a beachhead. What could previously be described as the anger of cadres was strategically converted into a political force. Out of Morogoro the ANC emerged as 'a proper instrument for organising and leading a revolutionary struggle', an outcome of unity of purpose. How will the ANC come out of Mangaung?

Thirdly, because the exiled ANC understood the significance of unity as the foundation for a decisive war against the regime in South Africa, they responded to the Chris Hani memorandum by convening a Conference whose major focus would be to redefine or re-examine the role of the movement, its strategy and tactics and map the way forward. For the sake of unity, the leadership allowed every comrade to express their anger and frustration. Tambo is said to have conceived of the preparations as 'a great campaign of discussions of our problems, of analysis of our situation, for weaknesses and shortcomings, of proposals, of an attempt to give answers, a determined effort to move forward and desist from marking time'.

What are we to make of this Morogoro Conference and its outcome? We must derive from this the important lesson that ascending to positions of leadership should not be at a cost to the unity of the movement; and that leadership and respect is earned. It also teaches that there are

critical moments in the history of a people where individual interests and personal comforts must give way to the collective good. But more importantly, this experience teaches that ill-discipline cannot be wished away, that it requires direct isolation for attention and consideration if we are to expunge it from within the ranks of the democratic forces.

It is however most impressive to note that, in the case of Morogoro, the leadership subordinated elections to the resolution of tensions within the organisation. That the organisation needed to emerge from conference as a strong organism capable of confronting the regime and freeing South Africans from oppression, degradation and humiliation enjoyed significance in the minds of those assembled in 1969. Intellectual and revolutionary analysis had imposed on the leadership the need to significantly attend to the challenges confronting the organisation, and only thereafter, consider the type of leadership required to lead the movement forward. It is uncertain if this much can be said to occupy the minds of those who will assemble at Mangaung.

A few questions cry out for answers as we tread towards the Free State capital. What matters the most to the membership of the ANC? Whose interests occupy the minds of those seeking election to the highest offices? What vision drives both the membership and those aspiring for leadership? And finally, is there a civic code underpinning our actions, or are we merely leading our financiers into our den to milk the public?

Our response to these questions will confirm or refute whether the ANC remains a political vanguard geared towards freeing our people from the miasma of apartheid underdevelopment, or whether its revolutionary pontificating is mere isomorphic mimicry of a former revolutionary movement whose zeal has ebbed away.

As the Caribbean poet Martin Carter once wrote; "only where our footsteps end can tell whether the journey was an old advance or a new retreat; or whether in the dust our heel marks and our toe marks are confused". ■

A professional headshot of Vincent Maphai, a middle-aged Black man with short hair, wearing a dark grey suit jacket, a white shirt, and a yellow patterned tie. He is smiling slightly and looking directly at the camera against a light blue background.

Improving service delivery through public and private sector partnerships

Vincent Maphai, SAB Executive Director of Corporate Affairs and Transformation

SAB joins National and Local government to assist Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality

By South African Breweries

The Eastern Cape Local Government and Traditional Affairs, the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (NMBM) and South African Breweries (SAB) have made a commitment to combine their knowledge and best practice skills to support and strengthen the local municipality with a specific focus on water. This work will be implemented within the framework of the Department of Cooperative Governance's (DCoG) national Business "Adopt-A-Municipality" initiative.

A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was recently signed by the partner in Nelson Mandela Bay, Port Elizabeth, to formalise the relationship which is expected to run over the three-year period.

The partnership is based on a shared commitment amongst the role players towards sustainable development and a common interest in the sustainability of water, as well as other areas that can positively impact communities and the business sector in terms of service delivery.

The Business "Adopt-A-Municipality" initiative seeks to foster a closer working relationship between government, state-owned-enterprises (SOEs) and the private sector in supporting local municipalities based in SA's nine provinces; and is a key component of the Local Government Turn-Around Strategy, focusing on capacity and infrastructure support.

This initiative derives from Section 154 of the Constitution, which states that national and provincial governments must support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities to manage their affairs, exercise their powers and perform their functions. Achieving this can have a positive impact on communities and the business sector.

"There is a serious concern that deficient service delivery at this level impacts severely on the efficiency and output of business and industry. The cost of business has in some instances increased dramatically due to stoppages in production as a result of infrastructure deficiencies, and employment could be affected. This is a major concern for both government

and communities.

"From the private sector point of view a well-functioning local government sector is of the utmost importance to create an enabling environment for the business sector to flourish and be sustainable," says Ricardo Hansby, Deputy Director General for Infrastructure and Economic Development at the DCoG.

MEC Mlibo Qoboshiyane, Local Government and Traditional Affairs, acknowledged this, saying, "The essence of this partnership is to help the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro improve service delivery, attend to service backlogs, attract more investments, improve infrastructure development and most importantly, to perform better. All role players - from councillors, managers and staff members, must work together to achieve the goals of this agreement."

Water is a core priority of SAB's Sustainable Development focus and is seen as a fundamental component of the business' continued success and survival into the future. At a municipal level, SAB regularly engages with local authorities to help ensure better water governance and management.

"Water governance is a strategic thrust of our water game plan to ensure the sustainability of water within communities and use by the business into the future, and we take a multi-stakeholder approach to achieving this objective.

"By industry working together and partnering with government, local municipalities and other stakeholders, we are able to more effectively address the key water risks facing the country. The MOU between us, government and the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro is a significant step forward in our work towards ensuring water resources are available to the business and to local communities long into the future," says Vincent Maphai, SAB Executive Director of Corporate Affairs and Transformation.

Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality's Executive Mayor Zanoxolo Wayile described this important partnership as a step in the right direction to ensure that the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality delivers on its mandate to provide services of a high standard to its

residents. "This initiative talks directly to the President's clarion call for the building of an effective, efficient and responsive developmental state that is run on a professional basis. Together we can do more in building sustainable communities."

Several focus areas of collaboration have been identified by the partners in taking the initiative forward and with SAB's Ibhayi Brewery, based in Port Elizabeth, taking a leadership role within the partnership. These focus areas are:

- The utilisation of SAB's water infrastructure, maintenance and engineering skills at its Ibhayi Brewery to strengthen the municipality's water pump stations;

- The identification of select process controllers from the municipal waste water plant to shadow operators at the brewery's waste water treatment plant with the objective of sharing good practices; and

- SAB has extended an invitation to officials from municipalities and local government to participate in the company's in-house project management course.

"These practical areas of work we believe will have a multiplier effect on the capability of the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. SAB's relatively small contribution has the potential to make a significant difference," says Maphai.

The project will be monitored and evaluated by a National Coordinating Committee (NCC), which will develop annual plans with clear timelines that will take into consideration government priorities. At municipal level, the Municipal Coordinating Committee will be responsible for monitoring municipal specific programmes against project plans. This committee will report to a Provincial Coordinating committee which will in turn report to the NCC. ■





The evolution of freedom songs

They kept the spirit of resistance alive in marches, pickets, demonstrations, jails, banishment, prison, exile, camps and deep underground. They helped raise the morale and kept the spirit of no surrender alive at very difficult times.

By Kgolane Alfred Rudolph Phala

In the year 2012, the ANC celebrated its centenary. Those hundred years were a period of resistance and struggle by the people of South Africa. Part of that history is the history of revolutionary songs. Songs about freedom were sung from early on and they themselves evolved with the struggle, dovetailed and matured with it. As the circumstances of the struggle changed so did the songs sung. Freedom songs are very significant in mobilising people to struggle. They have a sense of taking charge of the singer. They strengthen and solidify the collective spirit of resistance of those singing them. They keep the people together, energise them for intensified struggles and enhance their spirit of resistance. They are a weapon of struggle in a very real and practical sense. They kept the spirit of resistance alive in marches, pickets, demonstrations, jails, banishment, prison, exile, camps and deep underground. They helped raise the morale and kept the spirit of no surrender alive at very difficult times.

They gave the struggle for freedom the necessary oomph and zeal.

This piece is not intended to be an exhaustive list of freedom songs sung in that long and arduous struggle, but just examples of some of them. Some of the revolutionary songs evolved out of weddings songs. Most of ANC's early songs had a strong church origin, like *Nkosi sikelel iAfrika*; *Lizalis'indinga lakho Thixo Nkosi yenyano*; *Bawo wami Thixo wami eba ne ANC and So mlandela uJesu*. Calling on God to help in freeing the oppressed was part and parcel of the struggle.

The early songs sung in ANC meetings and conferences were almost prayers. This relationship between song and prayer, between music and worship, can be traced from the Old Testament in the book of Psalm chapter 150, verses 1-6, where it reads, "Praise the Lord. Praise God in his sanctuary; praise him in his mighty heavens. Praise him for his acts of power; praise him for his surpassing greatness. Praise him with the sounding of the

trumpet, praise him with the harp and lyre, praise him with tambourine and dancing, praise him with strings and flute, praise him with the clash of cymbals, praise him with resounding cymbals. Let everything that has breath praise the Lord."

The church influence in the freedom songs waned in the 1960s with the new conditions of struggle. Songs changed in words, rhythm and dance with the change in the conditions of struggle. As the temperature of the struggle rose to new heights so did the words, language and even rhythm of the songs sung. The songs tell of the era, the period of struggle where they are sung. In this article we may well be making an undialectical analysis by artificially compartmentalising freedom songs in the different periods of the struggle. We are doing this in an attempt to better understand the evolution of songs in struggle history. The reality is that some of the songs were sung at different periods under different conditions of struggle. With others the meaning of the words got changed to dovetail with the new conditions. This is a search to understand how they originated, evolved and what informed their form and content.

The deep origins of African song

Early human ancestors were the first to change communication into recognisable language. From palaeontology it is clear that all human ancestors used crude sounds to communicate, more or less like our still four-legged relatives do to this day. The development of language is associated with the evolution of complicated vocal cords, the increased use of tools and social organisation of the species. These happened also because the early humans had begun to capture, tame and domesticate fire, and they use to sit around it and tried to tell one another things, TALK. The use of language to communicate went on for millennia. However it is the modern human being that uses language not just for speech but even for something even more significant, SINGING! Singing added an aesthetic dimension to the utilitarian use of language for raw day to day communication.

