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



SYRIA: THE POLITICS OF SABRE-RATTLING THE STRATEGY OF MASS DECEPTION

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William Mpfu on Coloniality in Africa: Entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge

Chris Matlhako on The Langeberg 'Rebellion'

Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane on Reflections on the African Renaissance

Aziz Pahad on Who will decide about the future of Syria . . . and beyond?

Tian Xuejun on The Chinese Dream: A Dream for Peace, Development, Cooperation and win-win Outcomes for All

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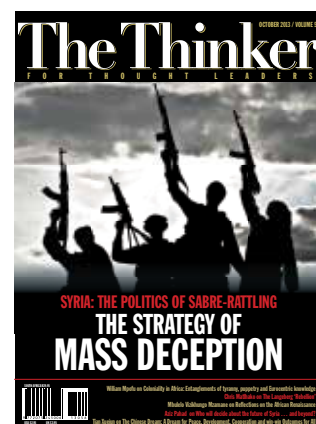
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In This Issue

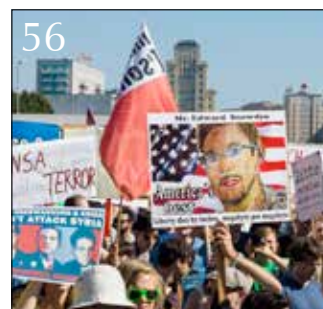
- 2 Letter from the Editor
- 8 Contributors to this Edition
- 8 Coloniality in Africa: Entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge
William Mpfu
- 12 The Langeberg 'Rebellion': Luka Jantjie, Galeshewe and Toto – their little known story of courage and bravery in defence of their people, land and livelihoods
Chris Matlhako
- 22 Where there is no vision the people perish: Reflections on the African Renaissance
Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane
- 30 Who will decide about the future of Syria ... and beyond?
Aziz Pahad
- 33 Chinese Dream: A Dream for Peace, Development, Cooperation and win-win Outcomes for All
Tian Xuejun
- 36 The implications of the SADC energy access strategy and action plan on peace, security and development in the region
Nolubabalo Magam
- 40 Africa needs a workable economic system in the twenty-first century
Christopher D. Mlosy
- 44 Select the best from what worked in the past, is working now and what we need for the future
Petunia Mpoza
- 46 For a gender balanced Pan-African education
Mamosa Motjope and Boniswa Madikezela
- 50 Barack Obama is a threat to the future of African women
Malaika wa Azania
- 52 Born in the Promised Land: Scrutinising the prospects of the new South African generation born in a democracy
Bongani Khanyile
- 55 A Dream Deferred? Reflections on Travels to the "Capital of Africa"
Tšoeu Petlane
- 56 Mandela and Snowden: Two heroes with more in common than we know
Danny Schechter
- 58 Tanzania's solidarity with South Africa's liberation
South African Democratic Education Trust (SADET)
- 66 Mpumalanga Province and SAB partner on socio-economic development
South African Breweries
- 68 Through a Creative Lens
Poetry by Sonwabo Meyi; Ayub Mayet and Jeremy Karodia
- 71 Readers' Forum
Drink and eat what you are giving us By Ayanda Ngcwabe



On the Cover:

A negotiated resolution of the conflict in Syria is infinitely preferable to violence and war.

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SYRIA

The politics of sabre-rattling: the strategy of mass deception

'Sabre-rattling' is now part of our political and military lexicon. Its origin lies in Chilean history. In September 1924 a group of young military officers attending a session of congress scheduled to discuss military salaries were asked to leave so that the discussions could be held in secret. They complied, but protested against the decision by rattling their sabres in their scabbards as they left (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sabre_noise).

The term is now used when government, military and intelligence officials or political groupings threaten the use of force in an intimidatory manner. It commonly involves a display of might and power with the implied threat of using this against opponents.

This term was recently used by Ebrahim Ebrahim, Deputy Minister of International Affairs and Cooperation, to express his government's concern over the threats made by the USA of unilateral military action or strikes against Syria.

The phrase 'weapons of mass deception' found favour with scholars, journalists and commentators to describe the way that the false claim by President George Bush, supported by Tony Blair, that Saddam Hussein possessed 'weapons of mass destruction' was used to justify their declaration of war on Iraq.

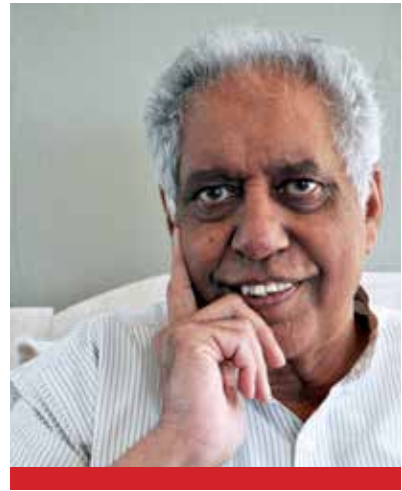
The phrase was also used in the title of a book by Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber which exposes the duplicity of the Bush administration's public relations offensive after the 9/11 terrorist attacks; as well as in Danny Schechter's documentary film about media coverage of the war in Iraq, and his book on the same subject.

Dr Scott Bonn, author of *Mass Deception: Moral Panic and the US War on Iraq*, pointed out that C Wright Mills, one of the most perceptive sociologists in the last sixty years, "foreshadowed the great Naom Chomsky when he stated that the manipulation of public and uncontested decisions of power have replaced democratic authority in contemporary society".

US President Obama, UK Prime Minister Cameron and the French President, Hollande, have all employed a combination of sabre-rattling and mass deception relating to evidence about the source of the use of chemical weapons to prepare the ground for military strikes against Syria to bring about regime change.

In this editorial we publish extracts

“There is a growing body of evidence from numerous sources in the Middle East — mostly affiliated with the Syrian opposition and its supporters — providing a strong circumstantial case that the August 21 chemical incident was a pre-planned provocation by the Syrian opposition and its Saudi and Turkish supporters.”



from The Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS) memorandum to Obama. VIPS is a group of current and former senior US intelligence officers who have extensive experience and inside knowledge of US intelligence operations. We also include comment by Max Blumenthal, an American author, journalist and blogger.

In addition we publish excerpts from a statement by the Africa Forum – Forum for Former Heads of State and Government – and the Concerned Africans Forum.

In the VIPS memorandum to Obama, entitled 'Is Syria a Trap?', the veterans write:

We regret to inform you that some of our former co-workers are telling us, categorically, that contrary to the claims of your administration, the most reliable intelligence shows that Bashar al-Assad was NOT responsible for the chemical incident that killed and injured Syrian civilians on August 21, and that British intelligence officials also know this...

There is a growing body of evidence from numerous sources in the Middle East — mostly affiliated with the Syrian opposition and its supporters — providing a strong circumstantial case that the August 21 chemical incident was a pre-planned provocation by the Syrian opposition and its Saudi and Turkish supporters. The aim is reported to have been to create the kind of incident that would bring the United States into the war.

According to some reports, canisters containing chemical agent were brought into a suburb of Damascus, where they

were then opened. Some people in the immediate vicinity died; others were injured...

Possible also is a false-flag attack by an interested party resulting in the sinking or damaging, say, of one of the five U.S. destroyers now on patrol just west of Syria. Our mainstream media could be counted on to milk that for all it's worth, and you would find yourself under still more pressure to widen U.S. military involvement in Syria – and perhaps beyond, against Iran.

Max Blumenthal wrote on 1 September 2013 (<http://monodweiss.net/2013/09/dubious-intelligence-and-iran-blackmail-how-israel-is-driving-us-to-war-in-syria.html>):

Flash forward to the August 21 Ghouta massacre, where over 1000 Syrian civilians died without any sign of external wounds in a series of attacks. As in April, Israel has come forward with intelligence supposedly proving that the victims of the attacks died from nerve gas deployed by units from Assad's Syrian Arab Army (SAA).

On August 24, Israel's Channel 2 broadcast a report claiming that the

“As Africans we remain acutely conscious of the elaborate disinformation campaigns in which major powers engaged, among others by using world media outlets, to propagate falsehoods to justify their armed interventions in Iraq and Libya.”

155th Brigade of the 4th Armored Division of Assad's SAA fired the nerve gas shells on Ghouta. Channel 2 added that Israel was relaying its concerns to Washington, suggesting an urgent demand for US action. The report was echoed by an August 30 article in

Germany's Focus magazine claiming that Israeli army's Unit 8200 — a cyber-warfare division that functions much like the American NSA — had intercepted communications of top Syrian officials ordering the chemical attack.

Oddly, neither outlet was able to reproduce audio or any quotes of the conversation between the Syrian officials. Channel 2 did not appear to cite any source at all — it referred only to “the assessment in Israel” — while Focus relied on an unnamed former Mossad official for its supposed bombshell. The definitive nature of the Israeli intelligence on Ghouta stood in stark contrast to the kind introduced by other US allies, which was entirely circumstantial in nature. At the same time, it relied on murky sources and consisted of vague assertions.

The Assad regime may indeed be responsible for the Ghouta massacre, but Israel's military-intelligence apparatus does not exactly have a reputation for trustworthiness.

The Africa Forum, a Forum for Former African Heads of State



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Protesters holding the syrian flag during a protest against President of Syria Bashar al Asaad in in Geneva, Switzerland on June 30, 2012.

and Government, declare in their statement:

We, therefore, support the fundamental position agreed by major players in the world concerned about Syria, in favour of a peaceful resolution of the Syrian conflict, as reflected in the June 6, 2012 Final Communiqué of the Geneva Conference on Syria. Accordingly, we have been and are opposed to all international interventions which have added and would add fuel to the fire, by arming any and all the Syrian belligerents. We have received with horror the news that chemical weapons have been used in this conflict, and strongly condemn this. We are therefore convinced that all Member States of the United Nations (UN), without exception, should rely on the UN to establish the truth, to the best of its ability, with regard to various important matters. These are whether and what chemical weapons were used, where and when, and who used them.

As Africans we remain acutely conscious of the elaborate disinformation campaigns in which major powers engaged, among others by using world media outlets, to propagate falsehoods to justify their armed interventions in Iraq and Libya. The only correct response even to the use of chemical weapons is not further to escalate the violent conflict, but radically to intensify and accelerate the effort towards a negotiated peaceful resolution of the Syrian civil war.

Therefore, as Africans, we strongly urge that all Member States of the UN, again without exception, should desist from taking any military action in Syria of any kind, including using the alleged use of chemical weapons by the Syrian Government as justification for such action. The speedy and correct resolution of the conflict in Syria demands the exercise of courageous and stellar statespersonship, without regard to the personal and national short-term interests of particular politicians in our various countries.

We strongly support the view that, in the main, international law prohibits that any State should intervene in any other to encourage the violent overthrow of the Government of the day. This international law also regulates all such interventions as would be said

to discharge the so-called 'responsibility to protect' peoples subjected to unacceptable human rights violations by their own Governments. Consistent with all the foregoing, we are convinced that the international community has a solemn obligation to do everything possible to help end the Syrian conflict by peaceful means.

The statement of the Concerned Africans Forum says:

Obama and his allies appear to be unfazed by the growing international outcry against a war on Syria. We appeal to President Obama to consider the dangerous implications of his intended military action, which without UN Security Council approval, will be a violation of the UN Charter and international law.

We join millions of people around the world in appealing to the House

“Perhaps at last the world will learn from recent history to be more vigilant in the face of the strategy of mass deception employed by the US and its NATO allies to achieve regime change.”

of Representatives, which is set to vote on 9 September 2013, to reject such misguided action which will inevitably lead to mass destruction of human lives and property in Syria. Lessons should be drawn from the wars on Iraq and Libya.

Similarly, we welcome the South African government's call for an all-inclusive national dialogue in Syria. We strongly believe this is the only humane solution out of the Syrian crisis.

We condemn the use of chemical weapons, no matter from which quarters this action was carried out and appeal to the guilty parties to refrain from pursuing such heinous crimes. The international community must allow the UN weapons inspectors the space to carry out their investigations to verify the veracity of such allegations. Reports

suggest that the team needs at least two weeks to complete its findings. In the interest of transparency, this should be respected by the US administration.

Following an earlier chemical attack in Aleppo, unsubstantiated allegations were made, accusing the Syrian government of being responsible. However, Carla Del Ponte, a member of the UN Independent Commission of Inquiry on Syria, found that in fact, it was the rebels and not the Syrian government that was responsible for the chemical attacks.

Earlier this year, we called for a negotiated political settlement, which now resonates even louder given the current state of affairs... (See 'Open Letter' in *The Thinker*, May 2013, Vol 51) ...Any punitive strike is bound, not only to exacerbate the conflict in Syria, but it will also lead to heightened geopolitical tensions and instability, possibly drawing in Israel and Iran.

The United Nations must reclaim the initiative as a convening authority to advance a negotiations agenda on the basis of the Geneva II process and in terms of the principles and commitments that President Assad made in his speech of 6 January 2013.

The proposal by Syria and Russia that Syria's chemical weapons be placed under international control helped to avert an impending catastrophe. To give effect to this proposal Russia and the US have agreed to pursue a 'tightly fixed schedule' President Al-Assad has also informed the UN Secretary-General that Syria will accede to the 1992 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and of their Destruction. Syria will abide by all obligations under this convention with immediate effect, not waiting for its legal entry into force.

These developments open up opportunities for a negotiated resolution of the conflict in Syria in the interest of the peoples of that country, the Middle East and the world.

Perhaps at last the world will learn from recent history to be more vigilant in the face of the strategy of mass deception employed by the US and its NATO allies to achieve regime change. ■

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Left: Mr. Wonga Tuta – Chief Executive Officer Right: Mr. Simlindile Hints – Executive Chairman

Early in 2000, the Eastern Cape Bus Operators Association (ECPUBOA), chaired and led by Mr. Simlindile Hints approached and partnered with the Eastern Cape Department of Transport (EC DoT) to assist in its efforts. They jointly conducted road-shows in all the regions of the province to get the buy in from individual bus operators. The business initiative was supported by the bus operators from all the regions. Africa's Best 350 Limited (AB350Ltd) was registered as a legal entity in July 2005. The company is owned by 218 rural bus operators who are 99% previously disadvantaged from the six district municipalities of the Eastern Cape, namely: Alfred Nzo, O.R. Tambo, Chris Hani, Joe Gqabi, Amathole, and Cacadu districts. The goal was to

establish a single legal entity for the bus operators with intention to service the seven year negotiated subsidy contract to commute passengers on routes that were previously serviced by individual operators.

The company secured loan finance from a Financing Consortium composed of the Industrial Development Corporation, Eastern Cape Development Corporation, National Empowerment Fund, Development Bank of Southern Africa and Scania Finance with a Business Plan assisted by Maeteko Management Services. A loan of R150m was approved to finance 117 65 seater Scania buses in two phases of 58 and 59 buses. The EC DoT contributed a Capital Expenditure grant towards the establishment costs mainly for the construction of depots.

These amounts were complemented by the shareholders contribution in the form of share capital and shareholder loans.

Executive Management led by the Chief Executive Officer Mr. Wonga Tuta was appointed in October 2007. AB350 Ltd started its operations in March 2008 and by November the same year the company was running a fleet of fifty eight buses. In September 2010 the fleet reached 117 buses operating in 111 routes. The company has its head office in Mthatha and seven depots in Mbizana, Mount Frere, Mthatha, Matatiele, Lusikisiki, Queenstown, Butterworth and a satellite office in Qumbu.

The company has commuted more than 5 million passengers annually without a fatal accident and has paid more than 80% of its R150m debt. It has created 384 permanent jobs and more than 100 indirect jobs. The company has received unqualified audit reports for the past three years from Ernst and Young (CA) SA which confirms the competent management of the company.

The Executive Chairman of the company, Mr. Hints has been instrumental in the establishment of the Eastern Cape Bus and the Taxi Chamber (ECBTBC) which is a provincial public transport forum, and he became its first Chairperson. In December 2012 he was elected as the National President of South African National Small Bus Operators Council. ■

Contact us at:

Mr. Simlindile Hints

Mr. Wonga Tuta

18 Cnr Elliot and Madeira Street

5th Floor Manpower Building

P.O. Box 7468

Mthatha, Eastern Cape

5099

Tel: 047 531 0539/532 6569

Fax: 047 531 0317

email: wongat@ab350ltd.co.za or:

simlindileh@

ab350ltd.co.za

www.ab350ltd.co.za

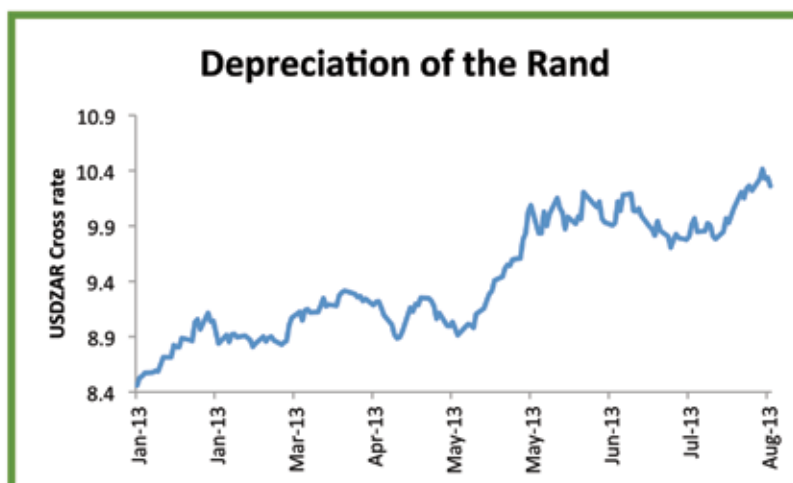
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The pitfalls of currency intervention

The prospect of a world without quantitative easing has shaken up emerging market (EM) economies over recent months.

In a widespread bid to rebalance global investment positions, interest rates have risen substantially while EM currencies have been sold off in a particularly aggressive way. Those EMs with structural deficits in their fiscal and current accounts have been most affected by this trend, with their currencies depreciating sharply over the period. The South African rand, for example, experienced 14% depreciation in the 4 months leading up to August 31, directly contributing to a spike in inflation and subdued consumer demand.

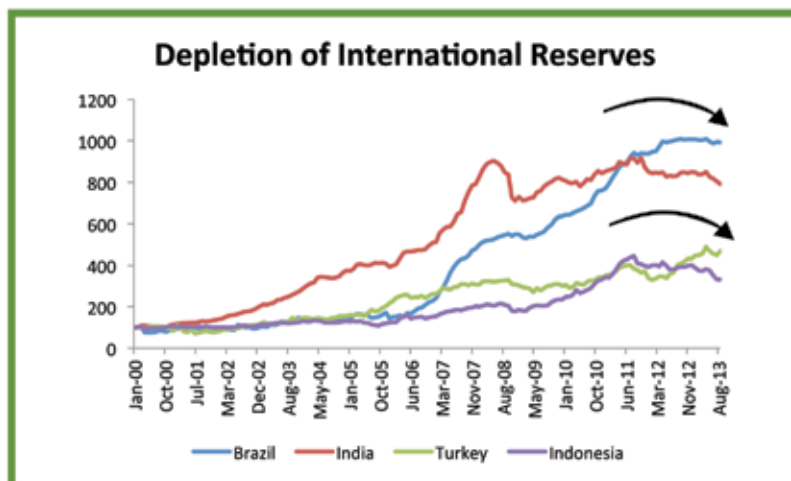


Source : Oasis research using Bloomberg - August 2013

Other EMs, including India, Indonesia, Turkey, and Brazil had similar experiences in the broad selloff. Each of these countries has in fact attempted to defend the strength of their currency by selling their foreign exchange (FX) reserves into the market. Despite these measures, the depletion of FX reserves does not appear to have had a material impact on EM currency strength. On the contrary, by committing to defend a currency from depreciation, a central bank effectively opens itself up to a speculative attack, luring hedge funds with deep pockets to short-sell the currency, driving it ever weaker until the bank eventually becomes unwilling or unable to continue its defence.

The G20 summit in Russia saw further attempts by EMs to stabilise their currencies over the long term. The so-called 'Contingency Reserve Arrangement' (CRA), which will pool \$100 billion of member countries' international reserves, was firmly agreed upon at the meeting, paving the way for its establishment within 12 months. Unfortunately for South Africa, while the fund appears substantial in absolute terms, it pales in comparison to the size of global currency markets. In its most recent Central Bank Survey, the Bank for International Settlements found that \$100 billion dollars represents approximately 2 days of turnover in the Rand/Dollar currency pair. With clearly limited firepower relative to the market, the CRA is therefore at best an unnecessary administrative cost to BRICS nations, and at worst may be setting the bloc up for even more intense speculative activity in the future. The end result would then be a far cry from what central banks are currently trying to achieve. Any attempt to use the CRA would simply leave member countries with fewer FX reserves with which to pay

off their international debt, raising the risk premium and therefore the cost of international capital. Empirical evidence does not paint a positive picture of the practice either; the famous example of currency speculators "breaking" the Bank of



Source : Oasis research using Bloomberg - August 2013

England in 1992 highlights the unsustainable and self-defeating nature of trying to resist powerful market forces in this manner.

A more sensible course of action is thus to simply let private speculative forces play out. While short term volatility may dent portfolio inflows and create short term inflation uncertainty, a policy-led commitment to letting the exchange rate float will over the long term subdue potential speculators, reducing the frequency of currency collapses. Indeed, a true decline in the unconditional volatility of EM currencies and reserves will require a deeper structural reform over the long term. While EM

government debt levels are generally fairly low when compared to the developed world, unsustainable expenditure in the form of massive consumption subsidies are in many cases creating concerning internal and external imbalances. Rising costs of living in other cases are creating social tensions that are manifesting themselves in frequent and increasingly intense protests across the emerging world. These are the issues that are fundamental to driving long term volatility. Addressing the structural imbalances of emerging markets will be the most sustainable long term solution to unwelcome currency movements. ■

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Contributing analysts



Bongani Khanyile (LLB) (UJ), Post Grad Diploma (Corporate Law) (UJ) is an Industrial Relations Consultant at Labournet and is currently studying for his Masters's degree in Labour Law. He is a Board member of the Alberton Child Welfare and with his wife runs the Bongani Khanyile Evangelistic Association.

Boniswa Madikizela graduated at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Accounting. A CA (SA) and an ex-investment banker, she is currently living her passion of shaping young minds as an Accounting lecturer at the University of Johannesburg. She is studying part-time at the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, with a focus on African Political Economy and International Trade.

Nolubabalo Lulu Magam is a Master's graduate in International Relations from the North West University. Her research interest is geared towards exploring the link between the development of alternative energy, its usage and the effect on the standard of living and the climate, as well as the promotion of gender equality and human rights. She currently works as an intern for the Department of Health.

Chris Mathlako is a former student activist and a member of the ANC.

He served as provincial secretary of the SACP in the Northern Cape and as senior advisor to former Premiers Manne Dipico and Dipuo Peters. Presently he is a member of the CC and Politburo of the SACP and Secretary for International Relations. He is General Secretary of the Friends of Cuba Society, South Africa, member of the Working Group of the International Communist and Workers Parties and serves on the Secretariat of the World Peace Council (WPC).

Dr. Christopher D Mlosy holds a BSc (Honours) and MSc in Economics, a Masters in Development Studies and a Doctorate in Business Administration Development Economics. He has worked as an economist in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs in Tanzania. In 1990, Mlosy was seconded to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) providing professional and technical expertise for the administration of projects in East African countries. He also worked as CEO of the Small Enterprises Development Foundation. Currently Mlosy works in South Africa.