Africans evolved over time to

intertwine their lives with singing. They sang when happy and when sad, they sang for ceremonies, for gods, for weddings and funerals. They even sang when working! The singing got later interspersed with dancing and early music instruments, such as the drum. Over time they had different songs for different occasions and functions. When the planting and cultivating society of the agro-pastoralists and pastoralists evolved, they had their songs also. One of the oldest Sotho-Tswana-Pedi song for ploughing in the fields is *Mainamainama wee mainamologa mmagwe ke moloji wa dithuri*.

That is why because of their strong song origins Africans who got baptised into the Churches brought by the early missionaries to our shores started very powerful and melodious religious songs. Reverend Tiyo Soga's *Lizalis'idinga lakho Thixo nkosi yenyano* is the best example. Enoch Sontonga's *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika*; A Serote's *Re tlele ka lesoko, Morena e o leng, sediba sa poloko se re se botileng*; and Mokebe Tseka's *Ba ya kae, ba ba hwago ba na nae*, are others. And they are countless! When some of these early Christian converts broke away to establish their own independent African Churches they continued with the tradition of originating very powerful, rhythmical and melodious religious songs. It is in tribute to their spirit and pioneering that today our country and continent is awash with modern religious worship songs by all-manner of gospel artists and gospel genres.

Those early African converts proceeded with this spirit, practice and culture when they later came to form political movements. The ANC originated, emerged and evolved out of this pot. That's why at its founding conference in 1912 they sang *Lizalis'idinga lakho Thixo Nkosi yenyano* (fulfil thy promise God Thou Lord of truth) and *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika* (God save Africa).

Period of Memoranda, Petitions, Delegations and Deputations: 1912 – 1940

The influence of the Church in the formation of ANC is very significant. Most of its founders were clergy and products of mission schools and

missionary education. All the founding fathers of the ANC were graduates of schools set-up by missionaries, most got taken to America or England to study further: Rev Walter Rubusana, Rev John Langalibalele Dube, Rev Mqoboli, Rev H R Ngcayiya, Richard Victor Selope Thema, Solomon Plaatjie, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Sefako Mapogo Makgato, Alfred Mangena, Thomas Maphikela, Meshack Pelem and George Montsioa. It was also because of this influence that four of ANC's early presidents were ministers of religion. It could be argued that they became ANC and struggle leaders not despite, but because of their religious beliefs.

Thus church influence found expression in the songs sung in the founding conference. *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, Morena Boloka Setshaba sa gesu* ultimately became the ANC's National Anthem for South Africa in 1924, during the presidency of Sefako Mapogo Makgatho. Meetings of the ANC were opened and closed with a prayer the understanding was that God sides with the struggle of the oppressed people. That era proceeded until the regeneration of the struggle in the 1940s. To this day, true to this tradition, most of the meetings, councils and conferences of the ANC are opened with both a prayer and *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika*.

The full words of this prayer-anthem-song as composed by Enoch Sontonga went as follows: *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika, maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo, yizwa imithandazo yethu, Nkosi sikelele, thina lusapho lwayo, woza umoya uicwele*. (God bless Africa, may her glory be lifted high, hear our prayers, Lord bless we your people. Come holy spirit come.) The Sepedi stanza which was added by Moses Mphahlele went as follows: *Morena boloka setshaba sa gesu, o fedise dintwa le matshwenyego, o se boloke setshaba sa Afrika* (God save our nation, stop all wars and suffering. Save the people of Africa oh, Lord.)

Period of Regeneration: 1940 – 1949

The 1940s saw a period of regeneration of the ANC and struggle. The struggle of the 1940s impacted on the character of the ANC. The anti-pass campaigns, workers' strikes,

emergence of Black trade unions, the squatter movement, passive resistance, the Second World War, embryonic emergence of the alliance, industrialisation and urbanisation changed the struggle and the songs sung. In this period we also count the formation of ANC Women's and Youth Leagues in 1943 and 1944 respectively and not least the watershed ANC 1949 conference. These changing conditions meant that the emphasis could no longer be on sending deputations and petitions, new forms of the struggle had to be sought.

Songs of the period included:

Thina sizwe isemnyama sikhalela izwe lakithi elathathwa ngabamhlope maba uyeke umhlaba wethu (We the black nation are fighting for our land which has been taken by the white people, let them leave our land); *Sikhalela izwe lakithi lona elathathwa ngamaganjane, uMzulu-Mxhosa-Mosotho hlanganani* (We are crying for our land taken by the treacherous people..., Mzulu-Mxhosa-Mosotho let's unite); and *Asina mona asina nzondo sibenzela iANC* (We are jealous of no one, we have no grudge against anyone – we are committed to work for the ANC).

The songs of the period were essentially generally about the suffering of the Africans particularly the thievery of their land which has been taken from them by the white man.

Period of Mass Upsurge: 1949 – 1960s

In this period there was still a significant church influence in the struggle songs, but both the rhythm and words of the songs moved with the times to deliver new messages and even newer meanings. Instead of just standing in one place and singing, you now clap hands, dance and raise fists in a powerful salute. Songs of the period became flowery. This period is referred to as 'The Roaring Fifties' because it was very colourful with revolutionary momentum and rich with new forms of struggle including pickets, boycotts, demonstrations, stay-aways, strikes, marches, stay-at-homes, azikwelwa, defiance, amadelekufa and uprisings. *Thina sizwe* was the anthem of the struggle in the roaring fifties. In fact it

was sung over and over at the historic and heroic Congress of the People in Kliptown 1955. The original Christian song that came from the independent African Churches of *So mlandela uJesu* got transformed into *So mlandela uLuthuli yonke endawo, noma aya khona so mlandela* (We will follow Luthuli everywhere; wherever he goes we will follow him).

iAfrika mayibuye was the greeting motto of the day. *Amandla ngawethu* became a popular salutation that sprang up in all meetings. With the rise of the volunteer movement and the defiance campaign new songs came forth. One popular song was: *Sithi uwabeke amavoluntiyi sithi yebo Chief Luthuli, nawe Dr Dadoo, nawe Dr Naicker lebenkhokheli* (Take care and look after the volunteers and yes to Chief Luthuli, to Dr Dadoo too, and Dr Naicker, our leadership).

When 50 000 women, led by the ANC Women's League, marched into Pretoria on 9 August 1956 to demand an end to passes for women they sang: *Wathint abafazi wathint imbokodo, uzakufa* (You strike the women you strike a rock, you will die). The entire Union Buildings was so enveloped by singing and marching women that the apartheid Prime Minister felt compelled to leave his office.

As repression by the apartheid forces grew in intensity, and freedom fighters got arrested, detained, banned, banished, tortured and killed, the slogans of the day responded accordingly, for example: *Inzima lendlela enameva eyahlaba sizozabalaza* (The road is difficult, it has thorns which prick but we will continue with the struggle regardless); and *Phambili siyaya noma kunzima* (We are going forward with the freedom struggle even when it is tough and difficult). That led directly and uninterruptedly to a new period and new conditions.

Period of Bannings, Armed Struggle and Resurgence: 1961 – 1970s.

As a consequence of the heightened ferment of the struggle during the 1950s the apartheid regime could no longer rule in the same old way without changes. It subsequently banned the ANC and other liberation movements and actually proscribed the freedom

struggle. The period of the banning accompanied by massive repression, suppression, exile and armed struggle signified a new era of struggle even in the songs sung. That outstanding freedom fighter hanged by the regime, Vuyisile Mini, was responsible for many of the songs sung in this period. He himself was a powerful singer with a robust voice and marvellous creativity. He and his comrades Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba went to the gallows singing on 6 November 1964. And the prisoners at the Pretoria prison sang with them.

As the temperature of the struggle rose, so did the tempo, language, rhythm of the songs sung. Words moved from the strong church influence. We began to see songs like: *Ayaqikaza ayesaba amagwala, athi kungcono sibuyele emuva* (The cowards fear very much and say it is better to retreat); *Naants' ndod' emyama Verwoed* (Vewoerd beware of the black man): This song over time evolved with the struggle, its caption depended on who was the apartheid prime minister or president- Verwoerd, Voster or Botha: *uMandela uthi ayihlome hlasele* (Mandela says lets fight); and *uMkhulu umsebenzi ufuna amajoni* (The work is big and it needs soldiers).

Over time the songs began to have a repetitive refrain, very rhythmical and strong in words. Freedom fighters no longer just stood and clapped hands in song, but there was stomping of the ground rhythmically with feet. Some of the songs were in fact about guns, death and freedom. For instance, the uMkhonto we sizwe anthem stated: *Hamba kahle mkhonto we sizwe, thina abantu bo mkhonto sizimisele ukuwabulala wona amabhunu* (We of the spear of the nation are prepared to kill the boers). This mood was also reflected in other songs: *Irile ba boela gae ba nyologa Mozambique ba nyologela Zimbabwe, maburu a robetse, bazooka ya bolaya motho* (As they were going home going up Mozambique into Zimbabwe, the Boers are asleep, bazookas took lives); and *sizobadubula ngembayibayi* (We will shoot them with our bazookas). The songs told the story of the struggles of the day about the course for arms, the formation of umkhonto we sizwe,

the germination of the armed struggle and the commitment to continue the fight using new methods.

Even wedding songs were transformed into freedom songs like: *Shanyelani amabala zingane nangu umkhonto uzongena, uzo badubula uphethe Scorpion same* (Kids sweep the yards the spear is going to enter and will shoot them with Scorpion). This period is defined by new methods of struggle and resistance to white rule, and new songs in words and in tempo and rhythm. The church emphasis in songs of the earlier period dwindled and almost disappeared.

Period of Mass Democratic Revival: 1970s – 1990

The 1976 student uprisings and the 1979 ANC visit to the People's Republic of Vietnam laid foundations for the resurgence of the freedom struggle on many fronts. By 1979 MK began to hit the enemy hard, the struggle moved from a period of armed propaganda to people's war where the bomb told the story itself! The student resurgence that emerged in the 1974 Viva FRELIMO rallies bore fruit with the formation of COSAS in April 1979 and AZASO in December 1979. The workers that rose in the 1973 Durban strikes began to re-establish Black Trade Unions – SAAWU, NUM, CCAWUSA, MAWU and ultimately COSATU in 1985. The emergence of all manner of varied community organisations that sprung up (Women, Youth, Civic, Student, and Community) created the need for a central coordinating body for the escalation of the freedom struggle. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was then born in 1983.

The songs of the struggle again moved with the times and reflected the new era. Some of the songs sung in this period included: *Kudala sizebenzela amabhunu abasebenzi masihlanganeni* (It is long we worked for the Boers (bosses), workers, we must unite); *Hlanganani basebenzi ukhona umhlangano eCOSATU* (Workers unite in the federation of COSATU); *sasishilo emngungundlovu sathi Tambo uzobuya uBotha makayehle, uMandela uzobusa* (We said it in Pietermaritzburg that Tambo will return, Botha must step down Mandela shall rule); *Naants'*

imellow yellow, phantsi ihippo yemnyama (There are the police caspirs and hippo troop carriers, down with them!); *Thina nomdala so base ingwavuma* (We and Tambo are going to be based in the jungles of Northern KwaZulu Natal); *Mmawee se ntshware ke ya tsamaya ke ya boshole go lwela tshaba se sentsha* (Mother leave me to go and train to fight for a new nation); and *Sizo bashiya bafowethu na bazali bethu sangene kwamanye amazwe selwela inkululeko* (We will leave our parents and brothers to go to other countries to train to fight for freedom).

Freedom songs of greater urgency about liberation began to emerge with the heightened ferment of the liberation struggle in the mid-1980s. We then began to see songs evolve like: *Uyabaleka uBotha nezinja zakhe sizobashaya nge AKyomzabalazo* (Botha and his dogs are running away, we will hit them with AK47 of the struggle); *uMalan uyanqanqazela* (Malan is shaking and shivering in fear); *Ayesaba amagwala dubhuladubhula ngesbam, dubhula ibhunu* (The cowards are frightened we shoot with guns and shoot the boer). When we sang about Verwoerd, Vorster, Botha, Malan, Le Granje or Amabhunu we did not mean physically them as individuals, but the system of white minority rule they represented. That is why there was never a Black on White violence despite the diabolical repression and oppression of the indigenous people of the country.

Other songs of the period include: *Sphe maandla Tambo sibulale izinja* (Tambo give us power to kill the dogs); *Bathi iyoiyo thina sizo bashaya* (They are crying and wailing, we will hit them); *Thula Mama thina sifela amahala into engekho*; *Oliver Tambo uzo ngena kanjane emakhaya*; *shona amalanga sizodibana ne bazooka ehlathini*; *Dilo tsa Maburu di a patwa tsa rona di a pepetswa*; *sikhumbule ekhaya bayakhala abazali bethu*; *impimpi mayishiswe*; *makuliwe amabhunu awafuni sethethathethane makuliwe*; and *Namibia/Cuba/Soviet/Nicaragua ke naga ya khotso le lerato*.

As repression rose and states of emergency were declared then we sang: *Buya Tambo sithwele kanzima kulomhlaba* (come Tambo we are

suffering). Songs were also crafted about the Bantustan leaders: *Wena Matanzima usigebengu* (Matanzima you are a crook); *Majelathoko ke lena le loilwe ke mang, le loilwe ke maburu* (You sell-outs and gluttons, who bewitched you, it is the Boers.) As the struggle for worker and human rights grew, songs began to emerge like *thina silwela amalongelo wethu*. Then we sang about the future of South Africa *emazweni bakhala ngayo ifreedom charter*.

With the resurgent freedom struggle came all manner of resistance to the regime, all of which escalated the fight against the system of white-minority rule. The four pillars of the struggle articulated at the Morogoro Conference found practical expression in ensuring that the struggle was fought on all fronts. Thence there were also in this period consumer boycotts of all kinds. Hence the slogan *asithengi idolobheni*, (we don't buy in town,) came to the fore.

The introduction of the toyi-toyi war dance was also significant in this period. This new phenomenon was almost like a parade ground drill of soldiers marching on the ground, rhythmically stomping it. It added new intensity to the struggle. Toyi-toyi has a tendency of gaining a life of its own and keeping the spirit of resistance and no surrender up and alive. One example of a toyi-toyi dance was: *Ke dibatabata tsa marumo a setshaba, kill the boer the farmer, bark like dogs, 90 degrees*.

There was also a new and significant development of a clear possibility about the defeat and collapse of the apartheid regime sitting in Pretoria. The people in the course of the mass, armed and underground struggles gained new confidence about the possibility of victory. A powerful struggle song then emerged: *Siyaya ePitoli* (we are going to Pretoria). It was not about visiting Pretoria, maybe to tour it and take photos. It was about arriving in Pretoria as a citadel of white-minority rule to liquidate that system once and for all. But there were always cowards throughout struggle hence the song: *E reng baboi batshetshe batshetshele morago go ye rona ba pelo tse thata kwa pele* (let the cowards retreat but we of strong hearts go forward).

An interesting phenomenon of the struggle during this period and others is that because most of the songs were in isiZulu or isiXhosa, when they reached other communities because of the distance between the languages, they got very nice local flavours in the local vernaculars, like the song: *Bayakhala iNamibia bathini banje* (why the people of Namibia fighting); which amongst the Bapedi got localised to be *Bayakhala eNamibiya batomola motshatsha, ba tlogela leroto* – a totally different meaning all together. That is why revolutionary songs are a festival of the masses and must be conducted as such.

Conclusion

The history of the struggle for freedom is also a history of song and dance. The content of the songs tell the story of the era, the content and context of struggle. It is very interesting to look at the distance in words, rhythm and language between early songs like, *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika – Morena boloka setshaba se gesu* and later songs like *siso batubula ngembayibayi* or *thina sesmisele ku bulala ona amabuno*. Just by listening to the songs they tell you what is the era of the struggle, what were the conditions under which it was fought. Some of the songs may look strange, harsh and strong looking at them using today's spectacles, but they were relevant, revolutionary and contemporary in their hey-days. That is why it would be ahistorical, reactionary, unwise and illogical to try to interpret them in today's conditions.

A very negative tendency has emerged in the current period where very destructive, reactionary and on occasion derogatory songs are sung in elective conferences about the different lists lined-up for election. It is something that evolved with the advent of factionalism in the movement and must be defeated along with it. The ANC must always be relevant to the practical reality of the ordinary struggles of the people, beyond its one hundred years of existence. It must remain a people's movement and an agent for change. It must always lead from the front. Songs of the next Century would help immeasurably in that regard. The ANC must always live and lead beyond its hundred years! ■

Where did the South African revolution go?

By Danny Schechter

Durban, South Africa: I spent the morning staring, staring at the sea, the Indian Ocean actually, and at a flotilla of freighters parked, as if in a lot, many at the horizon, waiting for their turn to enter the port of Durban on the East Coast of Southern Africa. The ships seem to defy the chop of the turbulent waters, and appear anchored and steady.

I am at the beachfront, in a small oceanside clubhouse/restaurant that used to belong only to White surfers in the days when the beach was segregated, Apartheid-style, with unequal slices of sand designated for Whites, Indians and, sometimes, Blacks. There are no African names on the Surf Club's roster of the men - all men - who ran the show here for decades.

Overhead, the loud noise of the wind and the waves is interrupted by two military helicopters probably carrying South Africa's president Jacob Zuma whose pricey homestead at Nkandla is about a 100 kilometers up the beach in the rolling hills of what is now KwaZulu Natal. I learned later that he spent the day there at a ceremony asking his ancestors to support his bid for re-election.

Like many of the country's elite and leadership, he seems more comfortable flying above the fray and looking down. At the moment, he is distracted by charges that the government spent 250 million rand enhancing security at his private home. His defenders call this his 'compound,' which he did or did not build with personal funds for his four wives, a "national key point" that must be defended against any and all threats, domestic, foreign and probably extra-terrestrial.

Otherwise, politics at the beach does not intrude except in my own mind as I reflect on what brought me

here 45 years ago, at the height of the State of Emergency to do my bit, on a clandestine anti-apartheid mission. I saw the whole area then as enemy territory, a battleground in a holy war against racism.

Surrounding me now is the new, post apartheid South Africa, a work in progress twenty plus years on. Back in 1967, I was at the beach in Durban with signs telling people where they belonged. Today I am in the Northern suburb of Umhlanga that shot up around a huge mall for all with office parks and ritzy residential towers like the one I am staying in. It is modelled in design after a world famous hotel in Dubai; its four levels of parking look like a BMW/Mercedes dealership.

An economic apartheid replaced the racial one, Northern suburbs here and in Johannesburg became epicenters for concentrated wealth and industry. The center cities have been abandoned to their own devices as the big money and then new money flock to a new homeland-like enclave.

The part time black maid assigned to my rented apartment tells me that she can only get jobs cleaning, and that many young people are dropping out of school because there are so few opportunities for them.

In a few weeks, this area will become a hub of what South Africans call the "festive season," a time for vacations and downtime. There are rows of spiffy hotels just waiting for the onslaught of sun-hungry holiday-makers. Most are foreign-owned so the profits don't stay in South Africa but are remitted back to their owners overseas.

This new South Africa looks and feels familiar to Americans like myself. The fast food restaurants are everywhere. And so are the brands and movies that I am supposedly comfortable with. Ten

percent of the population prospers in privilege like affluent Californians. Unfortunately, more than 50 percent are still trapped in desperate poverty, often without food, or much hope.

The Revolution fought in their name has yet to reach them.

It's hard not to be disillusioned as I search for the fading fumes of the freedom struggle that has become, like the civil rights movement I was part of in the States, part of the past, a subject found more in museums and classrooms than in the active thoughts of millions of South Africans under the age of 25. Nelson Mandela's face is now on the currency but his ideals seem distant from many minds.

All I hear is grumbling and contempt for politicians, especially those in the ANC, whose honeymoon is long over. The media seems to have joined the opposition and is brimming with non-stop stories of betrayal, greed, and corruption. They are as hostile as the apartheid media was in the days when the movement was ritually denounced as terrorist and rarely quoted. Today, it is only quoted in stories that make it look bad.

This is not new, say veterans of the ANC including an old friend of mine who was part of the "struggle" in its long years in exile. (I am not naming her or others I quote because I interviewed them for a still unreleased film, not this essay.)