Mamosa Motjope graduated in Electrical Engineering from the University of the Witwatersrand. She completed her MBA at the Edinburgh Business School and has worked for South African and London based

Investment Banks, as well as a local Development Finance Institution. She is a part-time student at the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute where her studies focus on the African Political Economy as well as Africa and International Trade.

William Mpofo is a member of Africa Decolonial Research Network (ARDEN) based at UNISA. Mpofo writes on African Literature, Philosophy and Politics as his areas of research interest. Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, genocide and symbolic political communication are some of the key themes that have occupied his post-graduate research and publications. Mpofo has lectured in Public Relations, Journalism, Media Studies and Project Management for the Educor Group of Colleges in South Africa.

Dr Mbulelo Mzamane has an MA in English from the University of Botswana and a Doctorate in English Literature from the University of Sheffield (UK). Mzamane's academic work has focused on issues confronting Africa in the post-colonial era. His publications include *Images of the Voiceless: Essays on Popular Culture and the Media* (1984), *Multicultural Education in Colleges and Universities: A Transdisciplinary Approach* (1988), and *Race, Ethnicity and the American Context*. Mzamane is also widely known as a writer of

fiction and poetry. He is currently the director of the Centre for African Literary Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Aziz Pahad obtained a BA degree at the University of the Witwatersrand and an MA in International Relations from the University of Sussex. He is currently engaged in the writing of his diplomatic and political memoirs. He returned to South Africa in 1990 after working for the ANC in exile for close to three decades where he played a central role as a member of the National Executive Committee, and later, in the covert talks between the ANC and various political, cultural and business groupings from South Africa. He served as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1994-2008.

Tšoeu Petlane is Visiting Research Fellow at the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, where he has focused on the Governance and APRM Programme. He lives in Maseru, capital of Lesotho. Together with Steven Gruzd he wrote *African Solutions: Best Practices from the African Peer Review Mechanism*.

Danny Schechter is News Dissector Danny Schechter. A long time anti-apartheid activist, he produced 156 editions of the *South Africa Now* series in the US about news that was censored in South Africa. He has written eleven books and made thirty documentary films. He also writes for Al Jazeera and other outlets. Comments to dissector@mediachannel.org.ny

Malaika Wa Azania is a student at Rhodes University. She is the newly elected Branch Chairperson of the South African Students Congress, the founder and Chairperson of the Black Consciousness Book Club in Grahamstown and the Director of Pen and Azanian Revolution (Pty) Ltd. She was elected into the Steering Committee of the African Unity Coalition at the Thabo Mbeki Foundation Youth Retreat.

Ambassador Tian Xuejun has a long and distinguished career in the Department and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. From 1985 to 2004 he served in various capacities in Kuwait, Bangladesh and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2004 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the PRC to the Hellenic Republic. Prior to coming to South Africa he served as Director-General (2007-2012) of the Department of Personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC. Earlier this year he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the PRC in South Africa. ■

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

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Publisher
Vusizwe Media

Editor
Dr Essop Pahad
egp@thethinker.co.za

Managing Editor
Meg Pahad
megpahad@mweb.co.za

**Editorial Assistant &
PA to Dr Pahad**
Zain Dindar

**Advertising, Production &
Distribution**
Zain Dindar
zain@thethinker.co.za
Saki Mabhele
saki@babanagroup.co.za
Tel: +27 82 750 3729

All Correspondence To
Vusizwe Media
3 Kruger Drive
Craighall Park
2196
Tel: +27 11 325 2078
Fax: +27 86 608 4799

Design & Art Direction
Liesel van der Schyf
liesel@vdsdesign.co.za
Tel: +27 82 336 7537

Accountants
Karolia Jeena inc.
+27 11 537 3700
karjeena@iafrica.com

Contributing Analysts

Haroon Bhorat, Willie Esterhuysen, Brandon Foot, Steven Friedman, Mel Gooding, Shadrack Gutto, Adam Habib, Francis Kornegay, JP Landman, Peter Lawrence, Chris Landsberg, Garth le Pere, Riël Malan, Eddie Maloka, Tshilidzi Marwala, Zamikhaya Maseti, Kuben Naidoo, Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, Aziz Pahad, Angina Parekh, Mike Prior, Ronald Suresh Roberts, Anver Saloojee, Mongane Wally Serote, Khadija Sharife, Mats Svensson, Yves Wantens



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www.thethinker.co.za

Subscriptions
Zain Dindar
zain@thethinker.co.za
Tel: +27 82 369 7422

COLONIALITY IN AFRICA

Entanglements of tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge



The tyranny of African liberation leaders, the puppetry to the West of post-independence African political leaders and the erection of Eurocentric thought and knowledge in Africa are, in my argument, all symptomatic of the condition of coloniality that marks the present African experience.

By William Mpfu

In intellectual dialogues in the African academy, and in popular conversations, there are strong currents of arguments suggesting that we must at long last stop blaming colonialism and apartheid for the political and economic ills of Africa. The present article argues that, on the contrary, we are yet to find the grammar with which to capture and account for the enduring impacts of coloniality that manifest themselves

in tyranny, puppetry and Eurocentric knowledge in Africa. The global South, which envelops Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and parts of Asia is still entangled in theatres and spectacles of coloniality.

In *Cry Havoc*¹ British mercenary and former Special Air Services officer Simon Mann reveals how the failed Equatorial Guinea coup in 2004 was organised by a former British Prime Minister and financed by “investors”

in the shape of oil barons in the West and Asia. The coup “was about oil” says Mann, but it had to be dressed up as a humanitarian intervention to free the suffering people of Guinea from the venal tyranny of Obiang Nguema Mbasogo and install a “good leader,” Severo Moto, who had been living under the hospitality of the “investors” in his exile in Spain. Moving from the narrative of a mercenary to that of a scholar, Horace Campbell gives

an account of how the financial depression in Europe, and the hunger for more oil, led to the invasion of Libya and the murder of Muammar Gaddafi. Again the action was cloaked in the noble language of “the responsibility to protect” the civilians of Libya from the “genocidal” Gaddafi establishment.

This article argues that Africa is still entangled in imperial and colonial matrices of power, whereby African politics and economics are still decided and dictated from the centres of economic and political power in North America and Europe. Although Africa has beautiful and colourful flags and her people sing melodious anthems, saluting black presidents and prime ministers, her economies remain subject to the siphoning of resources for the benefit of the West, in just the same manner that Walter Rodney² described in 1973. Years after colonialism and apartheid are declared over, the lives of the people remain hellish and enmeshed in poverty and disease.

Andrew Feinstein³, former ANC M.P. and journalist, details how European and Asian gun runners and dealers, outside the perimeters of international law and the confines of standing embargoes and controls, supply weapons to the parties in African civil wars, sometimes supplying both warring camps, in pursuit of profit. Such spectacles as the genocide of 1994 in Rwanda, the civil war of Sierra Leone in 1999 and the Gukurahundi genocide in Zimbabwe 1982 to 1987 have their causalities in Western economic and political interests.

This “darker side” of Western “modernity” that sees the patrons of democracy and human rights in Europe and the USA funding terror and sponsoring wars in other corners of the world, in pursuit of resources and profits, is vividly described by John Pilger⁴. In Pilger’s account, as Saddam Hussein “ordered the gassing of the Kurds in the town of Halabja,” in his palace he hosted “Margaret Thatcher’s Trade Secretary, who, within a month of the gassing of the Kurds” was back “offering Saddam Hussein 340 million pounds” in “export credits” together with an assortment of weapons and armaments. The same Saddam Hussein

was to be hunted down later on as a developer and keeper of weapons of mass destruction - that were never found.

Clearly, there is “the increasing realisation that there are modern problems for which there are no modern solutions” as Arturo Escobar⁵ notes. This modern civilisation permits in the West democracy, human rights and peace; while in the Global South it finances civil wars, entrenches tyrants and dumps weapons to fuel conflicts. It is a long living global power structure that sentences Africa and the Global South to a zone of nonbeing that is populated by people whose lives are punctuated with “lacks” and “deficits”

“This “darker side” of Western “modernity” that sees the patrons of democracy and human rights in Europe and the USA funding terror and sponsoring wars in other corners of the world, in pursuit of resources and profits, is vividly described by John Pilger.”

of values and knowledges that have to be forced upon them by the prefects of the world in the West. Ramon Grosfoguel⁶ observes that “during the last 510 years... we went from the 16th Century ‘Christianize or I shoot you’ to the 19th Century ‘civilize or I shoot you’, to 20th Century, ‘develop or I shoot you’ to the late 20th Century ‘neo-liberalise or I shoot you’” and to the early 21st Century ‘democratize or I shoot you,’ all of which are violent impositions from a Euro-American world that see themselves as the ‘masters of the universe’.

From the period of slavery to the present day, African countries and those other countries in the Global

South have had Western values and knowledge forced upon them with the threat or application of various kinds of violence and persuasion. The encounters of Africa with the West, either in slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism or the financial advice of the Bretton Woods Institutions and the ‘humanitarian’ military interventions of NATO have been violent encounters that involve impositions.

It is the object of this article to participate in the argument that Africa is, in spite of emphatic arguments to the contrary, still entangled and imbricated in the matrices of coloniality, and still in urgent need of what I suggest is a “decolonial turn” as proposed by a number of decolonial thinkers and philosophers in the academy of the global South. The tyranny of African liberation leaders, the puppetry to the West of post-independence African political leaders and the erection of Eurocentric thought and knowledge in Africa are, in my argument, all symptomatic of the condition of coloniality that marks the present African experience.

The case for decolonial analysis of Africa

Part of the reason why coloniality persists so long after the dethronement of administrative colonialism in Africa, and the collapse of juridical apartheid in South Africa is that scholars and politicians in Africa read the African condition with the aid of Eurocentric and therefore colonial spectacles. In electing to use decolonial analysis as a critical lens, this article participates in unmasking the presences of coloniality and its various manifestations in tyranny, puppetry and the installation of Eurocentric knowledge as a mode of knowing Africa. For that to happen, coloniality as a global power structure must be understood. This article must also enunciate the difference that exists between juridical colonialism and coloniality.

Peruvian Sociologist Anibal Quijano⁷ argues that “Coloniality is one of the specific and constitutive elements of global model of capitalist power” and that “It is based on the imposition of a racial/ethnic classification of the global population

as the cornerstone of that model of power." After Quijano, decolonial philosopher Nelson Maldonado-Torres⁸ argues that "Coloniality is different from colonialism" in that "Coloniality survives colonialism," and continues to reproduce itself in books and to infect knowledge production long after decolonisation. From this understanding of coloniality as a power structure, the African condition of incomplete decolonisation marked by lack of economic freedom, and the continued consumption of Eurocentric knowledges that pass as wisdom in the African academy and politics emphatically bespeak an African condition of coloniality.

To decolonial thinkers and decolonial philosophers alike, post-coloniality is mythical and participates in misleading falsehoods in so far as it celebrates the pending and not the arrived epoch of liberation.

Achille Mbembe⁹, influenced by post-colonial thinking and its mistakes, describes the "post-colony" as "specifically given historical trajectory - that of societies recently emerging from the experience of colonialism and the violence which the colonial relationship par-excellence, involves." Mbembe is convinced that there is an "emerging" from the "colonial relationship" and its "violence," whereas decolonial thinkers such as Ramon Grosfoguel demonstrate that colonial conditions continue in the form of coloniality which perpetuates the sins of colonialism in Africa after the departure of formal colonial structures. For Grosfoguel it is "One of the most powerful myths of the twentieth century" that "the elimination of colonial administrations amounted to the decolonisation of the world" and it is false that "the heterogeneous and multiple global structures put in place over a period of 450 years" could just evaporate with the "political decolonisation of the periphery over the past 50 years." The colonial capitalist system is too old and to enduring to relent its grip of the global South with a few slogans and metaphors of decolonisation in the past 50 years. Decolonisation, in spite of all its rhetoric and fictions, mythmaking and fantasising, did not, in Africa or the

entire global South, exhaust coloniality.

The pursuit of decolonial thought, and the relevance that it has to a clear understanding of the African condition is that it refuses the allure of "illusions of decolonisation" as Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni¹⁰ describes the fantasies of a post-coloniality. In the tyrannies, genocides and toxic knowledges that continue to zone Africa as "hellish" and portray it as the "heart of darkness," decolonial thinkers and philosophers are able to diagnose coloniality as the global systematic causality that orders the historical and political chaos that marks the African post-independence setting. Bonaventura de Santos¹¹ maintains that "The conditions that

“It is a long living global power structure that sentences Africa and the Global South to a zone of nonbeing that is populated by people whose lives are punctuated with “lacks” and “deficits” of values and knowledges that have to be forced upon them by the prefects of the world in the West.”

brought about the crisis of modernity" up to now "have not yet become the conditions to overcome the crisis beyond modernity." This observation makes the emphatic suggestion that the same Euro-American modernity that manufactured the present system of coloniality that punishes Africa and the entire global South cannot be relied upon as a source of theories, concepts or even policies and practices that will bring about decoloniality.

There is a need to see beyond the "wrecked promises" that include the myth that the invasion of Libya and the murder of Gaddafi were for the good of Libyans. And that the attempted toppling of Obiang Nguema

by Western sponsored mercenaries was for democracy, and not for the installation of a puppet leader who would open, for the West and Asia, avenues to the "oil" that lies in that African country. Arturo Escobar argues that in the pervasive presence of "imperial globality" and the assault of "global coloniality" there is need to imagine "worlds and knowledges otherwise" where a "decolonial turn" and "epistemic disobedience" can be achieved.

Africa: The theatres of coloniality

Mahmood Mamdani¹² has offered a compelling account of how "...it is hard to think of a figure more reviled in the West than Robert Mugabe." For grabbing white owned land, committing genocide in Matabeleland and unleashing political violence while literally refusing to concede electoral defeat Mugabe has attracted very unkind world attention. George Bush even named Mugabe's Zimbabwe as part of the global "axis of evil." However, Mugabe is also a product of the Euro-American colonial system. The system that backed Mugabe as he massacred more than 20 000 Matebeles is described by Arturo Escobar as a capitalist global empire that "increasingly operates through management of asymmetrical and spatialised violence," and "subcontracted massacres, and cruel little wars, all of which are aimed at imposing the neo-liberal capitalist project."

Timothy Scarnecchia¹³, in an important paper based on recently declassified South African foreign affairs documents, reveals how "high ranking ZANU-PF officials negotiated with the South African Defence Forces in 1983 to co-operate in their efforts to keep ZAPU from supporting South African ANC operations in Zimbabwe." As the Mugabe regime conspired with the Apartheid Botha establishment, never mind the loud Pan-African rhetoric, to crush ZAPU and the ANC, America and Britain gave financial support to Mugabe, even as the massacres escalated.

Scarnecchia quotes Geoff Hill, who discloses that the British High Commissioner to Zimbabwe at the

time of the genocide said the official policy of Britain at the time was to treat the Matabeleland massacres as a 'side issue' and support Mugabe.

British and American support for Mugabe did not end with the act to "steer clear" of the topic of the genocide but in 1994, freshly after the genocide, the Queen of England knighted Mugabe under the venerated Order of Bath. Mugabe's commander, Perence Shiri who was the kingpin during the massacres was invited to study at the exclusive British Royal College as an esteemed candidate. Clearly, to the British and the American establishment, the self-appointed prophets of human rights, the Mugabe regime could slaughter their political enemies, the Ndebele people, with impunity, as long as Western business interests were secure in Zimbabwe. Coloniality operates in such paradoxes where terrorism is a fight for freedom if it is advancing the interests of empire, and freedom fighting is terrorism if it challenges capital and the interests of empire.

The Mugabe, who is reviled as a genocidal tyrant, has been venerated as a Knight in shining armour, and a willing puppet, by the same global centres of power. For that reason, the observation is in order that the genocide in Zimbabwe, while it was supervised by Mugabe, implicates and indicts the global superpowers who benefit from the condition of coloniality under whose octopus grip the entire global South is held.

The condemnation and "tyrannisation" of Mugabe in the Euro-American political dictionary, under the logic of coloniality that is camouflaged behind the rhetoric of human rights, development and peace is not an isolated event. Tony Blair¹⁴, former British Prime Minister admits in his book that Britain and America armed Saddam Hussein at some point; however, that did not stop them from hanging him at another point.

In his important study of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, Mahmood Mamdani¹⁵ advances an artisanal explication of the colonial roots of the genocide, and for that reason, the coloniality factor that fertilised the historical and political landscape

“There is a need to see beyond the “wrecked promises” that include the myth that the invasion of Libya and the murder of Gaddafi were for the good of Libyans.”

for the genocide. To Mamdani, the colonial relations and classifications of some people as “settlers” and some as “natives” gave birth to the genocide. The “settler” and “native” binaries were later inherited as relations of difference and sources of conflict by the indigenous people after the dethronement of formal colonialism in Rwanda. As soon as formal colonialism departed, the Tutsi became the new settlers and candidates for death, while the Hutu saw themselves as natives with a duty to cleanse the land of aliens. Thus the genocide cannot be removed from coloniality as its cause.

Coming to South Africa, as Neville Alexander¹⁶ argues, the celebrations of South Africa as one happy “rainbow nation” were somewhat dramatically premature and may be a result of “a justifiable fit of euphoria” that was soon to be dampened by social and

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political conditions on the ground. For the majority black and poor of South Africans, it was still “not yet Uhuru” as the fruits of democracy and reconciliation were long in coming. John Pilger¹⁷ after a tour of South Africa wrote a spirited book, in which he provides evidence of continuing dispossession of black people and their peripherisation from the mainstream South African economy. Pilger's damning conclusion was that “apartheid did not die.”

The metaphor of South Africans as the ‘rainbow people of God’ remains an emphatic symbol together with the venerated image of Nelson Mandela as a messianic and saintly liberator. However, these beautiful symbols are contradicted by the daily experiences of the poor black people in the shanty towns and locations. In a sobering speech in 1999, Thabo Mbeki¹⁸ observed “that South Africa is a country of two nations,” and that “one of these nations is white,” and “the second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor.” The beautiful metaphors of a ‘rainbow’ are not enough to mask the gulf that divides the elite rich and the black poor in South Africa.

The Libyan case provides theatres of violent coloniality that must jolt scholarly conscience to more research. While Muammar Gaddafi's efforts at improving the lives of Libyans cannot be denied by most honest observers, his haughty nature and roughshod approach to the will of his people is equally prominent. This is the same leader and revolutionary who described himself as an “international leader, the dean of the Arab rulers, the king of kings of Africa” and “the imam of Muslims, and my international status does not allow me to descend to a lower level.” Gaddafi developed Libya, and fought imperialism, but in the process assumed the habit of not listening to his people.

After protests and armed insurrection began in February 2011, the NATO countries under the cover of the United Nations Security Council's mantra of “the responsibility to protect,” bombarded Libya, armed the militants that ironically included Al-Qaida Jihadists, and eventually got Gaddafi captured and killed.

In his study of the Libyan scenario, Horace Campbell¹⁹ advances telling observations that testify to the “imperial globality” and “global coloniality” that became the hidden hand in the military and political spectacle that unfolded in the oil rich country. Campbell notes that “African petroleum resources” became the motive for NATO’s invasion of Libya “even before the complete fall of Gaddafi’s regime”. A British scholar, David Anderson, waxing on the “significant pickings” in Libya, reflected on the opportunities for Europe’s oil giants - Eni, Total, BP and Repsol YPF - who are “perfectly positioned” to take advantage of the commercial opportunities in “the fight for Libya’s” oil.

Horace Campbell reminds us that “the more chilling aspect” of the Libyan invasion was the “persecution” and “the racist attacks on those who are supposed to be black Africans.” Not that the Libyan scenario is isolated. After the disputed elections of 2010 in Ivory Coast, specialised French forces intervened to install Alassane Outtara and to arrest the incumbent, historian Laurent Gbagbo. Without taking sides with the good or bad leadership of Gbagbo, everyone who is familiar with his ideas knows that his use of the thoughts of Afrocentric philosopher Moliye Kente Asante did not endear him to France.

Coloniality of knowledge in Africa and the decolonial turn

One of the emphatic voices that raised alarm and condemned the NATO allies and their actions in Libya was a group of African intellectuals, scholars and eminent persons under the banner of “concerned Africans”. They charged that the actions of NATO in Libya amounted to recolonisation and a “second scramble” for Africa’s resources. The tragedy of Africa is that that we do not have many more such scholars and thought leaders as those “concerned Africans”.

Such thinkers as the late Walter Rodney, Frantz Fanon, Dani Wadada Nabudere and Ben Mugabane are increasingly becoming a thing of the past. Combative and original African scholars who questioned the Eurocentric canon the way Archie

Mafeje and Claude Ake did are no longer being produced by the African academy, which now produces slippery corporate consultants and power-point pundits who know where their bread is buttered. Part of the reason for this is what Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni says is “the university in Africa, not the African university,” where the western university in Africa passes for an African university just because it is located in Africa, although its content is a diet of Eurocentric thought.

Tanzanian scholar Issa G. Shivji²⁰, regretting the corporatisation of the African academy and the decline of the intellectual said:

The metamorphosis of the African intellectual from a revolutionary to

“Decolonial scholarship should treat African peoples and African history as subjects and sources of knowledge and not museum objects, frozen in time and place, as Eurocentric thought is wont to suggest.”

an activist, from a critical political economist to a post-modernist, from a social analyst to a constitutionalist liberal, from an anti-imperialist to a cultural atavist, from a radical economics professor to a neo-liberal World Bank spokesperson, from an intellectual to a consultant is blatant, unrepentant and mercenary.

Shivji describes a degenerated African intellectual who no longer invents ideas from an Afrocentric locus of enunciation but only echoes what those who pay him or her want to hear. His or her researches now produce carefully choreographed and cooked up results to suit the eyes and ears of the donor. This collapse of the African intellectual calls for a decolonial turn that will start with the changing of the “university in Africa” to an “African University” that will study Africa from

Africa, and critique the world from Africa. In accord with Dani Wa Dada Nabudere’s ‘Afrikology’ philosophy and Archie Mafeje’s ‘endogenous’ approach to scholarship, together with Ngugi wa Thiongo’s ‘decolonising the mind’ approach, the decolonial turn must entail ‘epistemic disobedience’ and a rebellion from the tyranny of Western and Eurocentric reading of Africa.

The gaze of African scholarship should refocus on such schools of thought as ‘black consciousness’ as argued by Steve Biko, and ‘consciencism’ that Kwame Nkrumah projected. And that decolonial scholarship should treat African peoples and African history as subjects and sources of knowledge and not museum objects, frozen in time and place, as Eurocentric thought is wont to suggest. ■

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THE LANGEBERG 'REBELLION'

Luka Jantjie, Galeshewe and Toto – their little known story of courage and bravery in defence of their people, land and livelihoods



There is a large of body research and scholarly material on the subject and related matters, but what is sadly not easily available is a popular history of these events.

By Chris Matlhako

This year marks the centenary of the infamous 1913 Natives Land Act, which enacted a racist legal framework for further entrenching a protracted process of land dispossession, which begun in earlier periods of European settler expansion into the interior of modern day South Africa and annexing the land of indigenous peoples. Land tenure and related matters have become an important socio-economic and political policy matter. Much of what would later become the Republic of South Africa was conquered, claimed, or settled by whites between 1830 and the 1880s¹.

The wall-to-wall history of colonial and apartheid conquest and its devastating consequences on African indigenous polities (land dispossession, imbalanced tenure, forced wage labour, etc.) must be contextualised properly and told in its entirety. We are aware also that there exist notions elsewhere presenting 'the disputed land'² thesis, whose basis is to dispute conventional history and settlement patterns that have resulted in modern day SA. This thesis emanates from a particular set of historical perspectives which perpetuate decades-old imbalances in land tenure. Therefore, a comprehensible historical account of modern day SA has to be made accessible for broader engagement and debate beyond academia.

Forced wage labour, together with racist legislation, contributed to the worsening socio-economic conditions for the formative African farmer. Large tracts of government-controlled land were thrown open for purchase by whites only. Whites only legislatures passed laws designed to put pressure on African-indigenous landowners to evict them as tenants. This process reached its peak in 1913, when the racist South African government passed the Natives Land Act, which limited African land ownership, whether communal or freehold, at first to 7% and later to 13% of South African territory. African-indigenous peoples could also not be tenants or share-croppers.

The significance of the Langeberg 'Rebellion'

The story of the Langeberg 'Rebellion'³ and the brutality dispensed

“The peculiar significance of their story is that they were caught in the eye of the storm of white accumulation earlier and more directly than most and suffered quite rapid spoliation of resources and ecological and economic decline.”

during and thereafter, as part of the process of annexing lands and teaching the African indigenous population a lesson or two, must be told from the perspective of those who resisted with the odds heavily stacked against them, and despite these obvious disadvantages fought bravely and courageously with honour and dignity. This situation was further compounded with the discovery of diamonds in the area and the confrontations with the Boer South African Republic (Transvaal) 1858 war. Swanepoel and Mnqolo assert that; '... the history of the Batlhaping is a classical example with which to analyse the complexities of the South African wars of resistance'⁴. The Batlhaping in the Griqualand West area, are said to be the first victims of the extension of colonial rule following the discovery of

“Forced wage labour, together with racist legislation, contributed to the worsening socio-economic conditions for the formative African farmer. Large tracts of government-controlled land were thrown open for purchase by whites only.”

diamonds and minerals. The process of industrialisation in southern Africa was to be based on two crucial aspects: land annexation and 'native administration'.

Kevin Shillington writes that violence (a feature of the process of land annexation and subjugation of indigenous peoples) was a political tool always available in the constant tension between ruler and the ruled. "Colonialists took it for granted that if the colonised did not submit to them, then force could be legitimately employed"⁵. Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company conducted brutal campaigns of land annexation around the 1890s, annexing Lobengula's Ndebele in what is now eastern Zimbabwe. Coupled with the deadly rinderpest⁶ disease outbreaks, colonialists were able to subdue indigenous Africans into culling herds and indirectly forcing them into a wage labour system.

Indeed a better understanding of South African history can inform and illuminate debates. The important intercession of historian Kevin Shillington's *Luka Jantjie, resistance hero of the South African frontier* is indeed timely and picks up on previous works he has so diligently laboured on to provide a brilliant account of the primary organisations of resistance in the region, their leaders and the implications for SA. A scholarly piece, it elucidates the place and role of Luka Jantjie as an important historical figure during the anti-colonial resistance wars (in respect of the Langeberg 'Rebellion'), and thus deserves reverence and mention in South African history. However, other primary records and key materials can be found in places like the African Library and the McGregor Museum in Kimberley.

The compelling story of Luka Jantjie, Galeshewe and Toto (individually and collectively) is important for a range of reasons and must be made accessible to a wider audience, as part of the history of anti-colonial struggles and wars of resistance waged by African peoples against the invading colonial-force.

In fact as Shillington puts it; "... they were affected particularly radically by the first mineral revolution following the

discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West in the late 1860s. The peculiar significance of their story is that they were caught in the eye of the storm of white accumulation earlier and more directly than most and suffered quite rapid spoliation of resources and ecological and economic decline⁷⁷.

It is in this context that the courageous war of resistance by the Batlhaping and Batlharo - southernmost Tswana polities - should be seen. This epic story of huge historical and socio-political importance and relevance aptly captures the protracted processes of forceful land dispossession, the disarticulation of the African indigenous peoples' aspirations to claim their rights in their own country and the brutality of an invading settler colonialist force. Land dispossession and the aspirations of the dispossessed, including land-hunger, continue till today and are reflected in various ways.

Jantjie was bitterly opposed to the White settler colonialist. Together with Galeshewe and Toto, he rebelled against British colonial rule and after some initial defeats, most of the surviving 'rebels' under Jantjie retreated into the Langeberg Hills. There they withstood a six month siege, before being defeated. The attack on Gamasep took place on 30 July 1897 and the Langeberg 'Rebellion' ended on 3 August. Following the death of over 1,500 men, Batlhaping positions were overrun by about 2,000 colonial troops, and the surviving rebel leaders were arrested or executed.

The southernmost Tswana societies had the misfortune to occupy land in the vicinity of Kimberley, where they bore the brunt of the forces generated by the diamond-mining industry, as well as experiencing pressures both from merchants using long-established trade routes from the Cape to the north and from Afrikaner farmers expanding in a westerly direction from the original settlements in the Transvaal republic. Progressively, they were subjected and impoverished. Much of their land lay inside the boundaries of Griqualand West, as annexed by Britain in 1871.

After 1880, when it was incorporated in the Cape Colony, the colonial government corralled the African inhabitants into reserves, thereby

freeing land for white speculators. The De Beers mining company acquired no fewer than 400,000 acres. Transvaal farmers meanwhile were penetrating the territory between Griqualand West and the Molopo River, playing off one set of southern Tswana chiefs against another in the pursuit to encroach and claim more land.

Although much of what would later become the Republic of South Africa was conquered, claimed, or settled by whites between the 1830s and the 1880s, most blacks living in these territories did not feel the full effects of conquest until some decades later. In fact, African-run farms generally thrived until the 1880s, producing more tax revenue and food for market than European-owned farms did during this period. In later decades, however, the diamond (from 1870) and

“The colonial government corralled the African inhabitants into reserves, thereby freeing land for white speculators. The De Beers mining company acquired no fewer than 400,000 acres”

gold (from 1880) revolutions, as well as growing white settler control over the region's governments, ultimately created a situation in which Africans were increasingly unable to live off the food they grew on their own farms. As a result, most Africans were forced to rely on wage labour to make up the difference.

White settler invasion of the interior of southern Africa

Until the 1830s, white settlement in southern Africa was almost entirely confined to the area of the present day Western Cape. Over the course of the following decades however, whites consolidated their control over the Ciskei in the Eastern Cape and pushed their settlement and land claims into what were to become Natal, the

Orange Free State, and the Transvaal.

Soon in all these regions, the consequences for African peoples were the same: the loss of the great majority of their lands, confinement to increasingly overcrowded reserves and later with the discovery of minerals, a growing dependence on wage labour.

Historians write that the Langeberg 'Rebellion' was most probably one of the most profound wars of resistance, waged towards the end of the nineteenth century in the southern subcontinent. The onset of European colonialism (and Boer encroachment, including abducting young children to labour in agricultural fields) brought about a systematic process of land dispossession as the governing forces, with superior military fire power set out to conquer more land for agriculture and eventually, minerals.

The settler expansionist forces were at various points met by resisting African peoples, and subsequent resistance wars were waged by these courageous fighters with rudimentary weapons of war changed the face of South Africa and contributed towards the complexities that would characterise the future South Africa.

Langeberg reserve, officially designated in 1886, was one of the largest blocks of reserve land in the colony. It enclosed the whole of the northern Langeberg: almost fifty kilometres north and south and stretching east of the mountain range by forty kilometres to the Gamogara River. The Batlharo, who inhabited the land, were not surveyed for several years and suffered little if any interference. Thus, they were able to hunt freely and graze the vast expanse of fertile soils, from the northern Langeberg, Korannaberg and the lower Kuruman valley, as far as modern day borders of southwest Botswana and Namibia.

On the 27 November 1896, seventeen head of cattle, six of which were infected with rinderpest, strayed out of the Taung Reserve and were shot. This incident precipitated the Langeberg Rebellion.

On 16 November 1895 the Cape Colony annexed the former Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland. In December and January 1896/7, barely a year later, revolts erupted

in the territory, took root in the following months in its Langeberg Mountains, and were finally suppressed in August 1897 after an arduous and costly campaign. These revolts are jointly known as the Langeberg Rebellion⁸, write Saker and Aldridge.

Furthermore, they argue;

One of the several important African rebellions which occurred in the southern subcontinent in approximately the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Langeberg Rebellion is perhaps alone in having been completely ignored by scholars and writers. This is unfortunate because, in addition to its more obvious historical interest, the Rebellion is a valuable field of study for students of primary resistance movements in Africa⁹.

Joining forces in the Langeberg Mountains, Batlhaping and Batlharo resisted a large government force for six months. The reason for their resistance was based on the long-standing grievances of the Batlhaping and Batlharos in the region. These seem to have arisen mainly out of competition for land and the concomitant white administration. There was acute distrust of the Cape Colonial government, fears of loss of land, and anxiety concerning threats to their growing involvement in a market economy.

Finally the consequences of a rinderpest epidemic coupled with dynastic politics appear to have tipped the scales in favour of rebellion. For example, Galeshewe had refused to countenance the shooting policy. He took the view the cattle had often died of disease in the past and he saw no reason to hasten the slaughter by shooting healthy cattle¹⁰. The land and cattle were both culturally and economically very important commodities and resources for the people. Vital though agriculture was to the economy of most the population, it had less importance in their eyes than cattle-keeping. Cattle not only provided milk, meat and skins but constituted a form of capital that could be accumulated and which would increase itself. Cattle had a critical social value in these polities. The annexation and encroachment presented the most

“In fact, African-run farms generally thrived until the 1880s, producing more tax revenue and food for market than European-owned farms did during this period.”

direct attack on their livelihoods, as well as challenging the existing tribal authority, law and jurisdiction.

Shillington makes the point about the significance of the Langeberg Mountains to the people who settled, when he says; “[T]he colonial authorities of the 1880s and early 1900s considered the Langeberg ‘the most lawless part of the territory’ but from the Batswana perspective, it was far from lawless, it was merely remote from exploitative colonial law. And it was this, combined with Toto’s defiant attitude that would have attracted a man like Luka Jantjie”¹¹.

In this period the colonial powers ensured taxes were more effectively gathered, further land was expropriated, cattle that strayed from the locations were impounded and more game was exterminated. This created a desperate situation for the population and many of them looked to their chiefs for answers. The southern Tswana, in the

“The consequences for African peoples were the same: the loss of the great majority of their lands, confinement to increasingly overcrowded reserves and later with the discovery of minerals, a growing dependence on wage labour.”

face of African kingdoms conquest, faced growing impoverishment, and turned to their traditional leaders. Several of them began to vent anger against local storekeepers and to tear down beacons marking their reserves. Rumour and fear filled Bechuanaland. Then in 1886 the authorities ordered the shooting of cattle to prevent the spread of rinderpest. Full-scale rebellion broke out.

The eight-month Langeberg campaign was launched to wipe out any African opposition to the colonial regime. The chiefs who led the ‘rebellion’ – Toto, Luka Jantjie and Galeshewe – were captured. Jantjie was beheaded and the others imprisoned. To the north, Montshiwa stayed out of the hostilities, but his followers were confined to smaller reserves and subject to the demands of the Cape government. The last remnants of southern Tswana independence had effectively been removed. Kgosi Galeshewe was captured in 1878 following an attack on Cornforth Hill near Taung, a raid in which Francis Thompson and his nephew were savagely murdered, and was subsequently sentenced to twelve years imprisonment for his part in the uprising. In 1897, during a rinderpest outbreak, he again clashed with the police and military at Phokwane near Hartswater. As a result, he was imprisoned for his part in what became known as the Langeberg ‘Rebellion’. He died at Magogong, north of Hartswater, in 1927.

Together with Galeshewe and Toto, Jantjie rebelled against British colonial rule and after some initial defeats most of the surviving ‘rebels’ under Jantjie retreated into the Langeberg Hills. There they withstood a six month siege, before being defeated.

The leaders were captured and Jantjie was beheaded while Toto was imprisoned on Robben Island, where he died. According to the *Cape Argus* of Wednesday the 25th of August 1897, in the aftermath of the battle, even though he died with courage and honour, Luka Jantjie’s body was treated abominably. It was reported that Luka Jantjie’s back was broken, and that the mutilated body was treated with great disrespect (www.mahala.co.za/culture/the-last-stand-of-a-south-african-hero).

Jantjie’s death marked the collapse of the Tswana resistance. About 4,000 Tswana men, women and children were taken captive and sent to the Western Cape to work as unpaid labourers for local white farmers.

Galeshewe, Toto and Jantjie played pivotal roles resisting the increasing White (colonial-settler) authority land incursion, myriad of taxes and rinderpest control – which were measures to create obstacles to African peoples’ lives advancement and dismantle their way of life, which later was to be inserted into wage-labour system with the discovery of minerals).

Langeberg – stronghold of ‘native lawlessness’, is perhaps one of the most critical resistance chapters, given the determined intent on the part of the British colonialists (both in Cape Town and its representatives in the area) to apprehend Galeshewe, and the subsequent closing of ranks between the Batlhaping and Batlharo in the face of attempts to sew divisions and dissention in their ranks. The colonialists had the intention to close down the reserve and confiscate the Langeberg reserve and initiate a final confrontation with that most defiantly obdurate and unwilling colonial subject, Kgosi Luka Jantjie¹². However, it is reported that Jantjie, on the other hand, held the view that he and his people had only been acting in self-defence.

Besides a few places named after these warriors, their (individual and collective) contribution is not understood in the same vein as the other historic events, such as the 1906 Bambatha Rebellion among others. This anomaly must be corrected and a popular series of this history covering the entire tapestry of our peoples’ lives must be made available in a variety of forms and platforms, not only in scholarly and research forms. The mentioning and observance of Anglo-Boer wars and other important battles, must connect to these important chapters of our heroic peoples’ resistance and battle against colonialism and its rapacious manifestations in the earlier periods of the making of modern day democratic South Africa.

There is a large of body research and scholarly material on the subject and related matters, but what is sadly

“ Jantjie’s death marked the collapse of the Tswana resistance. About 4,000 Tswana men, women and children were taken captive and sent to the Western Cape to work as unpaid labourers for local white farmers. ”

not easily available is a popular history of these events, which could form a sound basis for both appreciating our history and enhance our collective efforts towards nation-building.

Also, the naming of the soon-to-be opened university in 2014, in Kimberley (the Northern Cape) after Sol Plaatje is another such significant development, whose implications could allow us to take steps to further advance the project of constructing a coherent new non-racist, non-sexist and democratic South African nation. Plaatje himself wrote numerous accounts detailing the precarious conditions his people faced and their struggles in that period. This heritage and focus is indeed a veritable source for contributing towards a fully comprehensive history and heritage of the formerly oppressed peoples.

We argue that, it is in understanding the resistance wars waged against the

“ There they withstood a six month siege, before being defeated. The leaders were captured and Jantjie was beheaded while Toto was imprisoned on Robben Island, where he died. ”

marauding white colonial settlers by among others, the little celebrated and courageous men and leaders like Jantjie, Galeshewe and Toto, that we can get a good grasp of the imperatives for reversing the negative consequences of land dispossession and contribute towards nation-building, so that the country is able to transcend the emotive basis of the land and land question. Such stories deserve appreciation and should be told more broadly. The planned Sol Plaatje University in the area will be obliged to add this to its bouquet of study-offerings in order to continue to enhance our heritage and nation-building process.

Out of this, the emotive issue of land and land restitution in our democratic SA continues as a great challenge as the process of transformation and democratisation unfolds. Its complex interconnections and the interplay of the fundamental contradictions of race, class and gender are even more vividly expressed in this arena of engagement. However, in order for the process of transformation and democratisation to move forward, these challenges will have to be overcome and a just and equitable social-economic framework for addressing them must be drawn up and implemented. This will enable us to create an inclusive transformation and democratisation trajectory which will impact in a significant manner with the systemic contradictions of SA that still feature almost two decades into democratisation. ■

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WHERE THERE IS NO VISION THE PEOPLE PERISH

Reflections on the African Renaissance



The African renaissance, like the European renaissance before it – a phenomenon that took upward of three centuries to spread across and benefit all of Europe – will lie in the realisation of each African country's potential.

By Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane

'One of the most important challenges facing Africa today is to achieve a comprehensive and sustained peace and ensure that we arrive at an enduring *Pax Africana*, for democracy and sustained development are possible only in conditions of peace and stability.' (Thabo Mbeki,

Democracy and Renaissance in Africa: In Search of an Enduring Pax Africana, Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, Abuja, 3 October 2000.)

An essential pursuit of any liberation struggle is the integration of the downtrodden and oppressed to their culture, language, history and

heritage. This aspect of liberation often takes a back seat to the attainment of political independence that can be little more than 'flag' independence. As theoreticians of the African Revolution such as Franz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Steve Bantu Biko point out, the most potent weapon in the armoury of the oppressor is the

mind of the oppressed. The realisation of political and even economic ends remains elusive without first decolonising the minds of the oppressed.

African renaissance: myth or reality?

One of the earliest references to the African renaissance by a South African leader, following the demise of Apartheid, appears in a speech by then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to the Summit on attracting capital to Africa organised by the Corporate Council on Africa, held in Chantilly, Virginia, in the United States of America, from 19 to 22 April 1997, in which he said:

Those who have eyes to see let them see. The African renaissance is upon us. As we peer through the looking glass darkly, this may not be obvious. But it is upon us.¹

Since Mbeki first made the concept popular and raised the clarion call, there have been several gatherings and deliberations held in South Africa; and many articles and books have been written, all devoted to the subject. The African renaissance is ANC policy that informs its activities in government. In his report to the 50th National Conference of the ANC, December 1997, President Mandela summarised the principal aims of the African renaissance as follows:

The establishment of democratic political systems to ensure the accomplishment of the goal that 'the people shall govern';

Ensuring that these systems take into account African specifics so that, while being truly democratic and protective of human rights, they are nevertheless designed in ways which really ensure that political means can be used to address the competing interests of different social groups in each country;

Establishing the institutions and procedures which would enable the continent collectively to deal with questions of democracy, peace and stability;

Achieving sustainable economic development which results in the continuous improvement of the standards of living and the quality of life of the masses of the people;

Qualitatively changing Africa's

place in the world economy, so that it is free of the yoke of the international debt burden and no longer a supplier of raw materials and an importer of food and manufactured goods;

A rediscovery of Africa's creative past to recapture the people's cultures, encourage artistic creativity and restore popular involvement in both accessing and advancing science and technology;

Advancing in practical ways the objective of African unity; and

Strengthening the genuine independence of African countries and the continent in our relations with the major powers, and enhancing our collective role in the determination of the global

“The realisation of political and even economic ends remains elusive without first decolonising the minds of the oppressed.”

system of governance in all fields, including politics, the economy, security, information and intellectual property, the environment and science and technology.

An African Renaissance Institute has been established and the concept has become a rallying point for numerous South Africans in many spheres of life, invoked and offered as the *raison d'être* for engaging in most activities of a social, cultural, economic, and political nature. It also underpins state policy. The expression reflects in some quarters a new orthodoxy that is embraced by politicians, academics and clerics, established business people and the *nouveau riche*, the new African elite. The bandwagon effect has been truly remarkable.

An exceedingly vexing series of questions, however, for exponents of the African renaissance is: What is African about the African renaissance; what constitutes its African essence? What are Africa's unique

characteristics, which are identical from one African country to the next and are not replicated elsewhere in the world? What are the distinguishing features of the African condition; and is there a single, formulaic Africa-centred response to the challenges identified?

Problems of war and peace and statehood in Algeria, Liberia, Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Sudan are also problems of the breakaway republics of the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, Latin America, Europe, Asia etc. From China to Chile to Chechnya, from Peru to the Pacific islands, secessionist and pro-democracy movements litter the world's stage, along with the instability and the volatility that go with the terrain. One tally of wars around the world since Hiroshima and Nagasaki until the end of the millennium lists no fewer than 175, from Afghanistan to Zululand. In 2000, there were no less than 30 conflicts going on, in four continents. Poverty may be more acute in Africa; but poverty characterises most of the former colonised world in the Latin American, Caribbean, African, Asian, and Pacific (LACAAP) countries. Bad governance, corruption, autocracy, and demagoguery are found everywhere. Backwardness and underdevelopment may be especially acute in Africa; but similar conditions are found in most of the LACAAP world.

There is undoubtedly a shared colonial history in all of Africa; but again the experience of colonialism is shared with most of the LACAAP world and the Balkan nations and the Irish and many others beside. Within Africa itself, there are variations on the colonial theme, arising from different stresses in the colonial policies and practices of Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Portugal, Spain and other 'scramblers' for African colonies. Many African countries would never have been separate countries but for the partitioning exercise undertaken by European powers at the Berlin Conferences in 1884/85. Most African states have internalised their colonial legacies to a point where they identify themselves as Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone etc. and sometimes create alliances based on those divisions. There are also

ideological differences foisted upon most African states by alliances with one super-power or the other during the Cold War era. There may be common aspirations among African nations, arising from the common aspirations of all human beings, but there are also competing and contending interests.

We must not be construed to mean that African solidarity and recovery are undesirable or unattainable goals. This is not an anthem to Afro-pessimism. No people deserve to wallow in perpetual poverty, ignorance, disease, and strife. Africa's destiny undoubtedly lies with the African people themselves. For the first time since Africa's anti-colonial struggle, we see the emergence of visionary leadership that seeks to be equal to the challenges of the 'second revolution' and the new millennium, none of which are insurmountable. We must cure the myopia of essentialising and romanticising Africa, before we can grapple in some sane manner with contemporary African reality. Africa is not a country but a culturally diverse and complex continent.

A new awakening can only come about when issues are problematised less sentimentally and more scientifically. The African renaissance can only have meaning if it moves beyond the realm of fictionality – if it moves, that is, beyond the realm of magical realism – to grapple with the intricate problem and reality of Africa's complexity and polarity. We suggest a need to re-conceptualise the African renaissance, first, and situate the movement within its proper historical context and chart a way forward to a true new world order in which we will find, as Aimé Césaire says, 'room for us all at the rendezvous of victory'.

The African renaissance revisited

The African renaissance in proper historical perspective is essentially the rise of Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora from slavery, colonialism, segregation, Apartheid, and neo-colonialism. In reflecting on the African renaissance, therefore, mere episodes must not be mistaken for the totality of the phenomenon. The African renaissance is not a single event but a process long begun but far from finished. There have been many

episodes, spanning several generations, in the rise of Africans universally from the forces that put them down, many episodes in their unfolding culture of liberation. A collocation of events has been building up to a *grand finale* yet to be realised.

The rebellion of slaves imported from Africa marked the earliest episode in the rise of people of African descent in the Americas and the Caribbean: Frederick Douglass, Nat Turner, John Brown, Sojourner Truth and many heroes and heroines of that phase in the struggle constitute an early chapter in that book yet to be completed. The Haitian Revolution claims several paragraphs in that chapter of the slave's epic journey in the New World. Booker T Washington, much maligned

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in some quarters as the quintessential Uncle Tom figure (as in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*), nonetheless sounds an apt triumphal note in his celebrated book on the subject, *Up From Slavery*.