"Danny we always had that. We had people who were very rich in the movement. A lot of the whites who came into the movement in the 50s had money, were highly educated. As I mentioned before, there were a few cases, there weren't as many cases as there are now, but there were cases of corruption. There's nothing new about all of this. And there were always dissatisfied comrades. And there was always moaning and groaning. We're not moving fast enough, we're not moving in the right direction, we're selling out. Always..."

Back in 1994, on the very day of the country's first democratic election I sat with ANC leader Joe Slovo, who even then worried and prophetically warned about the dangers of corruption by comrades who feel "the struggle owes them a living."

I later chatted about this situation with one of South Africa's top writers, a world famous figure. She was beside herself, expressing a deep sense of personal loss:

"I find it very painful. Very disillusioning. I have to keep telling myself, it looks bad and worse every day and every week. Two weeks ago, a few weeks ago, it was the scandal at 8 months into the school year our children are without books. And now what happened last night, and the preceding days, this terrible massacre going on between the police and the workers at the Platinum Mines. So it's very difficult not to feel discouraged. But I just say, now look. If we got through and rid of apartheid, somehow or another we must be able to get through and get rid of this corruption."

She then put today's events in a historical context of conquest and colonialism, a context hardly on the minds of many whites:

"I think that without making any excuse for this, it is partly the legacy, not just of apartheid, but going back to 1652. The 17th century, when the first man from the Dutch East India Company as you know landed on what is now the Cape. 1652, way back then, 17th century. Since then, that was the beginning of the colonist period. The moment the foot of a white man went on the shore there. And the black population in SA, the indigenous people, have indeed been deprived of 90% of what life should mean for these centuries.

"And so then we had apartheid which was really the epitome of everything that has been done to black people for centuries. That is now, I can only think it's in the DNA, if you're black. So there is this push to say, well we had nothing, now we must have everything. At any cost! And that of course leads to terrible corruption. I'm not excusing it, because of course here among the saddest thing for me is that some of our great heroes from the struggle have fallen into this mode of accepting corruption as part of what they were fighting for. And it's the absolute opposite. It's a complete denial of everything the struggle meant."

Another writer, a black literary lion

who has appeared in some of my films, shares her view:

"It is precisely because of the high moral ground that the ANC is deeply associated with that that there is a sense that the ANC of all organizations should have known better. And should have better prepared for the hurdles that we're going through now. Should have anticipated that liberation movements - there's a history of liberation movements going into government and losing vision. And that I don't think that they spent enough time to say, there is a chance that we might lose vision. What do we do now to anticipate that and prevent it?"

"I have an understanding for black economic empowerment. I have an understanding for the fact that when people have had a long history of deprivation, and suddenly they are in power, the attractions of wealth, understandable in that context, when you have had nothing, and suddenly there is something. But always there is another angle to this. That often when people suddenly have a lot of money, there is a history of them not knowing what to do with it. And then, all of it vaporizing, and disappearing within a short space of time. That is the danger... I don't think that the ANC as a party of liberation can be free from the accountability of having not handled that issue very well."

Oddly, on the literary right, an Afrikaner writer who makes a living coming up with gripping stories that eloquently unmask what he sees as the pretensions and hypocrisy of a struggle he condemns as fraudulent on almost every level, concludes his recent collection of stories that seem driven by fury if not bile, by realizing that he has no more cheap shots to share.

He refers his own bromides as "the same old what-ifs chas(ing) the same old "if only's" around the same old obstacle course usually working their way toward conclusions so dismaying that I want to shoot myself."

In the end, Rian Malan is hopeful that "the issues that divide us now will seem absurd in retrospect. The good that white men did will be acknowledged; the evil forgotten. The wounds of history will be healed. Would that I could live to see it."

For me, I feel at times like I am at the end of my time here politically. I don't think it's my place to rage and rail against the government and the flawed system that it upholds. Or, that there is anyone really who wants to listen. I have plenty to criticize at home.

I still write and make films now about South Africa in the hope that my work is relevant in some way.

I started out with a passion to change my own country and found myself somehow immersed with/supporting/reporting on a movement so many miles away that was hospitably supportive of my desire to be helpful.

I served, as best as I could, over more than four decades. I am not sorry I did.

Great things were accomplished that many of us never expected. Some think it was a miracle; I see it as the product of so many working so hard, and on so many levels, for so long.

Surely, larger than life leaders like Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo, Slovo. Mbeki, and other key 'comrades' played the big role, but in the end, it was the people they inspired that brought down the old system with their blood, sweat and sacrifice.

Many of the people once viewed as the "masses" now want to move on, want to be optimistic but are trapped in structural poverty reinforced by a globally enforced system of neo-liberalism and remote control. The "Washington Consensus" has an unspoken consensus that they must stay where they are.

When they protest - and many do in a growing number of increasingly violent township and labour "incidents," they end up fighting against the very government they once struggled for.

Yes, parts of it came out badly, but look around the world, and name a country and a popular struggle that has achieved so much.

Years ago, after the old government unbanned the ANC, I was, in effect, still banned, forbidden to come back here in the early '90s. I considered it a badge of honour, and I persevered.

And like an old dog, greyer now and slower afoot, I still persevere to say we were right to fight what we fought for, and now, to fight to make it right. ■

The National Conference on Global Change



By Derek Hanekom

The National Conference on Global Change, held in Boksburg on 27 November, brought together an impressive list of about 250 delegates, including researchers, policy-makers, and members of the private sector and civil society, to exchange ideas and to deliberate on the latest developments in global change research and technology development. It was jointly hosted by the Department of Science and Technology (DST), the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) and the National Research Foundation (NRF).

This was a particularly significant event, given the urgency of addressing what is undeniably one of the greatest, and certainly one of the most immediate, crises to threaten the continued existence of humankind, with poor communities in Africa particularly vulnerable to its effects. Climate change is an ominously and relentlessly ticking time-bomb that needs to be defused. This is the responsibility of every person on earth.

The event focused on the latest research findings and innovation initiatives emerging through programmes funded or supported under

DST's Global Change Grand Challenge Plan. It provided an ideal opportunity for the forging of new partnerships and networks. It also supported the process of building the next generation of young scientists by providing them with a forum to present their research to, and a chance to interact with more experienced scientists.

The conference addressed three main issues:

- The central role of science and technology in addressing climate change, as part of a broader response to dealing with environmental challenges.
- The contribution the Department of Science and Technology is making to strengthen science and technology capacity in this area.
- The importance of building stronger links between the research and policy communities to ensure the effective and speedy conversion of research findings into policy and action.

As the temperature inches upwards around the world, there is a high degree of consensus that we are already experiencing various forms of

consequential global environmental change. Weather patterns are changing, with some parts of the world facing devastating and prolonged droughts and floods, while low-lying parts, particularly the small island states, may be submerged as sea levels inexorably rise due to the rapidly melting polar ice. Destroyed habitats will result in accelerated species extinction, and there will be a calamitous loss of biodiversity and total disorder for delicate ecosystems. The need to act is a no-brainer, and in order to act effectively we need to constantly deepen our scientific understanding of the drivers of global change and its impacts in the various regions of the world.

It is also clear that the looming catastrophe of climate and environmental change gives rise to a range of economic and societal challenges. We need to focus our minds on a range of issues, like creating environmentally friendly development models; building resilient societies and economies; moving to a low-carbon economy; introducing better ways of managing and organising our living spaces; improving communication and transport networks; and preparing rapid responses to disasters.

Globally, it is of the utmost importance to intensify efforts to find new and cleaner ways of generating and using energy. Through its Global Change Plan, the DST provides direct support to the Department of Environmental Affairs' mandate of ensuring the sustainable management of resources and the protection of the environment.

Initiatives aimed at improving our understanding of global change include the South African Risk and Vulnerability Atlas initiative, which was launched in 2009 to aid decision-making processes at various levels. The Atlas was conceptualised as a multi-phase initiative, with Phase 1 focusing on developing an operational spatial database system and Phase 2, running until 2014, putting the system into practice.

Another DST programme involves building resilience to the impacts of global change by stimulating large-scale technology development and innovation in key sectors of the

economy. A Resilience Innovation Programme is being scoped, with waste and water as priority sectors for the next two to three years. The DST has finalised a contract with the CSIR to conduct a feasibility study to inform a national Waste Innovation Programme.

The National Sustainable Development Strategy, which was approved by Cabinet in November last year, recognises that South Africa needs to ensure that a green economy is supported by initiatives to move towards a resource-efficient, low-carbon and pro-employment growth path. In response to this, our programmes in renewable energy technologies and fuel cells help us to identify, grow and sustain a portfolio of high-potential science, technology and innovation capabilities that will support sustainable development and the greening of society and the economy.

The green economy has been identified as a priority in Government's New Growth Path, and is an important component of the National Development Plan. Government's 20-year Integrated Resource Plan sets the target for renewable energy to make up 42% of all new power generation by the year 2030. This illustrates government's determination to honour its responsibility of converting our longer term vision into a living reality. Our pledge to reduce greenhouse gas emissions will demand a decisive shift away from our current carbon-intensive, resource-based economy to a more resilient low-carbon, knowledge-based economy – an economy backed up by sound environmental practice and clean, renewable sources of energy.

The DST has forged strong collaborative and strategic partnerships with the Department of Environmental Affairs and other government departments. These include:

- A bilateral agreement with the DEA, which will allow the Department to influence some of the policy and strategic direction which the DEA takes in key areas under its mandate.
- A joint focus on the Green Economy, with the Department of Economic Development leading the process of developing national strategies and plans for a green economy for South Africa. The DST's contribution is to

ensure the mainstreaming of science and technology and innovation in the green economy plans; and

- An initiative with the Department of Trade & Industry – This partnership is key to ensuring increased private-sector involvement and investment in research activities, technology development and industrial development.

A number of governance structures and management tools have been established for effective and efficient implementation of the plans outlined in the Global Change Grand Challenge. An implementation architecture has been developed, outlining roles and responsibilities of the various role-players and how they interface with one another. Many of the elements of this architecture are now in place, for example:

- the establishment of a dedicated unit at the National Research Foundation, which is now fully operational and staffed; its creation allows DST team to concentrate on policy and strategic issues, including the mobilisation of more resources;
- the establishment of a Performance and Investment Council that advises the DST on strategic issues relating to global change; this Council has been in place for the past three years; and
- a Global Change Grand Challenge Fund, which has been created at the NRF to support all global change-related activities.