Another early chapter depicts the struggles of Africans on the continent against colonial invaders from Europe. Examples of these struggles, from the southernmost tip of Africa, include the 17th century resistance of the Khoikhoi to Dutch occupation and the 100 years' war (1770-1880 *circum*) that pitted amaXhosa against the British and the Boers. These valiant but largely unsuccessful armed struggles on the continent laid the foundations for 20th century anti-colonial struggles such as the 1920s struggle of Igbo women in West Africa against British forces; the

Maji-Maji rebellion against German encroachment in East Africa; the Algerian, the *Mau-Mau* (Kenyan) and the *Chimurenga* (Rhodesian) wars of liberation; and the Soweto Uprising. Far from being hapless, helpless victims, these struggling masses were what the South African poet, Mongane Wally Serote, describes in his epic poem, *No More Strangers*, as 'creative fighters'.

The 20th century witnessed an acceleration and intensification of the unfolding culture of liberation among Africans the world over, including African-Americans and their counterparts in the Caribbean – from the Pan African Congress of 1900 to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in the 1990s.

In 1900, African-American academic-activist WEB Dubois, the Trinidadian lawyer H. Sylvester Williams and others convened the first Pan African Congress in London to raise consciousness and forge solidarity in struggle.

The immediate off-shoot of the first Pan African Congress was the formation on 12 February 1909 of the National Negro Committee (later the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People – NAACP) in the US and on 8 January 1912 the South African Native National Congress (renamed in 1923 the African National Congress – ANC). Both the NAACP and the ANC remain the African people's oldest organisations of Pan African persuasion. Pan African solidarity facilitated cultural, political, economic, and social regeneration.

In the US the Harlem renaissance that blossomed in the 1920s was largely a cultural manifestation of the spirit engendered by Pan Africanism. It was a coming-out party, in America's heartland, of the descendants of African slaves. Although its concerns were largely local – with emphasis on being black/Negro in America – its reverberations came to be felt throughout the African world and on the international scene.

The gallery of writers released by the Harlem Renaissance – from Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, to Zora Neal Hurston – had a profound and lasting impact on Pan Africanism and cultural affirmation.

Africa was the touchstone of their poetry, as in Langston Hughes's *The Negro Speaks of Rivers*:

*I bathed in the Euphrates when
dawns were young.*

*I built my hut in the Congo and it
lulled me to sleep.*

*I looked upon the Nile and raised
the pyramids above it.*

*I heard the singing of the Mississippi
when Abe Lincoln*

*went down to New Orleans,
and I've seen its muddy*

*bosom turn all golden in the
sunset.*

I've known rivers:

Ancient rivers.

My soul has grown deep like rivers

Or in Countee Cullen's *Heritage*:

What is Africa to me:

Copper sun or scarlet sea,

Jungle star or jungle track,

Strong bronzed men, or regal black

Women from whose loins I sprang

When the birds of Eden sang?

Whether for inspiration or validation, the poets of the Harlem renaissance invariably turn to Africa. At the same time, collectively, they make the point James Weldon Johnson makes in the introduction to *The Book of American Negro Poetry* that 'the Negro is a contributor to American life not only of material but of artistic, cultural, and spiritual values; that in the making and shaping of American civilisation he is an active force, a giver as well as a receiver, a creator as well as a creature'.

After the Harlem renaissance, Africans throughout the modern world, whose physical and cultural space had been invaded by the West which had largely superimposed its own cultural norms, now had models of creative self-expression they could emulate developed from inside the energy system of the culture with which they identified. The new awakening engendered by the Harlem renaissance inspired writers from the Caribbean to the Congo, from Senegal to South Africa. The rise in the 1930s of Peter Abrahams in South Africa, which he documents in his autobiography *Tell Freedom*, owed its inspiration to writers of the Harlem renaissance; in his autobiography, *Down Second Avenue*, Es'kia (Ezekiel) Mphahlele, a

student at St Peter's High School with Peter Abrahams, tells the same story about his literary awakening. Their counterparts of the *Drum* generation in the 1950s and early 1960s and of the Black Consciousness/Black Power era in the late 1960s and 1970s, such as Siphosiphiso Sepamla and Keorapetse Kgositsile, testify to similar influences in their work.

From storytelling, to Negro spirituals, to blues, to jazz, Negroes wove their African heritage with their American experience to create new and distinctive art forms. 'The Uncle Remus stories constitute the greatest body of folk lore that America has produced, and the "spirituals" the greatest body of folk song,' James Weldon Johnson further notes. Some South African readers will recognise in these stories their African antecedents, the *mmutlanyana* or *chakijana* (Brer Rabbit) stories. Johnson is, indeed,

“The African renaissance is not a single event but a process long begun but far from finished.”

correct to point out that 'in the "spirituals", or slave songs, the Negro has given America not only its only folk songs, but a mass of noble music'.

Jazz, the 20th century's most distinctive sound and dominant form of musical expression, emerged as the classical form of African musical expression. The flowering of local 'jazz' forms in countries such as South Africa – from *marabi* in the 1930s to *kwela* in the 1950s to *mbaqanga* in the 1960s to *kwaito* in the 1990s – was made possible by the rise of the Negro in America. In this respect, the African renaissance is an interconnected phenomenon, with variations the size of the continent and its Diaspora.

In the 1930s, the scene shifts from Harlem to Paris, with the emergence of Negritude. Negritude demonstrates both the enduring themes of the African renaissance and its changing emphases.

Negritude was double rebellion by people of African descent, first, against physical alienation (from Africa to the Caribbean to France) and, simultaneously, against cultural estrangement foisted by the French colonial policy of assimilation.

Aimé Césaire from Martinique, a co-founder of Negritude and its chief spokesman, along with Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, set the tone for literary expression by adherents of Negritude in his famous epic poem that was first published in 1938, *Return to My Native Land*, in which he reflects on the significance of his heritage and celebrates his spirituality thus:

*Heia for those who have never
invented anything*

those who never explored anything

those who never tamed anything

*those who give themselves to the
essence of all things*

*Ignorant of surfaces but struck by the
movement of all things*

*free of the desire to tame but familiar
with the play of the world.*

Césaire laments the devastation wrought by colonialism upon people of African origin. He sets vivid images of exploitation and aggression beside images that reflect serenity and nature. He is at one with Negritude, as participant and observer.

There are various strands in Negritude and several impulses co-exist within the movement, which are essentially a result of the functions it was designed to serve. In its anti-colonial struggle form, it can be aggressive and exclusive. But in its reconciling mood, it is inclusive and synthesises. Senghor's poem, *New York*, exhibits Negritude at its most serene and syncretic state. Juxtaposing Manhattan and Harlem, he writes first of Manhattan, in its state of alienation from nature:

*New York! At first your beauty
confused me, and your great long-
legged golden girls.*

*I was so timid at first under your blue
metallic eyes, your frosty smiles.*

*So timid. And the disquiet in the
depth of your skyscraper streets*

*Lifting up owl eyes in the sun's
eclipse*

Your sulphurous light and the livid

shafts (their heads dumbfounding the sky)

Skyscrapers defying cyclones on their muscles of steel and their weathered stone skins.

Senghor conveys the distance from the natural state that characterises Manhattan by employing alluring but alloyed images of 'golden girls', 'blue metallic eyes', and 'frosty smiles'. There is, admittedly, beauty in the wonders of modern technology (skyscrapers, neon lights, etc.). But there is also a great deal of artificiality and pollution that are both disquieting and deadly – as if the culture is locked in deadly combat with nature. 'All the birds of the air/fall suddenly dead below the high ashes of the terraces,' he writes. In due course, he starts to long for proximity to nature and for unfettered human intercourse, typified in his culture by the carefree laughter of children and mothers breastfeeding their babies without inhibitions.

By comparison, in Harlem, despite the admittedly squalid surroundings, there is vibrancy and closeness to un-spoilt and unvarnished nature that are not otherwise found in Manhattan. The products sold from stalls along Harlem's sidewalks, from tropical foods (mangoes, corn) to African art (masks), connect the culture (bare feet dancers) of the African-American to nature and to the ancestral lands of Africa:

I have seen Harlem humming with sounds and solemn colour and flamboyant smells...

Harlem Harlem! I have seen Harlem Harlem! A breeze green with corn springing from the pavements ploughed by the bare feet of dancers in

Crests and waves of silk and breasts of spearheads, ballets of lilies and fabulous masks.

The mangoes all love to roll from the low houses under the police horses' hooves

I have seen the sky at evening snowing cotton flowers and wings of seraphim and wizards' plumes

Parallels can be drawn with William Wordsworth's poems that contrast uncontaminated nature with polluting industrial culture. As in European romanticism, romance with an

“From storytelling, to Negro spirituals, to blues, to jazz, Negroes wove their African heritage with their American experience to create new and distinctive art forms.”

idealised state of nature and the exotic underlies the Negritude quest for Africa's renewal. Yet in this particular poem Senghor's ideal lies neither in Manhattan nor Harlem. Neither is sufficient unto itself any more than the body is but an empty shell without the soul. It is the vitality of Harlem and the grandeur of Manhattan together that lend unique and dynamic features to New York City:

New York, I say to New York, let the black blood flow into your blood

Cleaning the rust from your steel articulation, like an oil of life

Giving your bridges the curve of the hills, the liana's suppleness.

The black person is portrayed in the poem as the soul of the white person in America. Complementarity, rather than chauvinism, marks the symbiotic nature of the ideal relationship Senghor recommends. People of European ancestry can revitalise their culture

“People of European ancestry can revitalise their culture by opening it to other influences, as happened in America with the new cultural forms that African-Americans evolved. Those who reject the relationship, however, do so to the detriment of their own souls.”

by opening it to other influences, as happened in America with the new cultural forms that African-Americans evolved. Those who reject the relationship, however, do so to the detriment of their own souls. Senghor's poem asserts interdependence. Cultures and civilisations survive and thrive only in inter-relationship with one another, when they find synergies with all of humanity. The renaissance sought is, in the final analysis, a continuum, elevating to greater heights still those Creation has bound together. The poem has implications for all multicultural societies.

With considerable lyricism, Senghor's poetry, like Césaire's, scales the various intensities of Negritude, from its aggressive to its serene variations. They champion African customs and traditions that have been ridiculed by Europeans. They glorify the past, implying that Africa, which was great in the past, will be great again. Their discourse is anti-colonial and critical of Western culture's cold, impersonal, and inhibited ways. Their full vision, however, portrays an accommodating world enriched by values from all places.

Every movement to advance the cause of African peoples has invariably plugged into these themes that the Negritude movement developed.

Aimé Césaire, Leopold Sedar Senghor and their counterparts from the French colonies championed the creation of a distinctively African poetics. They seized upon and passed on the preoccupations of writers of the Harlem renaissance with the rise of people of African descent globally. Their verse sang the splendours, as they saw them, of Africa. Senghor's famous *Black Woman* valorises Africa's pristine beauty; David Diop's equally famous *Africa* celebrates Africa's resilience. Criticised for romanticising and often over-lauding Africa – Wole Soyinka dismissively states that 'a tiger does not proclaim its tigrity; it pounces' and Es'kia Mphahlele saw in it idealisation verging on distortion – Negritude, nonetheless, laid the foundation for intellectual, cultural, and political rebellion among French subjects in the African colonies and the Caribbean.

Despite their publicised



disagreements, Césaire and Senghor share with Soyinka and Mphahlele a view of the African renaissance that does not imply a rejection of the benefits of the technological civilisation developed in the West. They all caution, however, against uncritical acceptance of everything emanating from the West – what Thabo Mbeki describes as ‘Coca-Cola’ culture – and seek a meaningful fusion between Africa and the West. These are also the preoccupations of the current phase of the African renaissance that Mbeki champions. Beyond the limited concerns with cultural awakening and political emancipation that marked Negritude in the 1930s, he has added questions of economic development and technological advancement.

The post-War period unleashed some of the most tremendous struggles by people of African descent on the continent and in the New World.

Two events, within a year of each other, sounded what Thomas Gray would have described as the ‘knell of passing day’ for rampant colonialism and dominance by people of European ancestry. These were the formation in

“The Civil Rights campaign employed strategies and means culled from the Indian struggle against British colonialism and the South African struggle against segregation and Apartheid.”

1944 of the African National Congress Youth League (ANC-YL) in South Africa and the 5th Pan African Congress held in 1945 in Manchester, England. The moving spirit behind the ANC-YL was Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, who was steeped in Pan Africanism. The ANC-YL catapulted Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe and other ‘Young Turks’ of the African struggle into leadership roles within the organisation. Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah and others who were to lead their respective countries

to independence from European rule attended the 5th Pan African Congress. George Padmore, widely regarded as the father of African nationalism, and Peter Abrahams were the co-secretaries at this momentous event that moved the African renaissance to yet another phase.

Africa and the US benefited from the political legacy released by the ANC-YL, who in 1949 spearheaded the adoption by the ANC of the Programme of Action that was to become the blueprint for non-violent, passive resistance against racial oppression. Although Martin Luther King never visited South Africa, from his visit to India in 1957, he learnt of the efficacy of passive resistance – Satyagraha – first developed earlier in the century by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa.

The Programme of Action led to the Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws in South Africa in 1951/2 and to the Civil Rights movement in the US in the mid-1950s. The Civil Rights campaign employed strategies and means culled from the Indian struggle against British colonialism and the South African



Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park in, Accra, Ghana

struggle against segregation and Apartheid.

Sifting through papers at the Martin Luther King Centre in Atlanta, Georgia, one Saturday afternoon in 1988, I picked up a small exercise book the janitor was about to sweep away. Paging through the book and straining to read the faint writing, I came across minutes of meetings of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1955/6. The minutes make reference to the Defiance Campaign in South Africa, four years earlier, whose passive resistance tactics the Civil Rights movement was to adopt.

Parallel struggles in the rest of Africa – and the Caribbean – saw, in 1957 under Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana become the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to attain independence from European colonial rule. The 'winds of change' that British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, was to speak of during his 1960 visit to Cape Town had started to blow across the rest of the continent. The chapter would end with South Africa almost the last country to breathe the air of freedom and attain majority rule in 1994.

The Civil Rights and Black Power movements, from the 1950s to the 1970s, unleashed African potential in the US. These struggles also invigorated other struggles for emancipation in the US – such as the feminist struggle, the gay and lesbian struggle, and opposition to American imperialism in Vietnam – and in South Africa, with the rise of Black Consciousness. All these

“The most intractable problem in most African countries today – and, therefore, the precondition for their resuscitation – is how to effect reconciliation and reconstruction, the twin pillars on which the stability and prosperity of all nations rest.”

struggles fed off each other.

The struggle for the rise of people of African descent in the US continues into the 21st century, as the tarnished 2000 US presidential elections in Florida demonstrated when African-Americans complained of being disenfranchised to make the Republican Party candidate of 'white power' George W Bush win.

From the foregoing overview, the inescapable conclusion is that with the long eye of history we are able to see the African renaissance in proper perspective, not as a single event or some once-off occasion. It is an episodic and cumulative epic story of the rise of a once enslaved people across the globe. It is a continuing revolution that unfolds toward the total liberation of people of African origin in the political, economic, cultural, educational, technological, and social spheres. In its wake, it liberates all those Frantz Fanon describes as the 'wretched of the earth', wherever they may be and in every sphere of life.

Our final position, which we could motivate at great length but the cardinal points are well known, is as

follows: The African renaissance, like the European renaissance before it – a phenomenon that took upward of three centuries to spread across and benefit all of Europe – will lie in the realisation of each African country's potential. In most African countries, this potential has been stifled for now by a combination of external and internal forces, both man-made and self-induced (war, graft, corruption, etc.) and due to adverse natural conditions (famine, drought, floods, disease, etc.). The problem lends features of classical tragedy to the modern African tale.

Faced with the African reality today, one is inclined to agree with Wole Soyinka, when he says:

A wave of anomies, even a breakdown of humanity, is sweeping across the continent that must be particularly galling to those who so confidently trumpeted an 'African renaissance'. What we see today is the opposite: a reversal of the progress that seemed to have been signalled by the end of Apartheid. At the heart of this reversal is the power syndrome. And it is destroying Africa country by country. Certainly in Africa today the terrible suffering is not caused by external enemies, but from within. African leaders have created one another as their own worst enemies. And they are dragging their populations down into the abyss as they seek to establish their own individual domination².

No one is so daft as not to see the validity of such an assertion. There is light, however, at the end of the tunnel. The assassination in January 2001 of the president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Laurent Kabila – seen in some quarters as an assassination that was waiting to happen – was a lamentable event that, nonetheless, occurred at the same time as the transfer of power to a new government in Ghana. The latter process was smoother by far than the January 2001 transition in US politics – seen from abroad as a subtle coup d'état, aborted democracy, and disenfranchisement.

We need to reiterate the following point: The post-independence era

in Africa – we dare not call it 'post-colonial' yet, any more than we can speak meaningfully at this stage of the post-Apartheid state that is still in the making – is littered with renaissance efforts that, at best, succeeded partially and, at worst, failed miserably. Once upon a midnight clear flags were lowered and new ones raised but by morning little else had changed. The story of Africa since independence is, in its main outline, a story of false starts that failed to sustain social, cultural, political, and economic reforms. The champion of Negritude and one of its chief architects, Leopold Senghor, on becoming Senegal's first president, touted some brand of African socialism, but promptly threatened to arrest dedicated Marxists of the calibre of Sembene Ousmane, who went into exile. Kwame Nkrumah rode to power on the slogan 'seek ye first the political kingdom and all else shall be given unto thee', but missed the economic boat that would have brought Ghana to the shore of success. Jomo Kenyatta's *Harambe* ('let's pull together') efforts, Kenneth Kaunda's African socialism, and Julius Nyerere's more earnest *Ujamaa* (village collectivisation) schemes saw productivity in Kenya, Zambia, and Tanzania, respectively, and the GDP in those countries plummet below their levels in the colonial era. Joseph Mobutu changed his name to Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu wa Zabanga and the name of his country to Zaire, but proceeded to loot the impoverished Central African state as few leaders anywhere in the world have done to their countries and in a way that would have elicited the envy of Belgium's King Leopold I. Nigeria is a sorry tale of state profligacy, corruption, graft, and squandered opportunity on a monumental scale. Socialism in Algeria, Angola, Burkina Faso, and Mozambique produced the same miserable results as capitalism in Cote d'Ivoire, Lesotho, Malawi, and Zaire. The litany of Africa's social, political and economic woes is, indeed, endless. Stagnation is everywhere a monument to mismanagement of Africa's vast natural and human resources. All this raises the most significant question for

exponents of the African renaissance: What must be different about current efforts to re-ignite the African renaissance? What must be tackled differently to make the 21st century truly 'the African century'?

The most intractable problem in most African countries today – and, therefore, the precondition for their resuscitation – is how to effect reconciliation and reconstruction, the twin pillars on which the stability and prosperity of all nations rest. Thabo Mbeki, who has emerged as one of the most significant leaders in Africa in the laboratory of modern times, says: 'Reconciliation and transformation should be viewed as interdependent parts of one unique process of building a new society.'³

The most meaningful renaissance in Africa will thus be the renaissance of individual countries. Continentally perceived, the African renaissance will be an aggregation of the success of each and every country. Such a renaissance will be predicated upon how individual countries tackle *reconciliation* – reconciling perennially warring factions within each country's borders as well as resolving territorial disputes and other conflicts of interest between neighbouring African states – and *reconstruction* – the recovery of each country's ailing economy. Any renaissance must take on both challenges and succeed on both scores. The principles are as African as they are global.

This discussion has attempted to provide a context within which to understand the true import of Mbeki's clarion call, when he says: 'Those with eyes to see, let them see. The African renaissance is upon us. As we peer through the looking glass darkly, this may not be obvious. But it is upon us.' It has, indeed, been upon us for a while. ■

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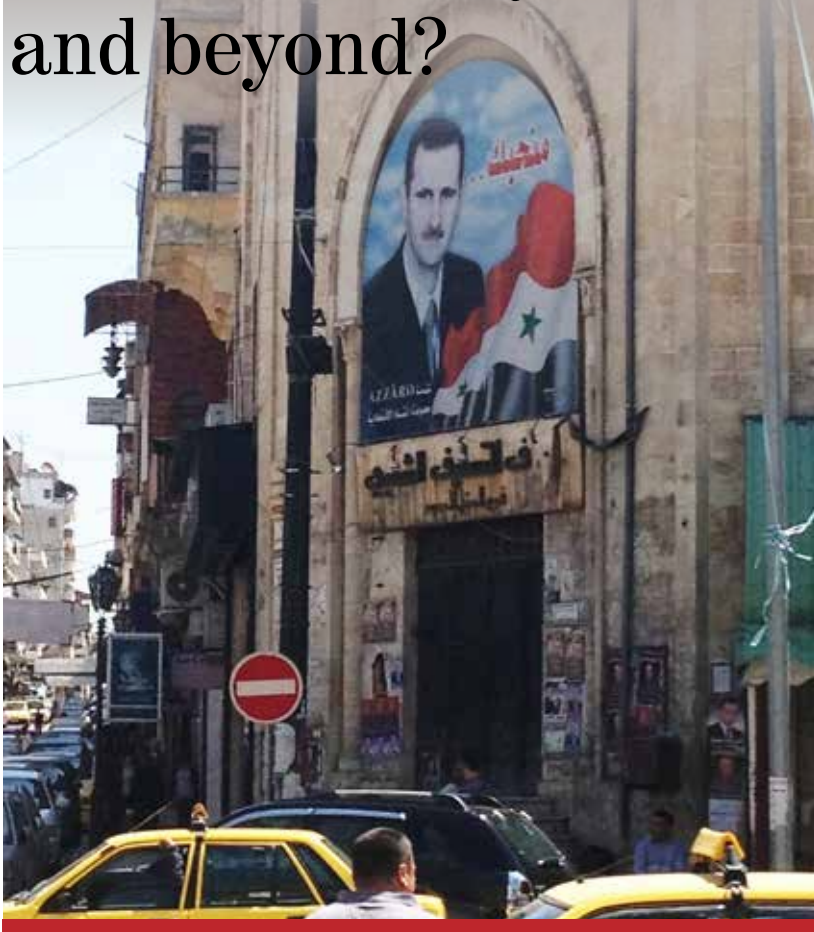
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Who will decide about the future of Syria ... and beyond?



Many governments and peoples throughout the world are rejecting the concept of “American exceptionalism” and are demanding genuine multilateralism.

By Aziz Pahad

In an article in *Business Day* (16.09.13), Nicole Fritz, the Director of the Southern Africa Litigation Centre, provides an interpretation of foreign policy that is at best disingenuous or at the very worst, reflects an extraordinarily shallow understanding of the subject. Since similar interpretations abound in

the media, it is worth looking at Fritz’s arguments in some detail.

Fritz acknowledges that “There are too many unknowns, no irrefutable proof as to who was responsible for the attacks; no reliable information as to who would benefit from the attacks,” but she proceeds to chastise President Jacob Zuma’s message to the

Commonwealth delegates calling on them “not to be silent when a country is being bombed to ashes in front of our eyes.” Without any evidence, Fritz boldly claims that this message reflects anti-imperialist rhetoric.

Fritz ignores the undeniable fact that President Zuma was reflecting the views held by the majority of Americans and concerned citizens of the world. These millions knew that an imminent attack was being planned and expressed their concerns about the dangerous consequences of any military strike, which would threaten regional and international peace and security.

It is generally understood that US President Barack Obama would have lost the vote in the Senate and in Congress in the same way that the British Parliament, reflecting the majority of British opinion, rejected Prime Minister David Cameron’s resolution to sanction military action against Syria. For Britain, it was the first time in decades that a government faced outright rejection as happened when Cameron’s proposal was thrown out.

French Prime Minister Francois Hollande is isolated in France, and other European countries including Germany oppose military action. On our continent, Former African Heads of State and Government issued an Open Letter; the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) took a firm stand against the planned strikes, while Alliance partners in South Africa strongly opposed a military solution. In case Fritz was not aware, the Pope, many other religious leaders and trade unions have also come out against US military action. South Africans have joined millions of people throughout the world in objecting to the militarisation of diplomacy.

Surely all of these millions of people, who have unequivocally condemned the use of chemical weapons, are not naïve in thinking that our opposition is based on our simplistic understanding that it is “US imperialist warmongering” as Fritz would have us believe. In reality, people around the world have correctly questioned the flimsy, discredited allegations that the Assad government was responsible for the

use of chemical weapons.

Fritz ignores reports about a possible false flag operation, which show that:

- In April 2013, the Assad forces were accused of using chemical weapons in Aleppo, but a UN investigation team later found that “armed rebels” were responsible for the attack.
- The recently released Belgian and Italian citizens, who were in Syria at the invitation of the rebel groups, but were kidnapped by an extremist faction, have testified that they overheard a conversation that confirmed that extremists carried out the latest attack.
- Former US intelligence experts have written to President Obama arguing that the chemical attack in a Damascus suburb was the work of extremists.
- There are confirmed reports that armed extremists have received chemical weapons and/or equipment from Iraq, Libya and other countries.
- Six extremists are on trial in Turkey for possessing chemical weapons and others are expected to go on trial soon.
- Over 130,000 people, including many women and children, have been killed in one of the worst conflicts in decades; an estimated 9 million Syrians have been displaced internally or externally and there has been massive destruction of infrastructure and property. This carnage was largely caused by the use of non-chemical weapons.
- The Russians have provided substantive evidence to the UNSC indicating that the armed rebels have access to chemical weapons and have used it.

UN experts have confirmed that Sarin gas was used in the attack in a Damascus suburb. Their mandate does not allow them to identify the perpetrators of this attack.

Once again an orchestrated propaganda offensive has been launched claiming that the UN report clearly points to Syrian government forces for being responsible. The US, UK and French Foreign Ministers, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu are leading the charge.

This unsubstantiated claim is yet another attempt at justifying military intervention in Syria.

When the protests for democratic change first started in 2011, they represented the voices of the non-armed Syrian opposition, who were not in favour of regime change.

The “Coalition of the Friends of Syria” which included the US, UK, France and their allies in the region, started arming, training and supplying other logistical support to the so-called “Free Syrian Army” and the “Syrian National Coalition (SNS)”.

All efforts by external sponsors to unite these forces under one leadership have failed. The SNS has now been replaced by another disparate grouping called the Syrian National Council.

Recent reports revealed that a 200 strong CIA armed, trained and equipped “moderate force” has entered Syria from Jordan. This is

“When the protests for democratic change first started in 2011, they represented the voices of the non-armed Syrian opposition, who were not in favour of regime change.”

further confirmation of a naïve and illogical belief that such forces will constitute the core of an armed rebellion that will defeat both the Assad forces and extremists. This argument cannot be based on sound intelligence and political analysis.

It is generally accepted that most of the armed fighting is conducted by extremists who come from Libya, Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, and Chechnya etc.

Hundreds more have come in from major western countries. A recent study carried out by a defence consultancy (IHS Jane’s) estimates that there are 10 000 “jihadists”, between 30-35 000 “hard-line Islamists”, and another 30 000 “moderate Islamists” fighting in Syria.

Secular or nationalist fighters constitute a minority of the armed groups. The extremists are even attacking the “moderates”.

The main extremist groups, the al Nusra, the Islamic State in Syria and the Levant, which have been listed as terrorists by the US, have publicly pronounced that their aim is to enforce strict Sharia law within a regional Islamic “caliphate.”

The Friends of Syria Coalition optimistically predicted that the “Assad regime” would be defeated within 6 months through a combination of sanctions and armed rebellion. Nearly two and a half years later, with catastrophic consequences, all evidence indicates that not only has the “Assad regime” survived, but it is winning the military battle. This then must mean that the majority of Syrian people are opposed to the externally driven civil war and will support the Assad government to defeat the armed extremists.

Fritz is advising the South African government to refrain from criticising military adventurism but to look for arguments that would help “better define” what “humanitarian intervention” and the “responsibility to protect (R2P)” could “look like.”

Fritz seems to be ignorant of the fact that South Africa played a leading role in the development of the ICC convention and the establishment of the International Criminal Court. Africa has the greatest number of countries that have signed the Convention and joined the ICC, which the US is not a signatory to nor is it a member of the ICC.

The recent experiences of regime change solutions under the pretext of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq have been conveniently ignored. This is to say nothing of the flagrant abuse of the humanitarian intervention and R2P principles in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Cote d’Ivoire and Syria.

The regime change in Libya has had a domino effect and has destabilised the entire Sahel region, which now provides havens for foreign extremist armed groupings; and there is growing fear that worse is to come. Africa has consistently expressed concerns about the abuse of the “humanitarian

intervention” and R2P doctrines. The African Union has consistently raised these issues in its summits. Kenya has withdrawn from the ICC and many other African signatories are also threatening to withdraw. The ICC will not survive if the “humanitarian intervention” and “R2P” principles continue to be abused to achieve regime change.

It does not require rocket science to understand that the UN system, including the Security Council, has many shortcomings, one of which is the veto power. The US has used its veto power more than any other Permanent Member of the UNSC. The UN is still the only multilateral guardian of international law, without which international relations will continue to be dominated by major western powers, where “might is right”.

Africa will continue to work with other countries, especially in the South, to fundamentally transform all UN structures, including the Security Council and the Bretton Woods Institutions. Fritz, our litigation expert, may do well to mobilise support for this campaign.

Fritz astonishingly argues that South Africa’s insistence that any military action should be sanctioned by the UNSC seems “disingenuous”. She advances the argument that the Russians have blocked every resolution on Syria, but fails to explain that the French draft resolution was one-sided against the Assad government, and was based on Chapter VII, which authorises the use of force.

France, the UK and US are persisting in introducing a belligerent draft which they know will be vetoed by the Russians. They foolishly believe that a veto would allow them to launch an orchestrated perception management campaign to convince the world that the intransigence of Russia forced them to act without a Security Council mandate.

In January 2012, President Assad, speaking to the nation and the world, put forward a plan for an inclusive political solution. This formed the basis for starting inclusive negotiations. But the Friends of Syria Coalition, the Syrian National Coalition and the Free Syrian Army immediately rejected

Assad’s proposals.

It is a matter of record that the “Friends of Syria Coalition” and the armed “rebels” successfully sabotaged previous UNIMIS and Kofi Annan initiatives to find an inclusive political solution.

They also sabotaged the decisions of the June 2012 Geneva 1 talks and now seem determined to scupper efforts to convene Geneva 2, thus preventing an inclusive political solution in the interests of the Syrian people and regional and international peace and stability.

On 9 September 2013, Russia announced an initiative to deal with Syria’s chemical weapons stock, to defuse a dangerous situation and create conditions for an inclusive political settlement. Without hesitation, the Syrian government immediately agreed and informed the United Nations

“In reality, people around the world have correctly questioned the flimsy, discredited allegations that the Assad government was responsible for the use of chemical weapons.”

Secretary General Ban Ki Moon that they were willing and ready to sign the Chemical Weapons Convention. The Syrian government demonstrated willingness to seriously consider any constructive proposals.

President Assad, in several interviews, correctly called on all other role players to desist from threats and to refrain from supporting the armed groups.

Having entered into discussions, six days later, on 14 September 2013, the US and Russia announced a plan to eliminate Syria’s chemical weapons stock. It is now crucial that all parties, under the authority of the UN Security Council, commit to implementing this agreement. The belligerent threats of violence by some Permanent Members and their efforts to impose a one-sided

Chapter VII resolution are counter-productive and must be rejected. Any military aggression taken in the absence of justification of self defence or a UN Security Council decision will be in violation of the UN Charter and International Law.

This is also an opportunity to campaign for a Middle East free of all weapons of mass destruction. This must include Israel, which is known to have hundreds of nuclear arsenals and a large stockpile of chemical weapons. Israel has, with impunity, used white phosphorous against civilians in Gaza. Not surprisingly, the three major western powers and regional allies were very silent about this criminal act.

After the end of the cold war, the US emerged as the sole superpower with unprecedented military superiority. US military aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq displayed to the world that Star Wars had become a reality. Tragically, the US has failed to understand its role in the new world order and there has been a lack of strategic coherence and consistency in US foreign policy.

After the 9/11 attacks, US administrations increasingly formulated policies on the basis of “You are for us or against us.” Notwithstanding strong public opposition even in the US establishment, regime change through military intervention has dominated the foreign policies of successive US administrations.

The US Administration’s policies are based on narrowly defined national interests, which reject the notion of shared interests, shared values and responsibilities. The US, in proclaiming its “exceptionalism”, has unilaterally decided to be the global policeman to enforce “morality and democracy” and it has used “coalitions of the willing” to achieve these objectives through military action.

The US continues to live by the mantra it adopted during the Vietnam war:

“Destroy the village to save the people”. Many governments and peoples throughout the world are rejecting the concept of “American exceptionalism” and are demanding genuine multilateralism. ■

CHINESE DREAM

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A Dream for Peace, Development, Cooperation and win-win Outcomes for All



What is the Chinese Dream? What does this Dream mean to the world? How can China and Africa work together to turn their respective dreams into reality?

By Tian Xuejun

Everyone has dreams, so does every country and every nation. Chinese President Xi Jinping talked about the “Chinese Dream” on many occasions after taking office early this year. His elaboration of the Chinese Dream has not only received warm responses within China, but also attracted wide attention from the international community. What is the Chinese Dream? What does this Dream mean to the world? How can China and Africa work together to turn their respective dreams into reality? I wish to share some of my observations.

What is the Chinese Dream?

The Chinese Dream is about achieving three major goals: the prosperity of the country, the rejuvenation of the nation and the happiness of the people. These three goals are integrated as a whole. To understand the Chinese Dream, the following characteristics are of great importance.

First, the Chinese Dream develops along with the history of China. China enjoys more than 5000 years of civilisation. However, since modern times, especially after the first “Opium War” in 1840, the country was gradually turned into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society under the bullying and humiliation of Western powers. It was also from that time the Chinese nation started the great struggle for national independence and rejuvenation. This was the starting point of the Chinese Dream. In pursuing this Dream, the Chinese people travelled a tortuous and difficult path, and finally established the New China - the People’s Republic of China - in 1949 under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC). This laid the solid foundation for the realisation of the Chinese Dream. Since that time, for 64 years, the Chinese people have been working hard to transform the Chinese Dream into reality. The Chinese Dream is not only the desire of the Chinese people of today, but also the long-time inspiration of the Chinese nation. As President Xi Jinping pointed out, this has been the greatest dream ever shared by the Chinese nation and cherished throughout modern times.

Second, the Chinese Dream has clear targets. The Chinese Dream is not a fantasy, nor an illusion. With tangible and feasible objectives, it will guide the future development of the country. The 18th CPC National Congress made a specific interpretation of the Chinese Dream: that is, by 2020, the centenary of the CPC, China will double its 2010 GDP and per capita income for both urban and rural residents and complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects; and by 2049, the centenary of the New China, we will build a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious. After achieving

“The Chinese Dream is closely connected with all the beautiful dreams of people of different countries in the world. China has the world’s largest population. It is the largest developing country, the largest emerging country and one of the fastest growing economies.”

the two “Centenary Goals”, we will work to eventually realise the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. These are the three major phases of the Chinese Dream.

Third, the Chinese Dream brings the interests of the country, the nation and the people together. The Chinese Dream is a dream of the country, of the nation and of the people. It embodies the collective pursuit of the nation and, at the same time, connects with the destiny of each and every Chinese person. The prosperity of the country and the rejuvenation of the nation are the premise and guarantee of our Dream, and the happiness and well-being of the people are the final goal.

What does this Dream mean to the world?

In this globalised world, China can never develop in isolation from the rest of the world, and the world cannot develop without China. We can safely say that in the predictable future, the world will become a community with closer exchanges, closer cooperation and more closely integrated interests. In this sense, the Chinese Dream belongs not only to China but also to the world.

To realise the Chinese Dream, we need a peaceful and stable neighbouring and global environment, and we need to strengthen cooperation with other countries for common development. As a result, the realisation of the Chinese Dream will bring tremendous opportunities to the world, and contribute greatly to world peace, prosperity and development. Therefore, we call the Chinese Dream a dream for peace, development, cooperation and win-win outcomes for all.

China’s rapid development in the past three decades has contributed greatly to world development and prosperity. In recent years, China’s economy has contributed more than one fifth of global economic growth. Since its official entry into the WTO in 2001, China has imported an annual average of US\$750 billion worth of goods, amounting to more than 14 million new jobs for its trading partners. In 2012, China’s foreign investment reached US\$65.2 billion, and the number of local staff employed by overseas Chinese companies reached nearly 800,000, and more than US\$10 billion tax has been paid annually to host countries. In the past decade, China’s accumulated foreign aid has exceeded RMB170 billion yuan. By the end of 2012, China has helped build more than 2200 production and living facilities in developing countries, forgiven the debt of 50 underdeveloped countries and LDCs, and trained more than 60,000 personnel for 173 developing countries and 13 regional organisations. It is estimated that in the coming five years, China will import US\$10 trillion worth of goods and invest US\$500 billion overseas. About 400 million Chinese tourists will travel overseas.

The continued development of China's economy will bring more opportunities to the world. The Chinese Dream will certainly offer bright prospects for China's cooperation with the world.

How can China and Africa work together to turn their dreams into reality?

Gaining strength through unity and achieving development and rejuvenation are the vigorous pursuits and common aspirations of all African countries. I think these are the core of the African Dream. As the world's largest developing country and the continent home to the largest number of developing countries, China and Africa share similar historic trajectories and are faced with common development tasks. We all cherish peace, want development, advocate self-reliance and pursue independence. We are close at heart, and we share similar objectives and destinies.

When Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Africa in March this year, he proposed that the Chinese and African people should enhance unity, cooperation, mutual support and assistance so as to make our respective dreams come true. Former UN deputy Secretary-General Asha-Rose Migiro commented not long ago during a conference that "the new Chinese administration under the leadership of President Xi Jinping unveiled 'The Great Chinese Dream'. Through this dream China affirms its commitment to connecting its development with that of Africa, aligning the interests of the Chinese people with those of the African people, and combining China's development opportunities with those of Africa." Tanzanian Foreign Minister Bernard Membe said that cooperation with China serves the interests of Africa, and Africa is willing to work with China who is always ready to help and is a real friend.

I think during the journey in which China and Africa join hands and turn our dreams into reality, we should:

First, engage in mutual learning. The Chinese Dream and the African Dream share many similarities in terms of philosophy and objectives. The ways to achieve both Dreams are

“China and Africa share similar historic trajectories and are faced with common development tasks. We all cherish peace, want development, advocate self-reliance and pursue independence. We are close at heart, and we share similar objectives and destinies.”

also similar. We should, during our course of development, learn from each other so that our dreams will be enriched and our journey to realise the dreams will be smoother. China will forever remain Africa's true friend and trustworthy partner. We will share with no reservation our experience in development with African countries and help Africa find a path suitable to its own conditions to transform the African dream into reality.

Second, focus on mutual benefit.

“The Chinese Dream and the African Dream share many similarities in terms of philosophy and objectives. The ways to achieve both Dreams are also similar. We should, during our course of development, learn from each other so that our dreams will be enriched and our journey to realise the dreams will be smoother.”

To accelerate development is the fundamental way to realise our dreams. We should give full play to our respective advantages and expand our cooperation. The foundation of a sustainable China-Africa cooperation is the commitment to equality, mutual benefit and common development. This is also the important guarantee if we are to realise our dreams. China will act from the common interests of both sides and the long-term perspective of the China-Africa relationship, enhance practical cooperation with African countries, scale up investment into Africa's most critical areas such as infrastructure, agriculture, manufacturing and personnel training, help Africa strengthen its capacity for self-development and create more jobs for Africa. These will bring African people more benefits, and ensure China and Africa a brighter future.

Third, enhance mutual-assistance. A favourable external environment is essential for us to achieve both the Chinese Dream and the African Dream. In recent years, African countries and regional organisations have been working vigorously to address African issues using an African approach and actively mediating regional conflicts and hotspot issues. As a result, peace and security have been relatively improved in Africa. However, we should also be aware of the prominent challenges that threaten Africa's peace and security and stand in the way of the development of the Continent. There is still a long way to go for Africa to eventually secure peace and stability. China will continue with our firm support to Africa's own efforts addressing African issues, be a more constructive participant in Africa's peace and security affairs and play a positive role in helping Africa achieve lasting peace and stability. At the same time, in order to safeguard the common interests of all developing countries, China will reinforce coordination and cooperation with African countries on the reform of the global governance system and other major international and regional issues, make the international order more just, equitable and balanced, and create a favourable environment for the realisation of the Chinese Dream and the African Dream. ■

The implications of the SADC energy access strategy and action plan on peace, security and development in the region



The lack of proper planning, commitment, funding, as well as investments into the energy sector hinder the development of the regional energy sector and energy access projects. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has the potential to meet the energy demands and to venture into the use of alternative energy, as the region possesses abundant renewable energy resources.

By Nolubabalo Magam

Climate change is an issue that cannot be ignored; it has taken centre stage and requires urgent attention. Efforts to mitigate and adapt to climate change have been made and the search for solutions still continue. Without doubt the energy sector is a major contributor to global warming through the use of fossil fuels, as well as the traditional use of fire wood (cutting down trees) and cow dung (causing air pollution).

The importance of securing energy as well as the need to expand energy capacity in the region, in order to accelerate development, has led to many countries searching for alternative ways to meet the energy demand. The

use of traditional ways to produce energy has a negative impact on both the people and the environment. Diseases as well as environmental issues such as deforestation are the result of the continued dependency on traditional biomass. Alternative energy resources are ecologically sound and readily available.

Responding to this demand, the Southern African Development Community adopted the SADC Energy Access Strategy and Action Plan in March 2010. The core of the Action Plan is to expand the regional energy capacity and introduce alternative energy in the region. This paper is a discussion of this policy and the

implications it has in the region.

During the last two decades, SADC has outlined its energy strategy and policy in several documents: the SADC Protocol on Energy (1996) being the first, followed by the Energy Cooperation Policy and Strategy (1996). There was also, the SADC Energy Sector Action Plan (1997) and the SADC Energy Activity Plan (2000) among others. Comprehensive as they appear, these policies and strategies (before being fully implemented) have been overtaken by developments in the sector regionally and globally. This led to continuous change in energy use patterns and an ever growing energy demand, outstripping supply.

For example, in February 2008, SADC combined electricity demand stood at 47,067 MW as opposed to the available capacity of 43,518 MW. In March, 2010, SADC formulated the Regional Energy Access Strategy and Action plan (hereafter referred to as the Action Plan) as a step towards realigning the Energy sector to emerging issues (Matupa, January 2011). The review is in response to concerns raised by many stakeholders that the current energy governance instruments should be updated to be aligned with current developments such as the climate change discourse (SADC Energy Thematic Group Bulletin, 2010).

In March 2010, SADC formulated a Regional Energy Access Strategy and Action Plan (herewith referred to as the Action Plan) in an effort to realign the regional energy sector to that of the world.

Although improving energy access is a national responsibility rather than a regional one, there is a potential for regional arrangements to harness available resources for the collective benefit of member states, thus igniting them to implement the Action Plan nationally. This requires investments into the renewable energy sector in each country, thus posing a challenge for member states which lack funding for development of infrastructure. This is evident in the case of Lesotho and Malawi, which still have 3% to 4% of energy use in rural areas and a national consumption less than 20% (SADC Action Plan, 2010).

Furthermore all energy investments have to compete for scarce funding with other infrastructure investments such as schools, hospitals and roads. In 2007/2008, South Africa experienced a shortage of electricity supply. This led to massive load-shedding which affected development and investments in the country.

Millions of SADC citizens still have limited or no access to energy and therefore many still use traditional methods like biomass, paraffin. All these methods are a threat not only to the environment but to the health and safety (houses burnt by candle accidents leading to death and dislocation) of the user; they contribute to deforestation, soil erosion and global

warming. Food security also becomes a problem as the climate change results in unfavourable conditions for farming. Climate change and environmental disasters that threaten human security can induce forced migration and lead to competition over scarce resources among communities, with potential for political instability and conflict. Competing for scarce resources could aggravate territorial and border disputes and then complicate conflict resolution processes.

Dixon (1994:5) confirms that degradation and depletion of agricultural land, forests, water, and fish contributes to social turmoil. Scarcity of resources (food) leads to rural-

“Millions of SADC citizens still have limited or no access to energy and therefore many still use traditional methods like biomass, paraffin. All these methods are a threat not only to the environment but to the health and safety of the user; they contribute to deforestation, soil erosion and global warming.”

urban migration and people moving to countries with better opportunities.

Efforts to address the energy access demand in the region

The goals of the Action Plan appear to be very comprehensive, yet funding and investment are a major challenge. The region can reach its target of halving the number of people with no access to modern energy by 2020. There have been many projects by member states nationally, bilaterally and regionally, in an attempt to expand the energy capacity. Unfortunately,

due to the scarcity of funds and lack of proper planning, not all the projects have been successful. These projects include:

- WESTCOR transmission interconnector
- Inga project
- ZIZABONA Project
- DRC-Zambia interconnection
- Malawi-Mozambique interconnection
- Zambia-Tanzania-Kenya interconnection and
- 2nd 400kV Zimbabwe-Botswana-South Africa Interconnector.

Over the years good ideas have been put on paper but have failed to bear fruit. There are many projects still pending, others are long overdue, yet there are new ones being planned and some already approved. One would then conclude that the region lacks proper planning and/or the capacity to implement. It also raises the question of political will. How committed are the SADC members to the success of the 2010 Action Plan? Failure to implement it would have a direct bearing on peace, development and energy security in the region.

The SADC energy strategy and action plan

The Action Plan is guided by the following goals:

- Strategic goal: The harnessing of regional energy resources to ensure (through national and regional action) that people of the SADC region have access to adequate, reliable, lowest possible cost, environmentally sustainable energy services.
- Operational goal: To endeavour to halve the proportion of people without such access within 10 years for each end use and halve again in successive 5 year periods until there is universal access for all end uses.

These goals appear to be comprehensive and if achieved could lead to development in the region as well as the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. The chances, however, are very slim as the region is still struggling to get investments into the energy sector as well as proper funding to date.

The United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (January

2009:16), asserts that the extent to which renewable energy can contribute to efforts to address the energy challenges facing Africa needs to be closely analysed. In general, the role of renewable energy in meeting Africa's energy demand has been undermined by bad experiences, misinformation, technology push, and consequent negative perceptions. The balance between energy services for meaningful economic growth, on the one hand, and general welfare gains, on the other, continues to be a source of unnecessary conflict among stakeholders, as both are essential and complementary. So far, certain technologies have been disseminated in circumstances that compromise their further adoption, as beneficiaries have been dissatisfied. The mismatch between energy service provision and income generation to meet the cost of services has been particularly disadvantageous to the promotion of renewable energy.