There have recently been several notable achievements in our quest to improve the scientific understanding of global change. This year, a 10-Year Global Change Research Plan was finalised.

The Global Change Research Plan has facilitated collaboration between our global change research networks – in particular through the Applied Centre for Climate and Earth System Science (ACCESS). A cooperative agreement between the DST and the Japanese Agency for Marine Earth Science and Technology made it possible for ACCESS to be involved in collaborative research in seasonal climate forecasting and prediction. Under this agreement, the South African research community received research equipment, including "super computers". A number of

researchers and students will benefit from an exchange programme between the two countries.

Three additional South African Research Chairs in global change were approved in 2011/12 and are ready for implementation. These include Energy and Climate Change Policy, Resilience Innovation and Social Learning Systems.

A number of environmental observation and monitoring platforms are fully operational – the South African Earth Observation Network (SAEON) now has a full complement of six operational nodes, while the South African National Space Agency is now fully functional.

Progress has also been made in the context of putting science into policy and practice. For example:

- Phase 1 of the Risk & Vulnerability Atlas has enjoyed a noticeable increase in usage, and new strategic partnerships have been forged to serve the interests of different users. The spatial database system of the Atlas is now fully operational. The partnership forged with the National Business Initiative shows strong interest from business in the capabilities of the Atlas electronic database system.
- Three pilot Risk and Vulnerability Science Centres have been established at the universities of Limpopo, Walter Sisulu and Fort Hare. The centres will have the capacity to provide risk identification and analysis services to local users, including local municipalities and farmers. These centres will be formally launched in March 2013.

As the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon explained, "Climate change affects us all, but it does not affect us all equally. The poorest and most vulnerable – those who have done the least to contribute to global warming – are bearing the brunt of the impact today".

It is surely time for us to stop hoping for the best and to start planning for the worst. ■



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The need for a convention for national dialogue to forge national unity and a common united vision



In this year of the century and one of the ANC, we must think deeper, act bolder, to celebrate our capacity to conduct dialogue to resolve the most pressing challenges facing our country.

By Ike Moroe

The objective of the African National Congress led government, as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic, is to build a non-racial, united, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa. However, the ANC is presiding over an increasingly fractured society. For the ANC to stem this tide and lead

the society, it must be bold and convene a national dialogue, to give the country a common, united vision. Dabbling in fragmented and half-hearted measures is counter-productive.

Service delivery protests and wild-cat strikes signify a measure of the challenge to the legitimacy of the ANC led government. To maintain

its legitimacy as the leader of South African society, the ANC government must consult widely and act decisively to resolve the problems of the people.

Our entry into a non-racial democracy is only 18 years old. But the deliberate institutional denial of development for the black majority of our population is more

than three centuries old, whilst the over development, albeit in a racist trajectory, of the minority white population, is equally three centuries old.

This system, originating from colonial subjugation of the Africans, the years of the wars of colonial conquest, the period of the struggle for liberation, up to the eve of the formal abolition of apartheid, deepened poverty along racial lines.

Therefore the majority of those who carry the burden of our economic and social hardships are black people, whose lives ought to improve substantially through material changes resulting from our democratic breakthrough. The white people, with their history of institutional entitlement, are currently engrossed with third generation rights, and the protection of the privileges and benefits that accrued to them in the past.

This divided past stands at the center of our challenges. It is a past which is stubbornly holding back our future. It is a past which thrives on maintaining mistrust within the South African society. Since the 1994 democratic victory, race, class, gender and ethnic divisions still persist.

Therefore our main challenge is averting the tragedy of poverty, unemployment and increasing inequality, all of which tend to feed and accelerate the lurking demons of racial, tribal and class conflagration. Our strategic focus should be to successfully unite the people of South Africa, under one identity, with one common united vision of prosperity for all.

Currently there seem to be a lot of challenges dividing us rather than a common resolve uniting us. There seems to be a cacophony of varied voices and ideas, coming from different angles, and clearly clashing on how best we could meet our challenges.

The role of the ANC in this uncoordinated, non-facilitated, directionless noise must be to listen, guide and lead the initiative to harness the energies of society, and provide a platform for meaningful national dialogue to seek and find adequate common resolve to the problems besetting our country.

Research shows that income

inequalities have grown increasingly over the 18 years of democratic governance. According to that research, South Africa stands second today in the list of countries with the highest income inequalities in the whole world.

These reports also illustrate how on the employment front, the number of whites holding middle to executive positions have steadily increased in the private sector. But unemployment amongst Africans is unacceptably high.

Yet the research conducted to ascertain the levels of satisfaction in our ANC led government give a different picture. They produce the inverse of the reports on unemployment and growing inequality.

Africans express high levels of satisfaction with the ANC led government followed by coloureds and Indians. The white population, which ostensibly is better off, express very low

“While there are attempts to finalise the bill dealing with traditional authorities in parliament, the rural masses and activists doubt its constitutionality. The sexist posture of that bill, an expression of patriarchy, reduces women and children to second class citizens, who exist at the behest of men.”

levels of satisfaction with the ANC led government.

However, resistance to government policies does not only come from the white population, but also increasingly from organised labour. Africans constitute the overwhelming majority of that sector.

This is because the pay packets of the employed workers are shrinking in relation to price increases on

food, housing, transport, and clothing. Compounding this reality, retrenchments weigh heavily on the pay packets of the employed who have to support growing numbers of destitute extended family and community members, often leading to unbearable debt.

The harrowing reality of youth unemployment, hovering at around 70%, poses a grave danger to the stability of our country. The programmes designed to alleviate this situation are stalled due to mismanagement and failure to implement.

The tension developing in the rural areas, regarding the authority of the traditional leaders and their capacity to dispense justice is seething. People see the increasing desire for the traditional leaders to preside in their courts as a return to the past.

On the other hand, traditional leaders argue that their authority is a given, according to the history of their peoples. They argue that they are motivated by the need to restore what apartheid destroyed.

While there are attempts to finalise the bill dealing with traditional authorities in parliament, the rural masses and activists doubt its constitutionality. The sexist posture of that bill, an expression of patriarchy, reduces women and children to second class citizens, who exist at the behest of men.

The regularity of community protests against perceived and real service delivery failures is increasing. While we sometimes argue that these are internally sponsored destabilisation ploys by members of the ANC in the process of leadership positions contestation, it is dumbfounding how protestors are easily mobilised, and this happens even in those areas where the ANC is not in power.

Our interpretation of the law seems polarised according to the position one occupies, the class one belongs to, and the racial grouping of which one is part.

The judiciary itself stands to be questioned on its understanding of our constitution. This is in view of observations and remarks that there are progressive and reactionary judges and magistrates. Just the existence of this notion indicates not a healthy

difference of opinion within that august community, but a tension that is a potential threat to the integrity of our judiciary.

Recently culture and the arts were brought under a painful spotlight, when it became clear that the very principles of the respect and protection of human dignity, and the right to artistic expression were not only entities with a healthy measure of tension between them, but were actually threatening to tear apart the umbilical cord holding the people of this country together.

Racial outbursts, and equally racial counters to those, can only mean that the levels of racial intolerance are increasing, and occupying opposite trenches. This is a splendid recipe for the collapse of our dream of a non-racial, united, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa!

We persist in our raging debates, frothing with the fury of people in a stadium, watching a game of soccer, urging their team on, but speaking incoherently, shouting above their heads, screaming advice that is unlikely to be heard or taken seriously.

In this rage, the Constitution of the Republic is not left unscathed. Some call for its amendment, others insist that it is under threat, and yet others insist that it constrains the political will to finally banish the legacy of apartheid.

The Constitution of the Republic, opening with the spirit of the noble ideal of the Freedom Charter as an embodiment of the principles of the ANC, declares:

"We the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of the past; Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; and Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity."

The Constitution of the Republic further illustrates in the same preamble, objectives which must be attained through the obligatory participation of all citizens to normalise our society, after centuries of social strife and uneven development.

In a crystal clear illustration it exhorts:

"Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; Lay the foundation

for a democratic and open society 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."

Further, the ANC led government has put in place various acts of parliament to give impetus to the transformation agenda which the Constitution of the Republic, as the basic law of the country, exhorts every citizen to be part of.

Policies enacted in parliament and through government regulations include Affirmative Action, the

“Racial outbursts, and equally racial counters to those, can only mean that the levels of racial intolerance are increasing, and occupying opposite trenches. This is a splendid recipe for the collapse of our dream of a non-racial, united, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa!”

development of executive black management, Black Empowerment and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment on the economic transformation front. Various Charters were put in place to facilitate an increase in black ownership in different sectors of the economy.

But, in most cases, white capital and expertise has mutated these plans through complex financial arrangements which led to the systematic collapse of the transformative deals with little accruing to the beneficiaries.

While in some instances, simple

tricks are used to create fronting shells, exploiting the ignorance of the workers who were in many instances signed in and out of lucrative deals without their knowledge.

A sense is evolving that local capital and foreign investors either undermine government initiatives to grow and transform the economy, or simply doubt the legitimacy and long-term capacity of the ANC led government to manage the country and economic transformation.

The failure of Black people to gain legitimate entry into the economic entrails of the country has given rise to insider trading and sometimes plain theft from the public purse. As a result corruption is rife and the monopoly of the powerful, rich and connected continues.

The often reported corruptive collusion between the state and business is gradually eroding legitimate business confidence in our country. It is gradually projecting the South African government as a kleptocracy.

While the government is taking heat on accusations of this nature, private capital, which largely owns the media, and is a major partner in most reported cases of corruption, or alleged corruption, generally appears unscathed. It is as though its role was clean and bears no mark of the corruption of government officials.

However when reports of corrupt practices involving black business is alleged or reported there is a huge outcry. This bears testimony to the fact that even business is not united. It also suffers the yawning gap of divisions between white established business and black emerging enterprises.

Serious crimes like price fixing, involving white monopolies, are reported as though they are low level violations, though they involve huge amounts of money and hit the pockets mainly of the poor, as is the case with the bread price fixing by big bakers owned by big white capital.

Education in traditionally black areas is seriously ailing, suffering from infrastructural and work ethic fatigue. Less hours are spent in terms of teaching and learning. This is while the operation of schools serving the urban middle strata remains seamless,

producing better results year in and year out.