The social and economic systems and conditions in SADC countries are diverse. Similarly, the energy needs, income and population distribution and technology associated with production modes vary. Energy plays a crucial role in economic development. Once energy is in short supply, it becomes more costly and depresses the economy, leading to increases in unemployment and compromising development prospects (Nkomo, August 2007:10). This is the challenge facing the region.

It was not until the end of the last century that attention was drawn to the fact that by burning fossil fuels and emitting greenhouse gases, people are contributing to a change in the planet's atmosphere and a resultant change in climate (Haw and Hughes, February 2007).

The countries in SADC prepared a regional program in 1999, to assess their needs in the area of clean energy technology. This effort was designed to identify the clean energy technologies that have the greatest potential across the SADC region for meeting sustainable development needs, while reducing greenhouse emissions through accelerated private investment and to assist countries in mobilising

that investment (National Renewable Energy Laboratory, October 1999).

Mak and Soltan (2005) point out that affordability in the energy sector is a problem. This is evident in the case of South Africa; its oft-cited off-grid solar voltaic electrification programme requires the government to subsidise the capital cost of the equipment, and to break even the consumers would have to be charged thirty times more than the current residential electricity tariff. The same problems with affordability are experienced elsewhere in SADC and the African continent, leading to the call for a more diversified renewable energy policy, one that emphasises solutions that catalyse income generation.

“New technologies and mechanisms (e.g. grid-tie inverter solar panels) have made solar power effective and affordable in many countries which have far less hours of sunshine yearly than SADC countries.”

Southern African countries should adopt appropriate pricing and subsidies. This is a requirement of the Action Plan to ensure that electricity is affordable.

SADC countries have neither the same national energy consumption nor energy access needs. Mauritius leads with 99.9% of energy access; it is the opinion of the researcher that SADC countries should adopt some of the Mauritius energy access strategies.

Countries like Mozambique, Lesotho and Malawi are lagging behind the other countries in the region. A lot still needs to be done as these countries have very low levels of energy access and are poor (in terms of development). It is therefore a huge challenge to get investments into the energy sector in these countries. To date, the majority

of people still use traditional biomass as energy. This affects their health and the climate. These countries need to adopt the SADC Action Plan, implement it and ensure the achievement of its goals.

Access to clean and affordable energy will ensure the reduction of Green House Gases and reduce global warming. According to the researcher, this will require countries to educate their citizens about climate change and how it affects their livelihood; especially in rural areas.

It seems people continue to use fire wood and cow dung as their source of energy, even after they have access to electricity. This is due to the high costs of electricity and limited or no knowledge of the health risks and the damage they cause to the environment by using them. Energy should therefore be affordable.

Energy is a basic need and all humans need to have some sort of access to energy, be it modern or traditional. Without doubt that millions of people in the SADC region still use traditional biomass as their main source of energy. This method affects the environment negatively, the very same environment that produces food for them. As the land gets infertile due to deforestation, acid rain and soil erosion among others, food security becomes a major challenge. People then start competing for scarce resources (food) and migrate in search of such.

Recommendations

Goodwin (2008:19) posits that the human race cannot ignore the potential long-term impact on the earth that may arise from continued hydrocarbon combustion and carbon dioxide production which contribute to increased global temperatures. Alternative sources are required of energy density similar to that provided by petroleum, but which when consumed, are free of negative environmental impacts.

It is not just improved access that counts in the SADC region, but also energy-efficient use. Additionally, productive use must be included in energy investment plans so as to boost economic development and reduce

poverty (European Union Energy Initiative, undated).

The use of energy from fossil fuels and clearance are the main causes of anthropogenic emissions of carbon dioxide.

These economic activities are therefore the main causes of human-induced climate change. They are also at the very basis of people's economic lives. Vrolijk (2002: 6) recommends a reduction in emissions to mitigate climate change and states that "the world community is confronted with a radical challenge of a totally new kind". Countries should stabilise Green House Gas concentrations at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system.

All SADC countries should honour their commitments as members of the region, as the regional access strategy and Action Plan provides an opportunity for shared revenue and combination of more resources to be used. Regional integration also allows the exchange of experience and ideas in energy access especially from countries like Mauritius, Seychelles, South Africa, Namibia and Botswana. SADC countries must ensure that the energy they provide to citizens is not only ecologically sound and clean but must be affordable and easy to access.

The proper utilisation of the abundance of renewable energy resources in Southern Africa requires political will and enthusiasm. Without commitment by governments, none of the goals will be achieved. Political will is therefore of the utmost importance.

Feasible financing mechanisms are needed to enable access to renewable energy technologies. The region should seek financial assistance from international financing institutions as well as the private sector to invest in the "Green Economy" and fund renewable energy projects.

Conclusion

Economic development and growth in the region is an essential need. Peace cannot be maintained if there is no development. Giving people access to modern energy is part of development but it does not end there, people need

to use this energy to their benefit and to develop themselves. In some rural areas in the region, people have access to energy but still use their traditional ways of producing energy. This is because they cannot afford the costs that are tied to the use of modern energy. It is therefore important for governments to give people access to affordable and easily accessible energy. Yet South Africa's power utility, Eskom, has been increasing the energy tariffs yearly, and doing little to encourage people to move to renewable energy sources (with the exception of solar geysers).

The National Energy Regulator of South Africa (NERSA) has approved the principle behind Renewable Energy Feed-in Tariffs, and the system will be piloted by 2015. This will enable municipalities, smallholdings, schools and private houses and businesses to become small generators of power and to contribute the power which is surplus to their needs into the national grid. Such small providers already contribute to the national grid in many European countries (e.g UK and Germany Renewable Energy Feed-in Tariffs) and the USA, the excess power running their metres backwards and thus reducing their electricity bills at the same time as addressing national power shortages. Solar power in particular should be used for all household electricity, not just for heating the geyser. New technologies and mechanisms (e.g. grid-tie inverter solar panels) have made solar power effective and affordable in many countries which have far less hours of sunshine yearly than SADC countries.

The role of wind and wave power and solar photovoltaic (PV) arrays must also be seriously investigated. For example, reducing carbon emissions is expected to lead to the increased use of electrical vehicles, charged through PV arrays (collin.edu/news/HighlighArticles201304solar.html).

The majority of the citizens (rural areas) cannot afford the cost of electricity; hence they opt to use the readily available biomass as was also the case in Namibia. This hinders development. The adoption of the Action Plan will ensure development

in SADC countries and the region as a whole.

The commitment of SADC members in implementing the Action Plan will bring change and move a step forward in achieving the goals of this policy. The use of renewable energy will reduce the pressure on the environment and encourage investments into the "Green Market". Not only will it be a good attempt to adapt to climate change but will also create employment in the Green Market and give people access to clean affordable energy. This would be a step towards development, energy and food security and ensure peace and stability in the region.

The SADC Action Plan came in as a good solution to our energy demand and the need for renewable energy. The goals of the Action Plan may need to be modified if they are to be achieved in the recommended time frame. In addition, practical ways of implementing alternative energy resources which are daily becoming more affordable with new technological mechanisms need to be integrated into the plan, which still requires further refinement.

It is unfortunate that to date, the Southern African Power Pool and the SADC Secretariat have not officially released the one year progress report of the developments made in countries since the adoption of the Action Plan in March 2010.

If the current energy situation (demand that exceeds the supply and use of fossil fuels and traditional biomass) continues, then the region will have more problems to solve. Global warming will lead to scarcity of resources including the basic needs such as food and water, then lead to migration in search of a better life, which would in turn pose a threat to peace as it has the potential for conflict over scarce resources, threatening security and development as well.

There is no doubt that the SADC Energy Access Strategy and Action Plan has implications for peace, security and development in the region. Therefore the SADC leaders have to abide and respect the Action Plan and commit to reducing the impact of climate change through renewable energy. ■

Africa needs a workable economic system in the twenty-first century

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Trade Unions remain among the best institutions the continent can rely upon for the implementation of socio-economic policies which can benefit the majority.

By Christopher D. Mlosy

“Reports that say that something hasn’t happened are always interesting to me, because, as we know, there are known knowns; there are things we know that we know. There are known unknowns; that is to say, there are things that we now know we don’t know. But there are also unknown unknowns – there are things we do not know we don’t know” United States Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld, February 2002.

Background Information

Karl Marx observed in 1886 that wage levels can only be settled by the continuous struggle between capital and labour, capitalists constantly tending to reduce wages to their physical minimum, and to extend the working day to its physical maximum, while the working man constantly presses in the opposite direction¹. In the capitalist system, business leaders united around a strategy to

restore their competitive edge on the back of the working class. In times of crisis, they embarked on a long-term campaign to shift the balance of class forces decisively in their own favour.

Therefore, capitalist society is the first society in which the reproduction and the class relations of that society requires the general circulation of commodities. This implies that the task of the theory of a capitalist society is to explain the integration of circulation and production, how socially isolated (private) production is rendered social. That is, how a social division of labour is affected without a conscious organisation of social production. Within capitalist relations of production, this is obviously achieved through the exchange of products as commodities, and products not only are exchanged but must be exchanged².

The capitalist system of today has elements that go by code words like “free market” or “laissez-faire” or “our

democracy”. These are labels for rather complex, sophisticated ideas that would take tens of thousands of words to explain in full.

Capitalism is a system of rules, finely tuned to produce certain beneficial outcomes, even if the participants themselves have no interest in the condition of society as a whole. The voters would choose those who had the interests of society as a whole at heart. But, this system can be corrupted, and clearly doesn’t work today in many countries worldwide. Many countries developed regulations for workplace safety, child labour, bankruptcy, and on and on, ideally to prohibit socially damaging behaviour, and channelling activity into socially productive behaviour. The capitalist class owns the commanding heights of a critical part of the economy - the factories, the mines, the large farms and the banks. This class of capitalist owners is collectively the ruling class and thrives off the labour of the working class and the poor worldwide.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 with its planned economy has been so dramatic that some critics argued that when government plans the economy, officials and their policy advisors really do not understand what is best for its citizens and the country.

A National Development Plan requires central planning and monitoring on a national level and implementation on a micro and local level. Adequate funding from government agencies as well as support from citizens will allow short, medium and long term goals to be met. Goals should focus on the micro and macro strategy for national growth. This can include the development of economic infrastructure, education, social welfare, science, and innovation. Before setting goals, a government should review the current strengths of each sector and articulate room for growth (both in the long and short term). The scope of goals will depend upon whether a country is a developed or developing nation and should be tailored to the cultural, economic and social needs of a specific country.

Goals should have sustainability regardless of what is politically popular at the time. Nations should

consider advice from well trained and experienced economists to review national conditions and proposed strategies to ensure that they are sustainable and not just politically expedient³. Monitoring and evaluation are critical components of successful national development planning exercises. We should understand that planned economies are the opposite of unplanned economies, and the so-called self-managed economy, where production, distribution, pricing, and investment decisions are made by autonomous firms based upon their individual interests rather than upon a macro-economic plan.

Marxism-Leninism, originating from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, argues that socialism is the mid-point between capitalism and communism, with the means of production controlled by the working class but with the state guiding the economy on the workers' behalf. In a socialist economic system the state plans and produces goods, and either owns or redistributes resources among its citizens. Socialism relies on government planning, rather than the marketplace, to distribute resources. While it is usually possible for individuals living in a socialist country to own businesses or offer professional services directly to consumers, they are usually taxed heavily on their profits. Public services are typically numerous and funded by taxpayer money.

Africa faces a serious economic crisis. By an economic crisis we mean an interruption or disjuncture in the process of social reproduction that involves the incomplete reproduction of the circuit of capital. In an economic crisis, the decline of production and the rise of unemployment continues. The capitalists do not care one bit. They want their money. And the only way left to get it is to impose austerity on the working class and the poor.

The capitalist system has not been able to get out of the economic crisis in Africa. Corruption, toxic debt and dubious arms deals continue to plague Africa. African countries must recognise and realise that true change requires transparency and accountability at all levels and in all states. Africa's corruption troubles are well known, but corruption is a global

phenomenon and developed countries are deeply implicated⁴. National efforts for sustainable socio-economic growth and development can only be effective if they are not contradicted by wide-scale corruption at the upper echelons of public life, including at the international level.

The Collapse of the Soviet Union

What can Africa learn from the collapse of the Soviet Union with its planned economy?

In December of 1991⁵, as the world watched in amazement, the Soviet Union disintegrated into fifteen separate countries. Its collapse was hailed by the capitalist major powers as a victory for freedom, a triumph of democracy over totalitarianism, and evidence of the superiority of capitalism over socialism. The rise and fall of centrally planned economies – socialism – was one of the most important events of the 20th Century. The United States rejoiced as its formidable enemy was brought to its knees, thereby ending the Cold War which had hovered over these two superpowers since the end of World War II. Indeed, the breakup of the Soviet Union transformed the entire world political situation, leading to a complete reformulation of political, economic and military alliances all over the globe. The dominant form of socialism, as it existed since roughly 1920, had now proved to be at a dead end. Many communists abandoned communist parties for social democratic ones, or abandoned radical politics altogether.

The Russian revolution of 1917, led by Vladimir Lenin, deposed the old Tsarist imperial autocracy. Lenin was a revolutionary who refined, developed and gave impetus to the scientific ideas of Marx and Engels.

At its greatest extent the former Soviet Union encompassed a geographical area that covered one-sixth of the Earth's landmass. The former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) - Soviet Union, was a concrete example of what a planned economy could produce: full employment, guaranteed pensions, paid maternity leave, limits on working hours, free healthcare and education (including higher education), subsidised vacations, inexpensive

housing, low-cost childcare, subsidised public transportation, and rough income equality. From its creation, the government in the Soviet Union was based on the one-party rule of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Sure, all citizens want these benefits. However, are they achievable/workable permanently? It is widely believed that while the Soviet Union may have produced these benefits, in the end, Soviet public ownership and planning proved to be unworkable.

After the Bolsheviks seized power from the Provisional Government in 1917, Lenin's grand plan - New Economic Policy (NEP) was elaborated to bring socialism to Russia. Near the end of his life though, Lenin began to realise that the Communist party was moving away from his vision. Membership was increasing steadily and some members were beginning to abuse their power, straying from the Communist Party's discipline. Corruption began to emerge within the Communist Party, which would continue under Joseph Stalin and increase under Nikita Khrushchev's regime. The problem of corruption hit its peak when Leonid Brezhnev ruled over the Soviet Union for twenty-eight years. During Brezhnev's reign, the bureaucracy was huge, going directly against Lenin's vision. It became inefficient as officials used their positions for their own personnel gain. Brezhnev and his government ignored the problem since many Party members were directly involved in it. This led to economic stagnation, which created a lack of consumer goods⁶. The ideals of socialism, used by the Party were seen as lies. This added to the cycle of decline when disenchanted citizens undermined political authority. The quality and efficiency of Soviet production fell. Mikhail Gorbachev inherited these problems when he became General Secretary in 1985.

In 1928, Joseph Stalin⁷ introduced the First Five-Year Plan for building a socialist economy. While encompassing the internationalism expressed by Lenin throughout the Revolution, it also aimed to build socialism in one country. In industry, the state assumed control over all existing enterprises and undertook an intensive programme

of industrialisation. In agriculture, rather than adhering to the "lead by example" policy advocated by Lenin, forced collectivisation of farms was implemented all over the country. The economy of the then Soviet Union was publicly owned and planned, and from 1928 to 1989 it reliably expanded from year to year, except during the war years⁸. From 1928-1973, the Soviet Union was growing economically at a pace that had the prospect of catching up with the United States and Western Europe. By the early 1970s, the Soviet Union had the world's second largest industrial capacity, and produced more steel, oil, pig-iron, cement and tractors than any other country. In 1973, the Soviet economy slowed, and began to lag behind that of the West due to the high-level of expenditure on the armed forces and too little spending on light industry and consumer goods. GNP growth rates began to decrease in the 1970s (Era of Stagnation)⁹ from the level it held in the 1950s and 1960s; its growth rates began to lag behind Western Europe and the United States. The GNP growth rate declined to 1% to 2% per year, and with Soviet technology falling ever farther behind that of the West, the Soviet Union faced economic stagnation by the early 1980s¹⁰.

Good governance and strategies to combat corruption are essential for the economic and social progress of all countries in the region. Vladimir Lenin was correct on the importance of the Third World when he committed the Soviet Union and the CPSA to supporting the anti-colonial struggles in Asia and Africa. Lenin was correct when he said that imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism. But we have moved beyond the stage that Lenin was analysing; capitalism has become more resilient and we are now in the phase of a rapidly globalising world economy dominated by the major western powers and monopoly capital.

We have two forms of capitalism: one, in which control over labour power, capital and trade is concentrated, and the other where this control is absent. Marx was correct on a crucially important point more than 160 years ago, viz. that capitalism will not collapse; capitalism will not

be overthrown until it has realised its own complete potentiality. What is happening now is the proof of Marx's point: capitalism has reached its full potential. The socialism of the Soviet Union also failed. Lenin was aware and condemned corruption and the growth of bureaucracy in the Communist Party when he addressed the Central Committee in 1918. In his last years Lenin was worried about the future of the Communist Party and socialism in Russia. The failure of Marxist-Leninist socialism in the former Soviet Union has done undeniable harm to the worldwide appeal of socialism. People who oppose the corrupt capitalist economic system of any government in Africa are in strong position to say, "We need to find a better system which works in favour of the working people in both urban and rural areas".

“Before setting goals, a government should review the current strengths of each sector and articulate room for growth (both in the long and short term).”

Social democracy is an approach which has the potential to achieve this kind of alternative in a way which can be completely democratic and which can offer a decent life to the people of Africa. The essential function of the ruling parties according to Marx and Lenin was to articulate the historical goals of the working class to eliminate the exploitation and class divisions of the system. As we enter twenty-first century, social democrats generally support reforming capitalism in an attempt to make it more equitable through the creation and maintenance of a welfare state. That is where the crucial struggle has to be fought in the coming years in Africa after 50 years of the existence of African Union. This struggle must culminate in the introduction of a Social Democratic System and the establishment of a working class order to address the worse features of capitalism and the

apartheid-capitalist labour market which require a well-coordinated range of social and economic measures.

The Growing Problem of Corrupt Government in Africa

One of the most prominent critics of Brezhnev's economic policies was Mikhail Gorbachev who called the economy under Brezhnev's rule the lowest stage of socialism¹¹. When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, there were many hopes that he would try to reform the socialist state, using Lenin's ideas. However Gorbachev's reforms actually had the opposite effect of that which was desired. Gorbachev's openness: known as "glasnost", opened the door to the dissident movement. The criticism of where the Communist Party had taken Lenin's socialism grew even more strident. The ideals that underpinned Lenin's vision for Russia in 1917 had clearly not borne the desired outcomes. This can partly be blamed on the Communist Party decisions in relation to corruption and the economy. The problems of the regime's corruption peaked under Brezhnev¹² causing massive economic stagnation. This is a good lesson for African leaders and elites of today. Corruption and economic stagnation contribute to social breakdown and the growth of parallel markets.

The Soviet Union was by far the largest country in the world and had trading partners in Eastern Germany, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Cuba, North Korea, China etc. While capitalist economies plunged into depression and lapsed into recessions every few years, the Soviet economy did not, expanding unremittingly and always providing jobs for the majority. The wrong political bureaucracy and corruption during Brezhnev's time hurt the Party's legitimacy, which in turn would help weaken the system and move it towards collapse. Lenin was right when he said that the bureaucracy and corruption would threaten the future of socialist ideology¹³, and when he asked "What if unscrupulous and malevolent men succeeded in capturing these institutions and manipulated them to cover-up or condone their own abuses of power?"¹⁴.

The essential function of the party according to Marx and Lenin was to articulate the historical goals of the working class. Another goal of Marxists was to eliminate exploitation and class divisions within society. By the sixties and seventies there was a huge division between the Party elite and the rest of society. The party bureaucracy was also large and inefficient. This went directly against Lenin's call for a small but disciplined group within the Party, working towards a common goal¹⁵. The elite shopped at special stores and had luxury cars with drivers. They owned country dachas and took extravagant trips abroad. Like Lenin predicated, these apparatchiks would also defend these privileges at any cost. They guarded this monopoly of power with a phony consensus and constitution. The actions of the Communist Party at the time were what Lenin had feared. The Communist Party leadership under Brezhnev had betrayed Lenin's vision of socialism in Russia.

Indeed, the breakup of the Soviet Union transformed the entire world political situation, leading to a change of political, economic and military alliances. Soviet Union with its planned economy proved to be more a utopia than a working system as it produced too many poor people and then the rich bureaucracies. As the Soviet Union expanded a serious issue was trying to incorporate many different nations with different languages and cultures into one country, and one of the results of the collapse of the Soviet Union was many uprisings, revolts and divisions due to nationalism.

Conclusion

The working class and the poor need access to the means of survival but cannot get it unless they sell their labour power to a capitalist. Labour power is the ability to work, the ability to create useful things or services, the ability to create new value. Our class, the working class, must sell its labour power every day, every week, every month, year after year, over and over again, to obtain from the capitalist what we need to live, in the form of wages or salaries. These capitalists, on the other hand, get richer and richer from appropriating the products of

our labour and selling them for profit. This is the system of wage slavery. Profit is the goal of all production under capitalism. The capitalist class constantly strives to increase its profits at the expense of the workers. Since the beginnings of capitalism, the most effective way to do this has been to put in new technology that either reduces the need for workers, or speeds up the exploitation of labour power.

There is a crying need for a system that works for the majority of the people. We need an African socio-economic model which would eliminate poverty, unemployment, under development and the huge income inequalities. The people should be empowered to be their own liberators. Leaders should care for the good of all not for themselves and their cronies. Decisive action should be taken against companies making and hoarding billions whilst not paying decent wages and employing people.

Why should the rich be the ones who enjoy life? Everyone should be able to. Greed and not competition is the biggest problem in a corrupt system because a lot of people will do anything to make the next cent. This includes lying, cheating and stealing. These corrupt elites have the backing of the legal and legislative and sometimes executive branches of government. In other words, in a confrontation between capital and labour, government almost always comes down on the side of capital whether or not justice is served. The exception occurs when labour unions begin to agitate at a level that threatens the status quo. Then government, usually at the behest of capital, brings about just enough reform to stabilise the system, but not enough to effect any real and or more equitable distribution of wealth. Trade Unions remain among the best institutions the continent can rely upon for the implementation of socio-economic policies which can benefit the majority. Remember that the legacy of the apartheid-capitalist system is still extensive, and pervades nearly every aspect of lives of ordinary people directly or indirectly.