The public health sector is bursting at the seams, with negative impact on African people in particular. On the other hand, the health private sector which services proportionally more white people than blacks, offers its clients, who constitute a minority of the population, better services.

Our challenges are gigantic. Our efforts to unite the people of South Africa behind the programmes of government, to reduce the levels of inequalities, grow the economy and create employment, look insurmountable, for as long as we are trapped in our warped monologues.

Every day that passes we see the legitimacy of the ANC being eroded. We must look deeper into our society, of which the ANC is increasingly becoming a mirror.

Our factional warring battles for leadership positions, seemingly uninformed by any legitimate ideological framework to deepen our liberation and benefit the masses, undermine the legitimacy of the ANC as the leading and uniting force of the people of South Africa.

The ANC must start to address these issues that divide rather than unite our society. We must not be complacent, and think that our legitimacy cannot be challenged.

The fact that we have won every general election since the advent of democracy must not lull us into a comfort zone. The idea is to be vigilant, prepared and ready to act to secure our position as leaders of society to enable us to advance our revolutionary agenda.

We must always remember, in a democracy, a year in politics may be too long. Our current focus must be to have a deeper understanding of the pressing needs of the people, and to continually unite society behind the noble ideals of the liberation movement.

The temptation to rattle sabres, paying scant attention to the rumblings beneath what a naked eye refuses to see, but the ear can clearly hear, has the potential to explode in the most inopportune of times. We must know what the people want, and we must

give undivided attention to the needs of the people.

But our approach should not be about confrontation to assuage our frustrations. We must endeavor to draw as many people as possible, as many schools of thought as possible, as many democrats and patriots as possible, into the stream of national dialogue, to give the politics of our country a new meaning of patriotism, and a readiness for all to sacrifice, for all to enjoy equality, prosperity, and a better life.

The time has come to acknowledge that the task to resolve the triple scourge of poverty, unemployment and inequality, which affects the youth more than anyone else, is not only the

“The notion of the second phase of transition must assume new meaning. It must be a clarion call with a conviction that we cannot do things in the same old way. It must make us realise that we need to raise our heads and look beyond the confines of our comfort zone.”

role of the ANC and the Alliance, but it is the responsibility of the whole of society.

This vision must flow from all South Africans, and oblige all of us to seek a common understanding of the developmental nature of the constitution of the Republic, to heal our past, and realise together a South Africa which is united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous for all its citizens.

The notion of the second phase of transition must assume new meaning. It must be a clarion call with a conviction that we cannot do things in the same old way. It must make us realise that

we need to raise our heads and look beyond the confines of our comfort zone. In this year of the century and one of the ANC, we must think deeper, act bolder, to celebrate our capacity to conduct dialogue to resolve the most pressing challenges facing our country.

We must resolve to marshal the democratic forces of our country in the spirit of the watershed years of 1912, 1955 and 1961, to rise to our challenges, and emulate those who came before us, and bequeathed to us, this movement which in due course we will have to pass on to future generations in a healthier and stronger state than we found it.

The renewal of the ANC post Mangaung must be congruent with the evolution of the society it is leading. Failure to match the two would cause a disjuncture that would isolate the ANC from reality, and indeed the masses which it must lead. The ANC can only successfully lead the country when it understands and appreciates the needs, concerns and readiness to sacrifice of component parts of that society.

A bold call for a national dialogue of patriotic democratic forces, to discuss, examine, diagnose and craft the basis of a truly common and patriotic vision, to put our country on an equal footing among nations, would be a courageous step to consolidate the position of the ANC as the leader of the society.

Our leadership of the national dialogue to forge national unity is critical to ensure that our society must not rupture, and that the resolution of the challenges facing our country are South African, firmly based on the revolutionary principles that put the plight of the people, especially the working class and the poor, first.

Our failure to appreciate the need for national dialogue, and our critical task to lead the process, will certainly lead to the initiative being snatched from our hands. If that happens our credibility to claim the leadership of the society, and ability to drive the project of democratic transformation for a better life for all will lie in tatters.

The time for action is now. The issue must not be why, but the urgent and burning question must be how and where. ■

Choosing the best leaders to capacitate and legitimise the ANC



When they fail to sway branch members with their bullying and delinquency, political felons resort to tactics aimed at frustrating the democratic wishes of the majority in the structures. Conniving with certain leaders, they overturn democratic decisions which do not coincide with their interests.

By Thando Ntlemeza

Looking back over the past 100 years, we cannot imagine a more opportune time for the field of leadership... Never before has so much attention been paid to leadership, ... the fundamental question we must ask is, what do we know and what should we know about leaders and leadership?

Scholars and commentators on leadership have made invaluable contributions to the subject. In particular, they developed leadership models for the organisations and institutions of governance. Many models are designed to accommodate

structures of the organisations,¹ and organisations adopt models befitting their structures - taking into account their visions and objectives.

However, challenges of the situations in which organisations operate dictate that to achieve an optimal performance when they discharge their responsibilities organisations cannot be designed with simple, rationalised structures that underestimate the complexity of the context in which organisations must function and adapt.² Hence, leadership models for revolutionary movements must also accommodate the role of

their members in choosing leaders as well as in exercising leadership.³

The relationship between leaders and members of a revolutionary movement is dialectical in nature. Leaders of a revolutionary movement have a responsibility to lead the movement, its members and society. To discharge the responsibility of electing leaders, members must know the capacities, attributes and abilities required for leaders to provide appropriate leadership.

Defending the ANC, assessing leaders

Leaders and aspiring leaders must be assessed with a view to testing or ensuring that people who are elevated into positions of leadership are credible women and men behind whom ANC members and non-members can unite without any reservations. Criticism of our leaders must be understood within this context. The ANC Constitution allows members to criticise leaders, officials and policies of the organisation. When leaders are evaluated, criticism of their qualities must not be mischievously projected as an onslaught on the organisation they lead.

Of course, the ANC Constitution requires ANC members to defend the policy, aims and programme of the organisation. The ANC must be defended against actions or inactions of some of its members and leaders which bring the organisation into disrepute. ANC members and leaders must observe discipline and behave honestly. As Joel Netshitenzhe correctly argues, the capacity and legitimacy of our democratic movement largely depend on the quality and conduct of the leaders, especially those who represent the face of the organisation.⁴

At all times, let us ensure that ANC structures are filled with leaders who are role models to ANC members and non-members alike.

Change and Continuity

In most organisations, incumbent leaders become targets of those advocating for leadership change, especially when they fail to take organisations forward – whether out of exhaustion, incapability to lead or lack of ideas. However, this does not mean

that leaders must be perfect. Like other human beings, leaders are fallible and may make mistakes in the process of executing their duties. While mistakes may be corrected, persistent mistakes which embarrass the movement may be sufficient grounds for leadership change. When leaders become more of a burden to their organisations, there would (ordinarily) be no reason to retain them. Hence, organisations would replace those leaders with a view to redeeming themselves. While the form and content of that change may depend on the challenges of the moment, emphasis should be on capacitating and legitimising the organisation. As ANC members, we must never create an impression of being arrogant and selfish, especially when the ANC must create hope in the minds of those who may have lost confidence in the organisation.

However, calls for leadership change do not always emanate from the failures on the part of the incumbent leaders, but may also be activated by ambitions of the people who feel that it is their turn to lead.

Under normal circumstances leaders of any revolutionary movement who fail in positions of authority and responsibility should voluntarily vacate offices they occupy in the interest of their organisations and society. Despite this, most of those leaders *...who fail in positions of authority can use all kinds of excuses to cling to power, when the time for change has come.*⁵

Incumbents who want to retain political power are often accused of being preoccupied with their ambition to retain power. In other words, their actions or inactions are perceived to be based on cost-benefit calculations linked to their wish to retain political power; hence their offices of authority in the organisation and government are also believed to be used in the process. Being a leader of a revolutionary movement means that you do not use official offices to further your personal ambitions, and compromise these offices in the process. However, some leaders are accused of deviating from this principle. In particular, they are accused of acting in a very problematic manner which weakens the capacity of the ANC to address its internal

challenges and the socio-economic challenges facing the country.

Incumbent leaders are also accused of defending those who support them even if they bring the organisation into disrepute, while they are very harsh to those who are destined to thwart their ambition to retain political power. Once these perceptions permeate the movement and spread in society, incumbents may be exposed to resistance of an unprecedented proportion during their term of leadership.

In dealing with challenges facing the ANC the country and its people, let us recall the words of Thabo Mbeki, who said the ANC:

*... was established ... to serve the interests of the suffering masses of our people ...[and] was not formed to be, and has never been an instrument to advance the personal interests of its members, regardless of the positions within the organisation that any of its members might occupy.*⁶

Are political felons are running the show, where are the angels?

Revolutionary movements are not homes for angels? Anyway, angels do not exist in the material world where human beings exist and operate; hence we do not expect to find angels in organisations or associations of human beings such as the ANC. Yet, organisations filled with political felons cannot enjoy trust and confidence of the people. For this reason, the ANC Constitution requires ANC members to observe discipline and behave honestly to ensure that the ANC remains a credible force in society.

Political commentators were quick to cast aspersions on the ability of delegates to choose the best leaders at the 53rd National Conference of the ANC. With due respect, this belief is based on an incorrect assumption that ANC members do not know what is in the best interest of the ANC and the country. Nonetheless, much is expected from delegates to the conference. Luvuyo Nongabe states that:

... the success of the conference depends on the quality of the delegates we mandate...[who] are

*expected to present debates ...[to] determine collectively who best could lead the organisation.*⁷

Unfortunately, some ANC members turn themselves into political felons unconcerned about the interests of the ANC and the country. More important to them are subjective interests. Using right-wing tactics, they create fears in the minds of those people who do not support their views. They cannot find any meaningful arguments to authenticate their preferences on leadership.

Most disturbing about political felons is their disregard of the rules. By hook or by crook, they ensure that certain individuals emerge from the processes even if at the expense of the organisation and the country. When they fail to sway branch members with their bullying and delinquency, political felons resort to tactics aimed at frustrating the democratic wishes of the majority in the structures. Conniving with certain leaders, they overturn democratic decisions which do not coincide with their interests. While the strategy of political felons takes various forms, more common is the lodging of frivolous appeals against processes on the understanding that their appeals will be upheld, albeit on unexplainable, if not laughable, grounds. However, this does not mean that all the appeals lodged against branch processes are frivolous as certain processes are flawed, and as such are appealable. When appeals do not work, political felons create parallel structures.

In conferences, political felons promote individuals who are not above reproach in their political and social conduct because they care less, if at all, about implications of their actions on our democratic movement and the country. Hell bent on defending individuals instead of the ANC, they ensure elevation of individuals they themselves know are not credible, as they stand to benefit if such people are at the helm.

However, members who derive their mandate from the ANC Constitution board buses, trains and other modes of transport en route to the conferences fully aware of the problematic strategies used to promote individuals at the expense

of the organisation. Nevertheless, genuine members know that the test for everybody, including incumbent leaders, is always whether one passes *through the eye of the needle*. Properly understood, the needle is inelastic. However, political felons always attempt to bypass the needle and bend the rules to accommodate people who they themselves know to be inappropriate to be leaders because they embarrass the movement.

Choosing appropriate leadership!

In fact, ANC members must always arm themselves with the *Through the Eye of the Needle* document, which contains guidelines for choosing the best cadres to lead implementation of the vision and programme of the ANC. The document helps the movement to manage individual ambition, lobbying, promotion of friends and cronies, pursuit of selfish interests or use of the organisation by certain members for self-enrichment. It always reminds us to choose leaders who are above reproach in political and social conduct and role models to ANC members and non-members alike.

When we stick to the *Through the Eye of the Needle* document, it can never be difficult for us to choose appropriate leadership. Once we internalise its contents, we will know and understand that appropriate leadership is not a matter of the persons we love because we socialise together or come from the same region or province as relationship between members and leaders of the ANC cannot be reduced into a love affair. Only determination to resolve the contradictions in society must guide the process of choosing leaders.⁸ In other words, members must ensure that leaders are chosen in a manner geared towards further capacitating their movement to resolve societal contradictions.

The *Through the Eye of the Needle* document states that the people we elevate into positions of leadership "...should lead the movement in its mission to organise and inspire the masses to be their own liberators..."⁹

ANC leaders must not only inspire ANC members, but the majority of South Africans. It is the ability to inspire all the citizens behind the vision of

building a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous society which must be at the back of the minds of the members when they choose a leadership. Not only must they choose inspiring leaders, but women and men with vision, ability and energy to carry out ANC's task of fundamentally transforming society with a view to ensuring that all the people actively participate in the political, social and economic life of the country.

An organisation pursuing unity cannot afford to have leaders who recruit, mobilise or organise people using divisive tools such as race, tribalism and regionalism. Neither must it celebrate mobilisation of people behind individuals instead of the ANC as the support of such people for the organisation may not be sustainable. However, this does not mean that there are no iconic South Africans who embody virtuous values behind whom all members and citizens can be mobilised.

Mangaung and Beyond

Good or bad leadership choices the ANC makes have fundamental implications for the movement and the country.¹⁰ Emphasising this very point, Joel Netshitenzhe states:

*Its choices [on leadership] are critical in determining whether South Africa continues in its efforts of revolutionary transformation, or whether by dint of weak leadership, the ANC becomes counter-revolutionary.*¹¹

Hence, we must elevate into positions of leadership persons with integrity, who can win the confidence of the majority of South African citizens as Saleem Badat says:

...at the heart of leadership is integrity and honesty.

*Without integrity there can be no principled conduct, no prospect of winning trust and inspiring and uniting people around a vision...*¹²

To win people's trust and confidence, leaders must have personal and political integrity because actions of leaders who lack integrity will be viewed with suspicion. Some people may have reservations about honouring directives issued by the leaders who

lack integrity; this is something which may not only compromise the leaders concerned, but may threaten the principle of leadership.

As and when ANC convenes conferences, we expect the ANC to choose "...individuals with the understanding and the ability to unify and guide the movement in the face of new problems".¹³

Only a united ANC will earn the respect and confidence of its members and the majority of South Africans. Because we are supposed to know the kind of leaders required for the ANC, we must ensure that leaders who emerge do not resemble those leaders described by Frantz Fanon as "...incapable of urging on the people to a concrete task, unable really to open the future to them or of flinging them into the path of national reconstruction...".¹⁴

With a view to making history that will not haunt us for the rest of our lives, we have to work hard to ensure that appropriate leaders are chosen for our movement and the country. Since it faces an uncertain future with negative spillovers from the global and eurozone financial crisis, our country needs leaders who will be able to deal with the challenges presented by the emerging economic situation.¹⁵ Only this kind of leadership will win the trust and confidence of the people and appeal to all sectors in South Africa. ■

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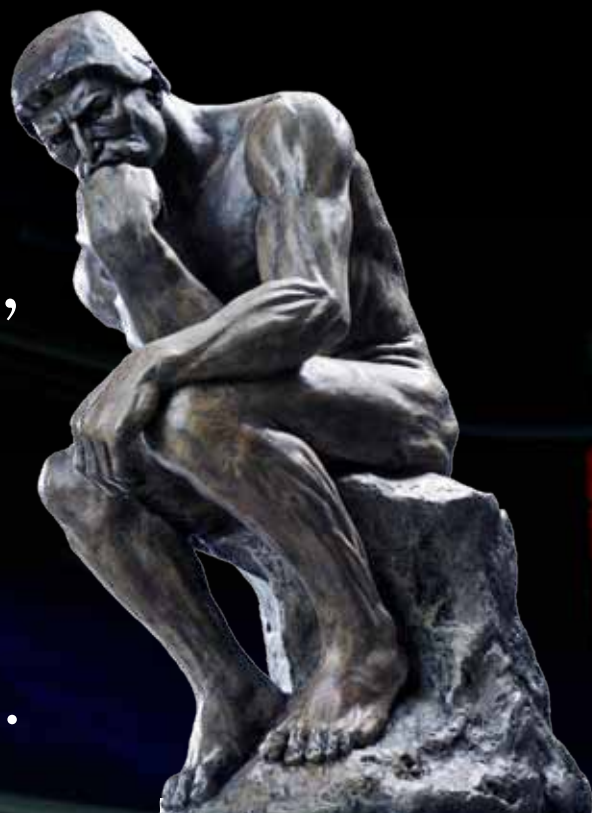
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VUSIZWEMEDIA

"Towards a Vaal Metropolitan River City"

Service delivery implementation in the Sedibeng District Municipality is informed by the following seven (7) Key Service Delivery Areas which are informed by our long term strategic development plan, Growth & Development Strategy. Below is the summary of key service delivery achievements for the years 2011 / 2012.

Reinventing the Economy

- The installation of the 33 Kilometres of fibre optic has so far created employment for 52 permanent local workers. More significantly it has laid the basis for a future Sedibeng economy that will be supported by broadband connectivity for E-Governance, for stimulating the Green Economy for recreation and entertainment and for fast efficient business
- A SOLAR WATER HEATER (SWH) Project delivered 1,500 units in which 83 temporary jobs WERE created. The program is on-going
- Community Works Programme (CWP) project has approved 3 000 job opportunities for poor communities in SDM
- In the year under review, TENDERS to the value of R 12 681 356,71 have been awarded. Historical Disadvantaged Individuals (HDI) were awarded tenders totalling R9 987 766,50 (78%), Women R 5 130 649,61 (40%), Youth R 1 856 962,05 (14%), Local Bidders benefited R 3 871 314,42 (30%).
- SDM has facilitated with the National Agricultural Youth Service Cooperative (NAYSEC) to train 300 youth in various skills in 2011 and 140 in 2012.
- National Agricultural Marketing Council trained 50 CO-OPERATIVES in various skills in an effort to provide non-financial support to co-operatives.
- SDM facilitated investment by BHP Billiton to provide funding to train 60 SMME's in entrepreneurship as a means of assisting small enterprises with non-financial support.
- 8 cooperatives established and supported by the NYDA for Fish & Chips franchises were facilitated by SDM
- BIO-DIGESTER project in Sharpeville where cow dung is converted to methane gas.
- 57 ward based coordinators appointed by Sedibeng (44) and Emfuleni (13) for HIV and Safe Sex Programme.
- SDM is facilitating the establishment of a FABRICATION LABORATORY in partnership with Department of Economic Development to be housed in SediChem
- Facilitated the creation of COMMUNITY PARKS in partnership with Indalo Yethu – Zone 11 Sebokeng, Evaton West. Project created 283 jobs
- Funding for the Sedibeng Regional Sewer Scheme project has been finalised and the project started in earnest through the extension of Sebokeng Wastewater Treatment Plant
- Established a fully functional TENDER ADVICE CENTRE to allow for access to information on tendering for government services

Renewing our Communities

- The State of the District Address (SODA) is well represented by a cross section of the Sedibeng community
- The ANNUAL MAYORAL AWARDS has given recognition to all worthy and deserving members of the Sedibeng community and fostered a strong feeling of patriotism.
- Facilitating the development at the old VEREENIGING HOSPITAL site together with the Province for a flagship mixed-income, racially integrated city centred housing development.

Reviving a sustainable Environment

- Air quality monitoring has been initiated; the Air Quality Monitoring unit is in the process of being resourced in terms of human capital, equipment and funding
- Implementation and delivery of 1500 SWH units to communities of Kanana and Rust-ter-Vaal have been covered in the media

Reintegrating the Region

- Construction of SIDE-WALKS IN EVATON has minimised pedestrian accidents and enhanced aesthetic value of the area
- Erection of ROAD SIGNAGE on major roads in Emfuleni that made the public and tourists movement within the area easy, safe and efficient
- Construction of the R82 road to Johannesburg

Releasing Human Potential

- In order to improve ACCESS TO COMMUNITY HALLS and theatres SDM has ensured these are made available to communities at affordable tariffs. These venues remain the most affordable, large, well equipped venues for hire by the public
- Facilitate the up grading of multi-purpose sports and recreational facilities currently at the Lesedi Local Municipality at Devon Tennis courts upgrading, construction of sports fields in Vischkuil and Jameson Park and the upgrade of Impumelelo stadium with the intentions of rolling out similar projects in Emfuleni and Midvaal in the future.
- Mayoral Awards were held where awards were presented to various achievers from communities, ranging from sports to academic achievements
- Youth Centres have been optimally utilised
- The investment in Fibre Optic cabling is being used to reduce crime significantly. Currently several CCTV SURVEILLANCE CAMERAS are being installed to cover as many communities as possible. The Monitoring Centre is run in partnership with SAPS. 10 Cameras in Ratanda, 16 in Vereeniging, 24 Vanderbijlpark, 5 Bedworthpark. CCTV surveillance centre along Boy Louw road and Beaconsfield Ave up to Leslie Street. CCTV surveillance centre system upgrade. In total the CCTV street cameras stand at 93. In licensing departments cameras total 111.
- The combination of the celebration of the Centenary of the ANC as well as recognising the 110th Commemoration of the ANGLO-BOER WAR has gone a long way to promote cross-cultural appreciation and Social Cohesion.
- "KNOW-YOUR-NEIGHBOURHOOD CAMPAIGN" (crime prevention) launched in Sicelo and Boipatong
- The Municipality has been active in the promotion of the SAFETY AT SCHOOLS program promoting safer schools (reduce substance abuse, prevent teenage pregnancy, eliminate dangerous weapons).
- In partnership with Department of Correctional Services have engaged in the REHABILITATION OF INMATES. This Sedibeng Programme was awarded the first prize nationally.
- The Youth Desks revived in all 13 Police Stations.
- Policy on GEOGRAPHICAL NAME CHANGES has been adopted by Council to redress imbalances and ensure maximum participation by all communities.