Economic and political corruption,

lack of respect for the rule of law, and human rights violations are all reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union as well as for Africa's current problems. ■

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- ⁵ On Christmas Day, 1991, the day the USSR officially ended, made Gorbachev wildly popular in the capitalist world. Russians were less enthusiastic. Gorbachev said, "We live in a new world. The Cold War is finished. The arms race and the mad militarisation of states, which deformed our economy, society and values, have been stopped. The threat of world war has been lifted". Contained within Gorbachev's words was the truth about why the world's first conscious attempt to build an alternative to capitalism had been brought to a close. It was not because the Soviet economic system had proved unworkable. On the contrary, it had worked better than capitalism. The real reason for the USSR's demise was that its leadership capitulated to an American foe, which, from the end of World War II, and with growing vigour during the Reagan years, sought to arms race to death the Soviet economy. The economy that worked for the bottom 99 %, and therefore, if allowed to thrive, would have discredited the privately owned, market-regulated economies that the top one percent favoured and benefited from. Allen, Robert C (2003). *Farm to Factory: A Reinterpretation of the Soviet Industrial Revolution*, Princeton University Press, 2003.
- ⁶ Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, Toronto: The Free Press, 1994.
- ⁷ Note: Under Joseph Stalin's rule, the concept of "socialism in one country" became a central tenet of Soviet society. He replaced the New Economic Policy introduced by Lenin in the early 1920s with a highly centralised command economy, launching a period of industrialisation and collectivisation that resulted in the rapid transformation of the USSR from an agrarian society into an industrial power.
- ⁸ During the so called first phase of "World War II", Soviet Union used the opportunity to acquire territories in Eastern Europe adjacent to Nazi Germany, its satellites, and their occupied territories. Later in 1941, Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union, opening the largest and bloodiest theatre of war in history and violating an earlier non-aggression pact between the two countries of 1938.
- ⁹ The Era of Stagnation was a period of economic, political, and social stagnation in the Soviet Union, which began during the rule of Leonid Brezhnev (1964-1982) and continued under Yuri Andropov (1982-1984) and Konstantin Chernenko (1984-1985). This period ended when Mikhail Gorbachev, who succeeded Chernenko, introduced his policies of glasnost, perestroika, uskorenivie and demokratizatsiya, leading to the fall of communism in 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.
- ¹⁰ Service, Robert: *History of Modern Russia: From Tsarism to the Twenty-First Century* (3rd ed.) Penguin Books, 2009.
- ¹¹ Bacon, Edwin; Sandle, Mark: *Brezhnev Reconsidered*. Palgrave Macmillan 2002.
- ¹² <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LeonidBrezhnev>
- ¹³ Neil Harding, *Leninism*, Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Select the best from what worked in the past, is working now and what we need for the future



Value African understandings and skills which have been denigrated and ignored by the West; embrace new technology and the green revolution, to inspire innovation; and promote African Unity by keeping this goal in the public eye.

By Petunia Mpoza

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was “meant to provide mass education to Africans. One purpose was to take the Tsotsis off the streets and discipline them. Another was to train Africans for unskilled labour” (Apartheid Museum). Verwoerd stated “There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?” However, in spite of Bantu Education, many black South Africans were able to become professors,

engineers, teachers, doctors, scientists, economists and political leaders and activists.

It is no surprise that the offspring of the ‘kitchen girl’ or the ‘garden boy’ took to the streets in protest to the decision taken by the Bantu Education Department in 1975 that Afrikaans should become the language of instruction in secondary schools.

The oppressed people of our country were not destroyed by such policies, but always found ways to fight back, for example through the passive resistance campaigns that grew

to mobilise and unite South Africans against one common enemy. It was youth leaguers such as Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu who called for a militant programme of action, adopted by the ANC in 1949. In response to many socio-political challenges, this programme stipulated that boycotts, strikes, non-collaboration, and ‘civil disobedience’ would now be used in the political struggle.

The programme contemplated participation by the masses of the people. It did not raise the question of violence versus non-violence. These methods had been non-violent, but there had been no specific declaration of policy excluding violence. The significant use of the expression ‘civil disobedience’ in a programme was to be later employed, as the strategies and tactics changed in reaction to the harsh realities of apartheid laws and policies. By the 1960s impatience was growing within the ANC and ANCYL, amongst the young people and senior leaders, as it was growing throughout the country.

Fast tracking to the 70s, products of the racist and colonialist system such as Thabo Mbeki, Duma Nokwe, Oliver Tambo, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Joe Mathews, Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko were in the fore: militant, aggressive about the conditions, at the same time arming themselves with education, proving that no struggle can advance without knowledge.

Post 1994, the ANC Government envisioned an education system of ‘People’s education for people’s power,’ education that would narrow the divide between intellectual and manual labour.

The apartheid education system denied access to educational opportunities to black South Africans. Despite the progress made since the onset of democracy, the aftermath of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid continues to pose challenges for development. Historically entrenched inequalities perpetuate the recurring patterns of poverty and skills shortage in our society, further determining the quality of education, both prepared and received. The existing system has made progress in combatting inequalities, especially those based

on race and gender, but this is not enough. Education throughout the world, with rare exceptions, tends to reproduce gender, class, racial and other inequalities in access to educational opportunities and success. Interventions to break this cycle require economic and social initiatives as well as educational ones.

Indeed there are many challenges facing education in South Africa, which is why it should be prioritised, with a comprehensive plan to uplift formerly black and poor schools and training based in institutions and workplaces as part of building a quality education and training system. At the same time, it is important to strengthen centres of excellence and transform them to serve all South Africans.

One possible approach to our crisis is to combine different elements of what we know has worked in the past with the things that are working now and what we know we need for the future. Instead of developing another new philosophy of education for today's South Africa, we could identify things that work(ed), for example:

- From the old, pre-'bantu education' (but nevertheless racist, sexist and imperialist) period – many parts of the school and post-schooling education and training system worked well enough to provide (for those who had access) sufficient knowledge (albeit biased and distorted) and employable skills to enable them to learn; many people from all racial backgrounds managed to identify what to believe and what to reject, and to study further in line with their own decisions (e.g. Ruth First, Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani and Steve Biko). The positive elements included in many cases good discipline, educated, caring and respected teachers and access to information (mainly printed material in those times).
- From the 'bantu education' period – nothing – except the 'reverse psychology' effect where people who have lies and injustices forced on them over and over again eventually rise up to reject these, whatever the cost.
- From the current democratic period – welcome and preserve the

new history initiatives, especially the revision of the curriculum in relation to race, gender, class and disabilities; and the understanding that learning needs to be recognised and encouraged wherever it takes place; the importance of skills development. And place more emphasis on teacher training and upgrading, especially in relation to subject knowledge, critical and creative thinking and inspiring and motivating learners.

- For the future aspirations of our country and continent – recognise, applaud and integrate into our curriculum for schools and our academic institutions an appreciation of the role and importance of indigenous knowledge; value African understandings and skills which have been denigrated and ignored by the West; embrace new technology and the green revolution, to inspire innovation; and promote African Unity by keeping this goal in the public eye.

The above proposal might be met with uproar. But remember that teaching integral analytical subjects such as maths, science, business and economics produced politically, socio-economically astute people. The generation that was in the forefront of the June 1976 uprising came from a blend of astute people of all races, and the oppressed took advantage of the apartheid masters' education to liberate themselves. They were conscientised enough to realise that the imposition of Afrikaans had to be met with decisive reaction.

Today's teachers and leaders are the youth of June 16 and successive cohorts of teacher training. In terms of teaching, many teachers simply never had the opportunity to learn enough so that they could successfully teach maths and science (for example) to the current generation. However, all our teachers should now have access to training in the new teachings that will respond to the current challenges as observed and experienced.

Another very important issue in relation to our education approach is linked to career advice. This includes the need for advocacy for education

and training towards careers and jobs which are in demand in our economy today and are expected to top demand in the near future.

The concept of a 'boomerang' student has been applied to US college students who graduate and then return home with no clear idea of who they are or what they want to do next. Researchers have found that 'a boomerang effect is, amongst other things, due to curriculums that focus almost exclusively on academic interests while eschewing the more practical applications of knowledge and that most colleges under-fund and marginalise their career planning offices.' (Richard Freeland, Clark University, 2008)

Fortunately, the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) is currently at an advanced stage of implementing its Career Advice Services (CAS), which should assist individuals to link their achievements to their aspirations, and to identify the most effective way forward.

As comfortable as I am with constructive criticism, I should welcome feedback on my proposals. I should like to see a system where knowledge forms part of existing demands, with a throughput of development and cultivation of clear future roles. In this future, teachers skilfully link their knowledge with contemporary trends, trends that produce solution-driven adults, conscious of their responsibilities shaped by the history and demands of the continent, who are empathetic and attentive to continental challenges as well as opportunities and resources. South Africa cannot isolate its development from the rest of Africa. These educators will take their cue from Africa's Ubuntu or Afrocentric, Pan-African and African Renaissance approaches, encouraging innovation, communalism and indigenous knowledge.

It is this understanding that would provide confidence to employ the skills learned and appreciate that the development of one child is the development of Africa, by realising that we pave the way for a possible continental education – and maybe a universal education will be possible after all. ■

For a gender balanced Pan-African education



A Eurocentric education curriculum is central to the success of the psychological warfare against Africans. We cannot move forward without an education curriculum that cultivates the mental shift towards a great Africa.

By Mamosa Motjope and Boniswa Madikezela

South Africa hosted the fifth BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) summit at the end of March 2013. The summit coincided with the 50th anniversary celebrations of the formation of the Organisation of African Unity. The convening of BRICS countries speaks of the changes in the global economic and political system. These changes increase the possibility of Africa positioning itself as a continent that overcame colonialism and neo-colonialism, to become politically and economically independent. In order to be on the winning side of these changes, Africa has to fully utilise its human capacity, especially the women who make up half of the continent's population.

After 50 years, Africa has done well in some areas, while others, like

the education curriculum, require introspection and an open mind to think beyond what we have come to accept as normal. It is unfortunate that the education curriculum in most African countries has not been overhauled radically post Africa's independence from Western colonisation. Africa has held on to the Eurocentric education, using a number of curricula which are versions of colonial curricula only slightly, if at all, modified. These continue to be patriarchal in orientation and racist in essence.

Of course, one must appreciate the historical events leading to the entrenchment of Eurocentric education curricula in Africa. When Africa was colonised, most of what was adopted was European. Post-independence

the Eurocentric education curriculum is still intact. In South Africa, under the Apartheid regime, an inferior education system was made law under the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953. The objective was to segregate the education received by the African students from that received by the whites so as to ensure that all that Africans could ever aspire to was manual labour positions under white control. As Dr H.F Verwoerd, the architect of Bantu Education conceived it: "There is no place for [the African] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. It is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim, absorption in the European community".

Verwoerd expressed a European view, summarised by former President

Thabo Mbeki: “To perpetuate their [Europeans] imperial domination over the peoples of Africa, the colonisers sought to enslave the African mind and to destroy the African soul”¹. The African mind and soul was destroyed through the schools and universities built by Western colonisers not to empower Africans, but rather to ensure that Africans would accept a European domination of culture, art, philosophy and religion. Dr Molefi Kete Asante, a renowned scholar and historian, speaks to this issue and mentions that “modern Universities have been established in all of these places [colonies] as vestiges of colonial past; their presence has not enriched the students in their own culture”. The culture of Africans has been influenced by the entrenched Eurocentric education as articulated in Asante’s writings “[Europeans] came up with the idea that culture meant cultivation, that is, to have culture one must cultivate it, hence the need for universities”².

So what do we, Africans, cultivate in our schools and universities, post-independence? For South Africans, 1994 brought with it liberation and hope for all, hope for a well-resourced education system, with the aim not to segregate, but to provide quality education that would ensure unlimited opportunities for Africans and whites in the economy. Almost twenty years after the introduction of the single education system, can South Africans, with honesty say that the current education system has achieved results different to that envisaged by Verwoerd? “The legacy of decades of inferior education (underdevelopment, poor self-image, economic depression, unemployment, crime, etc.) has lasted far beyond the introduction of a single education system in 1994 with the first democratic elections, and the creation of the Government of National Unity”³.

Africa has not made the critical shift from a Eurocentric education curriculum to an Afrocentric education curriculum that will allow African learners to be rooted in their own culture, fostering self-acceptance and a positive self-perception. Instead, the current education curricula contradict Africa’s ambition for self-determination and abandon the cultural identity and

historical relevance of the African continent. As Adekeye Adebajo points out: “The prophets of Pan-Africanism advocated African unity so that its cultures could flourish, unhampered by the denigrating influences of Western civilisation”⁴. A Eurocentric education curriculum is central to the success of the psychological warfare against Africans. We cannot move forward without an education curriculum that cultivates the mental shift towards a great Africa.

Even more damaging is the coloniser’s use of education, religion and policies to systematically put the African woman at the bottom of the pyramid of life. Africans have sadly also accepted this and incorporate it to

“The African mind and soul was destroyed through the schools and universities built by Western colonisers not to empower Africans, but rather to ensure that Africans would accept a European domination of culture, art, philosophy and religion.”

their “culture and tradition” which we so relentlessly defend. Colonisation left Africa with a “social stratification with men on top and women on the bottom stratum”⁵, effectively under-utilising the intellectual capacity and potential contribution of women in commerce and politics, among other areas.

This social stratification contradicts Africa’s understanding of gender roles pre-colonisation. African women have historically had power in society and Africa boasts a long history of African women such as Mkabayi ka Jama, the Zulu princess, Queen Nzinga of Angola, and Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt, who headed kingdoms, nations and tribes, and far surpassed the progress of European women. Yet

today, Africa’s education curriculum barely acknowledges these great women.

The African political arena has at times understated the sacrifices and dedication of women in politics. South African history, especially with respect to women, has been laced with “struggle against a system of oppression and exploitation”⁶. This is evident even in African liberation movements. Lauretta Ngcobo, in her book *Prodigal Daughters*, tells stories of women who were in exile during apartheid, and reveals the sexism and harassment to which female comrades were often subjected. Girls who fell pregnant would be punished and not allowed to continue with their education, while the same treatment was not extended to men. Some political parties did not formally recognise women as members even though they took the same risks as men in supporting the liberation movement outside South Africa. It is this systematic omission of women’s contributions that eventually leads to females being represented in an insignificant manner in African history books. This omission perpetuates the notion that social and political progress can mainly be associated with a particular gender.

Diane Eynon, in an article on Gender and Education in South Africa, states that the commission of the South African government that was set up to investigate racism in the higher education system, in response to the YouTube scandal in which a group of white students at a traditionally Afrikaner university videotaped themselves abusing members of the janitorial staff, was surprised to realise that the issue was much bigger than racism and actually included sexism at schools. For Eynon the incident revealed an on-going system of patriarchy, especially sexism in education and the workplace. Eynon’s conclusion thus speaks to male domination being entrenched in most systems and in particular education.

This sexism is evident in Africa’s academic output of graduates in the fields of commerce, law, engineering and science. In educational institutions, the output of graduates in some fields is skewed towards males and thus

undermines and under-utilises the intellectual capacity of the continent. Gender stereotypes in school textbooks can distort and neglect women's role and experiences and even perpetuate and underpin gender role bias of society.

Africa must replace Eurocentric education with an Afrocentric education system where curriculum and all educational opportunities, incentives and rewards have to be gender balanced. It must represent the contribution of African men and women equally. This is necessary to change the existing attitudes and psyche on gender equality, which are the main inhibitors to harnessing the intellectual capacity of African women, who make up almost half the population. We cannot change the gender psyche without embedding gender equality in an Afrocentric education system.

African governments are aware of the education challenges and gender inequalities that negatively impact on the continent, and have therefore crafted multilateral declarations and instruments to tackle gender inequality. These include the Dakar Declaration of 1994; the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and its Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa of 2003 (AU Women's protocol); the African Heads of States' Declaration on Gender Rights (2004); and the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development (1997), with its Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children (1998). The policy changes have been progressive in addressing the current challenges that women face and bringing balance to the socio-economic profile of Africa. Such policy changes would have a bigger impact on society if the idea of gender equality were embedded in Africa's education system.

African gender policies and programmes encounter challenges that are underpinned by the worldview of the modern African male and female. Efiritha Chauraya argues that some of the programmes have not succeeded due to a failure to understand the African gender psyche. "The implemented gender projects must

therefore take strong normative bases and efforts to ensure that they are in tandem with the African worldview" (Chauraya, 2012). This article agrees on the fundamental cause – the African gender psyche – but believes that aligning policies and programmes with the prevailing African gender worldview is a short-term solution. The proposed sustainable solution is to institutionalise an education curriculum that will alter the gender psyche of Africans. Attitudes towards gender have largely been influenced by decades of colonisation, thus a turn towards a more Afrocentric education curriculum that is gender-balanced seems more attractive in cultivating a gender conscious society. In the long term, the ideal African society should be able to operate in a fair manner, without the intervention of the abovementioned policies, to draw strength from all Africans, regardless of gender, in order to construct a sustainable Africa.

Sometimes, policies can ignore the racial, socioeconomic, and geographic differences among women. Take South Africa for example, where Eynon points out that the number of women enrolling in higher education is on the rise, except for one subgroup: that of black rural women. These women continue to struggle to gain access to higher education. Approximately 23% of black South African women have had no education, and 28% are not literate. The high levels of illiteracy in rural areas are influenced by gender attitudes where the rural communities might not appreciate the value of educating a girl child compared to a boy child. In such cases, any transformational and gender policies will not benefit rural women as much it would be beneficial for women living in cities where the attitudes towards gender are not as rigid.

Africa's existing state of poverty, youth unemployment, common abuse of state power and economic instability suggest that the continent is still a long way from realising the African Renaissance. Let's take for example a country like South Africa where 28.4% of South Africans are below the age of 14, with the split between males and females at 50.15% and 49.85% respectively (Index Mundi,

July 2012 estimate). The mainstream economy and politics of South Africa do not reflect these demographics since women are grossly under-represented. This is capacity, human and intellectual, from which Africa can rise to claim the 21st century. Africa still remains weak in organising ability; harnessing intellectual capacity; grooming leadership; managing resources and the economy; and more importantly, struggling to adopt education curricula, programmes and policies that are aligned to its ambitions of building a prosperous Africa for its entire population.

The continent has yet to utilise its human resources fully and to take giant leaps towards creating its own identity and improving the living conditions of Africans. It is counterproductive to have policies that create a gender equitable environment in state institutions and yet the population undergoes an education system that is masculine in its DNA and does not foster gender equity in its curriculum. Gender inequity impedes poverty reduction. The focus should be on sustaining development through the improvement of women's skills and access to education. It is imperative for Africa to start teaching young Africans about Africa from the perspective of Africans. African men and women equally have a great deal to contribute towards building the African Renaissance. Phyllis Ntantala, a veteran South African activist and author, captured the importance of meaningfully including women to bring forth change, when she wrote in her Autobiography "unless the 'woman question' and her place in the movement is solved, the movement is bound to fail"⁷. ■

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Barack Obama is a threat to the future of African women



What we must understand is that the context of militarisation favours the reproduction of structural violence against women and intensifies impunity.

By Malaika wa Azania

“Militarisation presents an extreme technique in which the state legitimates and exercises its power. It is a form of controlling the people, a strategy of national security and of counterinsurgency; a tactic to control the streets; demonstrating the violence which is naturally produced in a capitalist system. It is one of the ways

this system can ensure its dominance and reproduce systematic orders which violate and subordinate the population in general but in particular, women... The consequences of militarisation for women are multiple and complicated. Sexual abuse, physical and psychological violence and forced displacement present just a small number of them...”
– Norma Iris Cacho Niño

The visit by the president of the United States of America, Mr Barack Obama, to our country, has left me reeling with anger at the audacity of the US government to legitimise its onslaught on the working class masses of our people, and the South African government for its subordinate role in this onslaught that threatens the future and stability of the African continent.

I am angered particularly by the failure of our government to recognise president Obama's indirect role in the violence against women that is taking place in conflict-riddled parts of our continent. President Obama was not in Africa because he loves African people or because he believes in the future of this continent. President Obama was in Africa to consolidate an agenda so nefarious the youth of this continent dare not turn a blind eye to it. His talks of "infrastructure development" are a smokescreen intended to remove the retina from the eyes of our people, to blind us from the truth about the role of the USA in the destruction of the developing world in general and the African continent in particular.

The end of women's month does not mean the end of our efforts to improve the lives of women. We young South African women must take a moment to reflect on the ramifications of US foreign policy in our country, assisted by the indecisiveness and short-sightedness of our own government, not only because this foreign policy is destructive, but because more than anyone else, we are the ones who will be affected by US programmes and foreign policy, in particular the US Africa Command (AFRICOM). As a 21 year old who will inherit this country, I cannot celebrate the role of the US in our development, mainly because that development comes at a price to my future.

Unveiled in February 2007 and fully operational since November 2008, AFRICOM is the ninth unified and sixth regional US military command that was established after the Second World War. AFRICOM was formed with the supposed intention of bringing "peace and security to the people of Africa" and "promoting the US and Africa's common goals of development, health, education, democracy, and economic growth in Africa". But attempts to create the illusion that US actions on the continent are altruistic and not part of the scramble for Africa are ludicrous. The true role and intention of the command is outlined clearly in its website, asserting that AFRICOM establishes military-to-military partnerships to improve the capacity and operability of African armed

forces, assisting other US agencies in fulfilling their tasks in Africa and, where necessary, undertaking military activities in Africa to protect America's national interests. So in essence, AFRICOM is not about Africa's development, but the safeguarding of US interests in the world's richest continent in terms of mineral wealth. The USA alleges that Africa is a hotspot for terrorism due to its weak military capacities, but from where I sit, the USA is the real threat to peace and security in the developing world in general and Syria in particular. This is clear from its actions in the Middle East, in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan, its role in the Israeli-Palestine war and its actions in Latin America and Africa. The argument that it seeks to fight

“ The USA alleges that Africa is a hotspot for terrorism due to its weak military capacities, but from where I sit, the USA is the real threat to peace and security in the developing world, and the biggest terrorist in existence. ”

terrorism in our continent is therefore laughable.

For us to understand the implications of AFRICOM for African women, we need only study the situation in Libya where AFRICOM was at the forefront of implementing the UN-mandated no-fly zone. Instead of protecting civilians as Resolution 1703 mandates, AFRICOM was actively involved in the destruction of armoured vehicles, providing close air support to rebel forces, impeding African Union negotiations for a political settlement to the conflict and ultimately assisting in causing the deaths of thousands of people when a political solution could have been found earlier. AFRICOM also negotiated with the governments of Senegal and Uganda

to set up forward deployment bases in those countries. Forward deployment bases are different from normal bases. Weapons, ammunition and other equipment are stored at these bases and permission is often granted for the host countries to use the bases under certain conditions. Thus, a forward deployment base in Senegal would seem to be a Senegalese base which the USA equips under the guise of strengthening the Senegalese military. So in effect, the US government is both creating and contributing to the militarisation of African states. What we must understand is that the context of militarisation favours the reproduction of structural violence against women and intensifies impunity. Women continue to be the target of institutional and social violence and pay the highest cost in these externally stimulated wars and conflicts.

One of the biggest consequences of conflict and war is the absence of access to justice for women who find themselves in a situation where they are abused by the military, primarily because this situation favours systematic and patriarchal violence by not creating the social and political conditions needed to guarantee women's human rights. Various studies have also shown that militarisation appears to cause a persistent increase in prostitution in areas surrounding military bases, placing women in a situation where they are subjected to sexually transmitted diseases, in particular HIV. This context increases social, community and family tensions that then become expressed in an increase in interfamilial and domestic violence. This cycle of violence places women in particularly vulnerable situations. Social and family ties are destroyed; women do not leave their houses for fear of having to face the military. Children stop going to school, poverty worsens and drug and alcohol abuse increases.