Summary of Key Service Delivery Achievements

SEDIBENG DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

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Deepening Democracy

- Partnerships with the private sector informally and formally through the MAYOR'S INVESTMENT COUNCIL and the Sedibeng Business Forum, ensure that the Municipality promotes development of the Sedibeng area at all time
- Several Public participation meetings have been held;
- the Executive Mayor has been engaging with communities using various platforms such as radio, TV and newspapers and sectoral meetings with various groupings and formations
- Sedibeng District-wide IDP Lekgotla was held by all the municipalities within the district
- Stakeholder engagements were held such as the annual Business Breakfast meeting which is held with business in the region

Good Governance

- Sedibeng District Municipality obtained unqualified audit opinions for the past 6 years
- All oversight Committees i.e. Municipal Public Account Committee (MPAC) and the Audit Committee have been established and are effective and functional
- MPAC CHAIRPERSON is now fulltime and increased oversight work is being done for increased accountability
- The scope of the Audit Committee was extended to include Risk and Organisational Performance in order to enhance good governance and oversight
- All Portfolio Committees established in terms of Section 80 of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (as amended) are functional;
- All compliance reports are submitted to the Mayoral Committee and Council regularly
- The Council meets regularly as legislated; a total of 16 ordinary Mayoral Committee and 9 Council meetings were held during 2011/12 financial year
- For more effective co-governance, an IGR Framework was adopted and implemented. The District has an innovative structure called the JOINT PMT which includes all Mayors, Speakers, Chief Whips and MM's.
- All MEC/MMC MEETINGS that are attended are supported by reports back to the Mayoral Committee.
- FRAUD AND CORRUPTION issues are being addressed in Licensing Centres in particular. Several employees have been suspended and several investigations are underway. A Fraud and Corruption Register is kept wherein all incidents of fraud and corruption are recorded
- An extensive STAFF AUDIT was conducted to check for 'ghost workers'. Only physical collections of pay-cheques were allowed. All personnel files were updated and ALL qualifications verified. 11 instances of questionable qualifications were uncovered. Investigations being finalised.
- For more effective administration, a capacity building programmes for officials to meet MINIMUM COMPETENCY REQUIREMENTS is underway.
- For increased accountability, all RESOLUTIONS OF COUNCIL are published in a summary form in the local media.
- Established and functional LOCAL LABOUR FORUM ensures harmonious work place relationships with organised labour



Council Meetings



IDP Public Participation



The New Sharpeville Hall



Side Walks in Evaton



Mayoral Awards



Support for Local Farmers



CCTV Camera Network



Executive Mayor of Sedibeng District Municipality
Cllr. Mahole Simon Mofokeng





The Editor welcomes contributions that take into account *The Thinker's* vision of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and caring South Africa. Submissions of poetry and the written word should be brief. For visual material, a high-resolution document is required (300dpi Jpeg). Please send your work electronically to editor@thethinker.co.za for consideration.

Rapitse Montsho is an ANC veteran, who became an underground operative in 1974. He has been a film producer and director for about 30 years, and has a large video archive that covers the '80s and '90s. He owns exclusive archives of Nelson Mandela from 1990 to 1999 jointly with Sam Msibi. He interviewed Chris Hani the day before he was assassinated, and the poem we publish below was a part of his response to the shattering event.

You can't stop the rain

by Rapiitse Montsho

Through the gray and gracious storm
The dripping chorus of its wings
We gazed through dreary twists of fate
That fearful morning that struck the nation down
Against the tide of time gone by
Tears that stung like a mad bee
For here lies a prince of soldiers
Whose precious blood scripted our freedom day
For him who ventured for the freedom for all lies mute
Only the evil roar of Satan can applaud
Who can mount courage to buy his coffin
Even coffins that lay open could not contain his magnanimity
And point the place where he will his large stature erect
Who will bid him farewell with a song of honour
That slow ride of the hearse renewed our grief
For he was cherished by friend and foe alike
A moment of fear that could not melt through the rain
Even in the middle of a storm's thunder
That dreary hour upon which the new tide would be ridden
A date was set by a gentle stream
To contain the ill restraint of peace foes
To ages that now are
Demeaning the spirit of a vicious wind of despair
A road of courage now crafted
You cannot stop the rain, for it was not fire
At the edges of the rainbow and roses
For the roar of the rain summoned reason
To charm the deep gash of our grief
That lacerated tear here, there and over there
The lightning flash doubled and doubled in thunder
That wondering eye of an Angel that never winked
Which through the clouds of the rain gave fresh hope
The fresh fragrant yielding courage
Which brought twin joy there by the pacing riverside
Through the rain we now hear a failing voice
Imploding from the core, not exploding
When the mask of the rainbow colours that dwells by the hill will change

Do not be afraid to speak

By Tembile Ndabeni

I am neither an expert on the constitution nor an authority on moral and civil society issues but I am entitled to my opinions. According to chapter 2: Bill of Rights section 10, Human Dignity, "Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected".

The constitution which is the "supreme law" of a democracy is human made. Distinguishing between what is wrong and right does not start with the constitution but with consciousness. That is coupled with values, norms and ethics instilled by our families, community and by society at large. Therefore gaps between the constitution and human beings' perception of what is right and wrong will be there. At times 'wrong-doers' are aware and take advantage of those gaps.

Therefore our constitution is limited in addressing moral issues.

The issue of "The Spear" should be viewed from different angles. Like every South African Mr Zuma is protected by the constitution.

Does "The Spear" become insensitive, not immoral because it was directed at President Zuma who is perceived as immoral? Then therefore do immoral acts become moral when they are done to a person perceived to be immoral?

Where does our society draw the line between being watchdogs of wrongdoings and being biased and selective?

Political parties, unless they have a different view of "The Spear", should not appease wrongdoers for fear of losing support. If they hold the view that "The Spear" is wrong why are

they not vocal as they used to be to other matters especially concerning President Zuma?

Either there is nothing wrong with "The Spear" and therefore the painter's rights have been violated, or it is wrong and Mr Zuma's dignity has been violated. Therefore political parties and civil society have to come out and express a view whether in defence of the offended's right or of the painter's. Somewhere along the line there is something questionable about our political parties and civil society, on this matter. Political parties have a responsibility to speak out on controversial issues.

Van Niekerk, van der Walt and Jonker (2001: 124) state that political parties are responsible for the maintenance of a high standard of propriety in the discharge of their duties. This commitment is demonstrated by example and by taking action that is only available at the political level, for instance by:

- creating legislative and institutional arrangements that reinforce behaviour and create sanctions against wrongdoing;
- providing adequate support and resources for ethics-related activities through government; and
- avoiding the exploitation of ethics-rules and laws for political purposes.

To a certain extent the conduct of political parties can be understood, but what about civil society? Civil society especially organisations that are not politically aligned are the 'real' watchdogs of society. Civil society is composed of men and women of integrity made of flesh and blood and

therefore can make mistakes but its voice must give direction to society. Those who quickly jump to complain whenever President Zuma does something perceived as off the lines are quiet on the matter which caused an uproar. The leader of COPE, Mosiuoa Lekota, addressed the symptoms and not the issue. He responded on the conduct of the ANC march on the issue but was mum when it started.

Even when courts have not yet made a ruling on the matter political parties and civil society are not barred from expressing their opinions. We are coming from an undemocratic past but that should not make us to assume that there are no limitations. Real democracy has got limitations; one's democratic right should not violate / contravene or infringe another one's right. This is similar to just or loosely saying democracy is majority rule. In terms of the vote, the majority winning party will rule. But that does not mean others should be suppressed with no say in the running of the country. Therefore generalisations can be made about democracy, but these need to be put in context as well.

I think we should maintain our position as one of the respected democracies, and not anarchists in the world. "The Spear" matter reminds me of the speech made by Mark Anthony in the drama "Julius Caesar" by William Shakespeare. Shocked by how things were turning ugly in Rome, Mark Anthony said,

"O judgment ! Thou art fled to brutish beasts

And men have lost their reason".

I hope we do not lose our reason in whatever we think, say and do, especially if we are driven instead by hatred, resentment, and emotions. We should always bear in mind that emotions are an enemy of logic. A democracy that emerged from a bitter past but overcame hatred and anger must not be overcome by emotions.

Opposition political parties and civil society have a role to play and that is to express their opinions honestly, without rancour especially on issues of national concern. ■

The Editor welcomes unsolicited submissions to the Readers' Forum and encourages those who would like to discuss or debate contentious issues to use this space. Please keep word count to no more than 800 words and note that some pieces might be edited for length. Send your contribution to: editor@thethinker.co.za.

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water by 2015
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Farming accounts for about 60% of South Africa's water use, so Sasol is working with the agricultural community to find practical ways of saving water. One such initiative is a series of workshops with farmers focusing on optimising irrigation practices. Additionally a website will be set up to provide practical information to improve water management. At Sasol we believe in water sense, which is why we are committed to improving our water use intensity and helping communities to reduce their water consumption by as much as 15% by 2015, through our water leakage reduction programme. Let's do it together, because together, we are better.

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