US Africa Command is a weapon against women mainly because a militarised Africa is not an Africa that is pro-women. It is an Africa that acts systematically as an architect of genocide through the consolidation of genocidal violence. This is an Africa we must reject. ■

BORN IN THE PROMISED LAND

Scrutinising the prospects of the new South African generation born in a democracy



I am a strong believer of the Promised Land Generation. I believe that they can rise against all odds, against unemployment, poverty and drug addiction and claim a future for themselves.

By Bongani Khanyile

I was born in 1986, at the twilight of apartheid in South Africa. I am a survivor of the 1990s war between the ANC and the IFP in rural Kwa-Zulu Natal and later on in the south of Durban in a township called Umlazi. I didn't have a chance to make a contribution to the noble struggle

against apartheid. Notwithstanding this, I have made it my personal mission to study the history of our country, in order to honour my unsung family members as well as countless other people whose blood was sacrificed and shed at the Golgotha of freedom. Furthermore, to ensure that what our

stalwarts lived and died for does not fade from memory we should take the baton and ensure that the past injustices remain the history of our nation, never to be repeated again.

Since the miracle of 1994 a new generation has arrived, the so-called "born frees". This is the generation

that has been labelled names such as “the entitled generation”. This is the generation that has also been called the “OBE” generation that has been conscripted to study the new model of Outcome-Based Education which in the main does not recognise individual excellence in class rooms and promotes group activities and group excellence, at least in my opinion. Although the aim of this paper is not specifically to scrutinise and criticise OBE as a model, the author finds it necessary to expand on this education model in order to possibly diagnose the attitude of this generation.

The Soweto uprising came mainly from pupils who decided to revolt against an education system which was forced on them. This was to change the future of South Africa. Could it be, perhaps, that the post 1994 generation’s attitude is an indication of a new revolution against the education system within which they find themselves in?

Edward French, writing for *The Thinker Magazine* (Volumes 22 & 23, 2010), enlightens us on the noble promises of the outcomes of the OBE as including inter alia: “eradicating the racism and imperialist ideology pervasive in the old curriculum, transparency, free of the hidden agendas and publicly obscure procedures for curriculum design and national assessment of the past, describing and maintaining acceptable achievements as objectively and consensually as possible without elitism or reference to race, enhancing responsiveness to life, needs, to the economy and to the renewal within the disciplines, freeing teachers and the system more broadly from the imposition of top-down inputs, reduction of the curriculum overload in the received curricula, where children learnt less and less about more and more, creating a base for all to re-think what they wanted from education, providing a basis for more authentic forms of assessment and accountability than found in the testing inputs, being consistent with a discourse of national standards in the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), which was the overall national framing of learning and the first major legislation passed for

the transformation of education and training.”

One must agree that the goals of this model as outlined above are radical and necessary for an infant democracy such as ours and consistent with globalisation and the need for diversity. In fact, this model can be praised for emphasising the importance of the Constitution and Human Rights as important values and cornerstones of democracy.

But what happened in the implementation of the system? It went through drastic changes in its years of infancy. The teachers found that the model was heavy new terminology. These brought about changes so that a lot of terminology in the educators’ fraternity had different meanings to the ones they had known and grown

“But what happened in the implementation of the system? It went through drastic changes in its years of infancy. The teachers found that the model was heavy new terminology.”

accustomed to. For instance, the term “assessment”, which was previously known as an assignment and a written test and examination, was now defined to mean that teachers needed to explore different ways of assessing. “Assessment” was interpreted by some teachers as a dialogue or group presentation.

This model of teaching was very difficult to implement in the South African context. An average school in South Africa, whether in a rural area or a township, is overpopulated. At the present time it is very onerous to expect teachers to cultivate a culture of learning where pupils have to ‘drive’ their own learning and teachers only have to ‘facilitate’ instead of their proverbial role which was to teach; meaning, to do most of the talking.

Teachers lost control of pupils, as expecting them to be in groups and have discussions opened a platform for misbehaviour and rowdiness.

What of the former Model C schools? Do their consistent good matriculation results mean they were immune from the OBE model? The answer is no. These schools continued to excel. Their excellent performance may be related to two of the requirements that the OBE model made of pupils in order to be used effectively: a disciplined pupil; and a pupil that valued openness. These pupils had these traits. More importantly though, is the undisputable fact that these schools are highly resourced, including in terms of human resources, when compared to their less fortunate counterparts.

The OBE model requires a student to be able to work in a team and some teachers allow this to undermine individual achievement, in that marks are allocated to a group as opposed to an individual. The actual theory of OBE asks for individual assessments of many kinds as well as the assessment of group work. Some educators missed this point. Could it be, that merely judging from this education model that this generation has been conditioned into thinking that they are entitled to just idly sitting and feeding off from the sweat of others? That they could sit and let others do the work for them knowing that the rewards are shared by the group as a whole despite lack of pro-activeness from them?

Personally, when OBE was rolled out I was in my late primary school years. There was a sudden shift from my results in that I moved from being an outstanding achiever to being a neutralised pupil who scored the same marks as his peers in the group. My scores were no longer rated from my individual efforts but by the efforts of the group, many of which were just ‘free loaders’ who did not share ideas and inputs but shared the spoils of the marks. It could be that this attitude transcended from the class room to life outside the class.

The question should be asked, is this generation aware of the history of our struggle as a people in this country? Is it making an effort to gain invaluable knowledge from our Mandelas,

Sisulus, Tambos and Dadoos? There is no doubt that the struggle heroes are drifting away and their monumental works are left only for the archives.

Surely there is a responsibility that this generation has. This country relies on them to take us forward. The future of our country depends on them to ensure that the history of past injustices does not repeat itself.

This generation is frankly not faced with the racial discrimination that previous generations struggled with. When I walk in the malls I see inter-racial friendships, I see a black boy holding hands with a white girl. Although this still turn heads from both races of the older generation, the country is certainly warming up to this reality, that we are a democratic country. That a new generation has arrived, one that is less and less concerned with racial prejudices.

But something is more worrying. Although the intake numbers in universities is increasing yearly, the numbers of those that fail matric and those that pass matric but do not qualify for admission at tertiary institutions is worrying. This has resulted in the Minister of Higher Education, Blade Nzimande, calling on the tertiary institutions to relax their entry requirements. To my view, if the call is heeded, this will result in a higher number of university drop outs as those students struggle to impose themselves at higher institutions.

The number of unemployed youth is depressing. Our youth is demotivated as most of them, after matric, do not qualify for higher education institutions. Many of those that qualify do not even know that there is financial aid available for them through NSFAS and Eduloan.

The use of drugs and alcohol by learners is alarming. The drug syndicates have plagued our schools and are making more profit as they get pupils dependant and are ever ready to supply the ever increasing demand. There have recently been killings of grandmothers by their grandchildren in order to loot their pension money so that they can feed their addiction of Whoonga, a street drug predominately found in the Durban area. It contains dagga, heroine and other ingredients

“At the present time it is very onerous to expect teachers to cultivate a culture of learning where pupils have to ‘drive’ their own learning and teachers only have to ‘facilitate’”

which sometimes include rat poison or washing powder. This foreshadows a bleak future for our nation.

This generation is being adequately equipped with resources which encourage self-inflicting damage. The distribution of condoms in schools, which the government hoped would decrease the practice of unsafe sex has unfortunately resulted in some cases the opposite being achieved. Allowing cell phones and the use of social media in schools has brought about shocking videos of disturbing activities in schools that have gone viral.

Parents have neglected their duties of moulding their children and have passed this natural obligation to teachers who are unable to discipline children who have missed their first lessons on manners in which home is the first class room.

The breaking of the family structure further exacerbates this problem. The rise of single mothers, of which I am a product, has led to a fatherless generation of boys that have not been taught about how to be men. As these boys lack role models, unscrupulous

“The private sector should be encouraged to go to rural areas and target bright underprivileged learners and provide them with bursaries as well as internships.”

drug lords prey on them and lure them with bling. These boys then aspire to be like these moguls.

Is the future then bleak? I am certainly no prophet of doom. There is hope even in this desperate situation. All is not lost. We just need a commitment by this generation, a pledge to contribute to the betterment of the society. Democracy is a two pronged process, it is the exchange of rights and responsibilities. Democracy is not a blank cheque.

We need to provide this generation with help, such as the Umsobomvu Youth Fund can provide. This Fund should be accessible to the communities and be visible. We have seen that the youth is not approaching the Fund with ideas in order to attract its funding. The Fund then must go to the communities and ‘sell’ itself.

The private sector should be encouraged to go to rural areas and target bright underprivileged learners and provide them with bursaries as well as internships. People such as Siyabulela Xoxa are an example of how this strategy can work when we engage in these worthwhile activities.

Those of us who went to the big cities and are in the corporate world should be encouraged to go back to our schools and give motivational talks and information as to what is out there so that others may know that there is certainly life after a Matric Certificate; that the Matric Certificate is not an ultimate accomplishment.

I am a strong believer of the Promised Land Generation. I believe that they can rise against all odds, against unemployment, poverty and drug addiction and claim a future for themselves. South Africa belongs to them, the future is theirs and the world awaits them.

I believe that instead of judging them and labelling them with names, we can play a role in the betterment of their lives. We need to encourage them to be aware of what is happening in the country, to get to politics not for their pockets but for the continuation of the struggle - the new struggle against poverty, inequality and for quality education. ■

A DREAM DEFERRED?

Reflections on Travels to the “Capital of Africa”

By Tšoeu Petlane

Travel in Africa can present serious challenges – especially if you are African.

A few months ago I travelled to Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia and headquarters of the African Union. I have been traveling to this beautiful country about twice a year for the past decade. What struck me and prompted this reflection on African integration was noticing that in the past few years restrictions on entry have become increasingly harsher. One is tempted to ask questions about the dream of free movement of citizens across Africa – and therefore continental integration and unity.

First, visas are required, and travellers are instructed to acquire these at Ethiopian diplomatic or consular missions in their home country. I am not sure how many such facilities are available across the continent, but the “capital of Africa” is not represented in all 53 countries. So the alternative is to arrange a visa in a neighbouring country with an Ethiopian mission or arrange to receive it on entry. Only two neighbouring countries’ citizens require no visas (Ethiopia has six neighbours).

Second, the visas are paid for in American (US) dollars – and ostensibly no other currency – not even Ethiopian Birr. Third, according to what I assume are official information documents, citizens of 18 countries around the world qualify to receive visas upon arrival in Ethiopia. Out of these, only ONE is African: South Africa. All other Africans need a visa paid for in US dollars and secured before they leave their countries – unless a special

arrangement has been made and approved by immigration authorities at the port of entry.

Fourth, only four currencies are exchangeable in Ethiopian banks. Here again only one African currency is a member of this exclusive club: the Birr. This is in contrast to my first trip to Addis a decade ago, when South African Rand was also accepted.

In practice, therefore, only Kenyans, Somalis and South Africans can travel to Ethiopia without the hindrance of a cumbersome and expensive visa regime.

Now, what do these arrangements mean for integrating Africa through economic relations and free human movement? This is not an odd question. For Addis Ababa has for 50 years been the diplomatic and political capital of Africa, where the AU, UNECA, diplomatic missions and other agencies that serve the continent are located; and where at least once a year our leaders congregate to plot African unity and integration – the dream of a united, integrated and internally coherent continent.

While the strategies for integration adopted by the AU under various projects (the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), Lagos Plan of Action, AU Constitutive Act and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) among them) are to be gradual and based on regionally operational economic units (like the economic communities of Southern Africa (SADC), East Africa (EAC) and West Africa (ECOWAS)), the ultimate goal envisages these culminating in an African Economic Community and

Central Bank. It therefore stands to reason that Addis Ababa, as the centre of these initiatives and the ultimate Brussels or Washington equivalent of a “United States of Africa” would lead by example and open its doors to the continent’s citizens equally and affordably.

But alas! This is not the case, and increasingly African citizens are subjected to restrictions that, in their operation, negate the concept of this beautiful city as the home to all. So, are our leaders really serious about facilitating the integration of the continent, or is it just rhetorical shadow-boxing?

If they were serious, surely they should press Ethiopian authorities – understandably concerned with security, human and drug-trafficking, etc. – to facilitate easier, cheaper and friendlier movement of people; and should further insist that African currencies – despite their weaknesses – be more easily exchangeable within the Ethiopian system. This would be a start, and would show commitment to real integration, laying the basis for realising the dream of the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity 50 years ago.

But lest we forget, our leaders themselves do not experience these inconveniences when they go to Addis: they get whisked from their airplanes straight to their hotels by diplomatic minions, bypassing the red tape, and pay for their stays with our monies already conveniently converted into non-African currencies without the hassle and embarrassment of having their national currencies rejected by local banks.

Of course, these challenges do not apply only in Addis Ababa, but also in many other capitals. But the point here is that unlike Lilongwe, Maseru and Nouakchott, Addis Ababa is a flagship of African unity and integration. Therefore the failure of Ethiopians and Africans to correct the image of this city as African-unfriendly can only harm the aspirations of a continent to be united, strong and prosperous in the next 50 years – despite the plethora of initiatives by the AU aimed at this.

African integration deferred indeed! ■

MANDELA AND SNOWDEN

Two heroes with more in common than we know



In both cases, their examples excite admirers who shower them with praise for a gutsy defense of liberty.

By Danny Schechter

It's been called "The Long Goodbye" with the world press updating their updates hourly on Nelson Mandela's health status with lots of speculation about when he will pass on.

The massive media interest in Mandela is a remarkable tribute to a very special man who helped undo apartheid while thrilling the world with his courage as the prisoner who became a President.

It's been said that Mandela has become, after Coca-Cola, the second best known brand in the world so perhaps the media focus is understandable given his high approval

numbers and status in the pantheon of liberators. What other ailing political leader gets this kind of sustained attention?

Widely accepted heroes in the world are in short supply these days as we can see also from the media treatment of whistleblower Edward Snowden who many also view as a hero - a majority of those surveyed - while, curiously, a majority of the media punditocracy takes a more cynical view.

Many of our "thought leaders" ask if he isn't really a traitor to be prosecuted rather than an information liberator to be hailed.

Clearly these two stories are very different, but there are some parallels that almost no one in the media commented on.

Both men are heroes to those who believe in freedom - the right to be free from racist laws in one case, and onerous spying in another.

Both men stood up against the powers to be. One was prosecuted and jailed; the other soon may be.

One was a radical movement and political liberation fighter. The other is more the loner and electronic liberation guerrilla, but now seen a part of a loose anarchistic affinity network that

includes Bradley Manning, Wikileaks, Anonymous and many conscious hactivists.

We can't forget that Mandela was branded a terrorist for years, and hidden from media view. He was tried for treason, and acquitted in a widely condemned trial that in retrospect may have been fairer than the ones Manning and his band of brothers face.

Snowden has been denounced for treason and is now in the media eye, but also the target of top politicians - and the media that takes them seriously and questions his motives and impact.

In both cases, their examples excite admirers who shower them with praise for a gutsy defense of liberty.

South Africa's President Jacob Zuma says his country not only admires Mandela but needs him:

"We need him to be with us," he said. "We are all feeling it, that our president, the real father of democracy in South Africa is in the hospital." Snowden's followers seem to be expressing a similar need for someone to challenge Big Brother.

What many in the media chose not to remind us is that South Africa's "real father of democracy" was actually caught and imprisoned thanks to a tip from the very forces Snowden is fighting.

It was the CIA which had been tracking Mandela - with the less sophisticated surveillance technologies available then - and then tipped off South Africa's secret police as to his whereabouts.

A June 10th 1990, *New York Times* report "quoted an unidentified retired official who said that a senior CIA officer told him shortly after Mr. Mandela's arrest, 'We have turned Mandela over to the South African security branch. We gave them every detail, what he would be wearing, the time of day, just where he would be.'"

AP quoted Paul Eckel, then a senior CIA operative known as boasting that Mandela's capture "was one of our greatest coups." There were some earlier press reports in the '80s about this CIA role too, but they never triggered the scandal they should have.

This is a connection between Snowden and Mandela that may

explain why American "intelligence" tends so often to be on the wrong side, or maybe just is the wrong side. Clearly our intelligence overlords had as their priority then what they do today: the protection of the global status quo.

Who are they protecting?

Despite his many detractors in the intelligence 'business,' and its supporters in Congress and rationalisers in the press, Snowden's actions seem to have turned him into a popular figure, writes Gary Stamper:

"Edward Snowden... is coming across as the all-American hero according to a poll today that showed 70% support for him and his actions with the American public. Compare that with the popularity of Congress who is mostly calling for

“One was a radical movement and political liberation fighter. The other is more the loner and electronic liberation guerrilla, but now seen a part of a loose anarchistic affinity network that includes Bradley Manning, Wikileaks, Anonymous and many conscious hactivists.”

Snowden's Bradley Manning moment. If he continues to elude the CIA and American Security Apparatus can't catch him soon, his stock will soar as Americans pretty much love a heroic underdog.

"One of the reporters from the *Guardian* newspaper who arranged with Snowden to meet in Hong Kong for interviews told the Associated Press that he had been contacted by "countless people" offering to pay for "anything [Snowden] might need."

The 94 year old Mandela and the

29 year old Snowden come from different parts of the world and fought in different eras.

Already, Congressman Ron Paul, the libertarian who Snowden supported with a campaign donation, is fearing for his life, saying, "I'm worried about, somebody in our government might kill him with a cruise missile or a drone missile... we live in a bad time where American citizens don't even have rights and they can be killed, but the gentlemen is trying to tell the truth about what's going on."

A computer genius, Snowden has managed to throw his pursuers off his trail up until this point and now vows to remain in Russia. Activists there are supporting him. He is likely to leak more secrets.

Mandela's supporters are bracing themselves for the end of his life because of his age and an infirmity he contracted in prison.

He is a political genius, fortunately with good genes that allowed him to live long enough to complete what he called his 'long walk to freedom.' He has written that that journey is not over for South Africa, even though it may be ending for him.

Snowden knows his travails may just be starting as he becomes an international outlaw, but one with access to secrets that the powerful want to keep secret. He faces many challenges, and soon, perhaps, many charges.

Mandela has not only has health issues but also a family revolt on his hands with two daughters suing his lawyer and close friend who are administering a trust that he set up, looking for money for themselves.

What is widely perceived as their greed is evidence of how the values Mandela fought for are being corrupted in the new South Africa. When he was more politically active Mandela spoke out against this betrayal of the struggle that was his life.

Snowden's stance grew out of his sense that the public was being abused by the rise of the technocratic surveillance leviathan. American officials are now speaking out against him.

Both are now Rebels of Our Time. ■

Tanzania's solidarity with South Africa's liberation



Oliver Tambo with Julius Nyerere

In this issue we publish extracts from a lengthy chapter in Volume 5 of the Road to Democracy: African Solidarity, Part I. Chapter 5, 'Tanzania's solidarity with South Africa's liberation' by Elias. C. J. Tarimo and Neville Z. Reuben. For reasons of space the edited version cuts a great deal of detailed information as well as all the footnotes.

We thank SADET for granting us permission to publish extracts from this chapter.

Following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and ANC were banned and many of the leaders were arrested. Others fled into exile and some of them went to Tanganyika (now Tanzania). This chapter examines Tanzania's solidarity with the South African liberation struggle. The study was carried out by employing documentary research and interviews. The documentary review included written primary and secondary sources ranging from books, newspapers, magazines and archival documents of the ruling party (Tanganikya African National Union (TANU)/Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM)) and the Army Archives, where Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Liberation Committee (LC) sources were consulted...

Julius Kambarege Nyerere, Tanzania's first president and founding father championed the cause of African liberation to its victory. He bore the burden of liberation of southern African on his shoulders, something which should have been the responsibility of the OAU. In this regard he steered the Pan-African initiatives for the liberation of Eastern and Central Africa by establishing the Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) in 1958 which was later extended to southern Africa to form the Pan African Freedom Movement of Eastern, Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA) in 1962. He welcomed the establishment of the OAU LC in Dar es Salaam and hosted most of the liberation movements struggling for the liberation of their countries including the ANC and the PAC. Indeed, Tanzania became their second home, the country from which they launched their struggles back home in South Africa. Tanzania became the training ground of the liberation movements and most of the material support for liberation (military and non-military) from friendly countries passed through Tanzania and was then distributed to the freedom movements through the Tanzanian People's Defence Force (TPDF).

Nyerere carried out an intensive diplomatic crusade through the OAU, the United Nations (UN), the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM),

the Commonwealth of Nations and other international platforms to popularise the liberation agenda and mobilise international pressure against Portuguese colonialism and white minority rule in southern Africa, including the apartheid regime of South Africa. He committed his government and ruling party financially and materially to assist the freedom movements. This was apart from the contribution to the OAU LC. At times he sacrificed his personal financial resources to the liberation effort – a very rare gesture among African leaders.

The role of TANU (later the CCM) in the liberation of South Africa

“He committed his government and ruling party financially and materially to assist the freedom movements. This was apart from the contribution to the OAU LC. At times he sacrificed his personal financial resources to the liberation effort – a very rare gesture among African leaders.”

TANU was formed by Nyerere on 7 July 1954 as a nationalist movement to struggle for the independence of Tanganyika. On its establishment, the party's stated objective was to fight for the independence of Tanganyika and to support other liberation movements in their struggle for independence. The first article of TANU's constitution states its firm belief in human equality, brotherhood and respect for all human beings. Also among its objectives was to cooperate with all African freedom movements struggling for the freedom of the continent.

Because of TANU's commitment to African unity and the universal

brotherhood of Africans, from the outset it declared its commitment to the liberation of Africa; Tanganyika's independence would be meaningless unless and until the entire continent of Africa was liberated. This philosophy guided the party to cooperate with the other freedom movements during the struggle for Tanganyika's independence and thereafter. However, TANU stated categorically that the question of liberation of the countries still under colonial domination was the responsibility of their own peoples. The role of TANU was to assist them morally and materially to achieve their freedom. TANU reiterated that it had no responsibility to fight for the independence of other countries, or to choose their leaders. That was the responsibility of the citizens of the respective countries...

Nyerere, and other senior TANU leaders like Nsilo Swai, developed close family friendships with the leaders of ANC such as Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

When Mandela passed through Tanganyika on his way to West Africa in the early 1960s, Nyerere advised him to stay and execute the struggle from exile because if he went back to South Africa he would be apprehended and face treason charges. Mandela did not heed Nyerere's advice. Instead he returned home and what Nyerere had predicted is exactly what happened. Mandela was arrested, charged with treason and sentenced to life imprisonment...

In the 1962 general elections, TANU won a landslide victory. The rival parties such as the African National Congress (Tanganyika) led by Zuberi Mtemvu, did not win a single seat in parliament. Following TANU's victory, the president of TANU was sworn in as the president of the Republic of Tanganyika on 9 December 1962. These elections made Tanganyika (and later Tanzania) a de facto one-party state. In 1965, the one-party system was legalised by an act of parliament and Tanzania became a de jure one-party state. The party was also made the supreme organ of the country's political system. All important political decisions were deliberated by the party and were then referred to parliament and the executive organs

for endorsement, law enforcement and implementation...

Firstly, it was promoted through its national conferences. TANU invited the leaders of the ANC, PAC and other movements to these conferences. Their leaders were introduced to other delegates, applauded, and given space to deliver messages of solidarity. At these conferences, TANU expressed its unwavering support for liberation of the entire continent. The TANU national conference of September 1971 was a landmark, with TANU reiterating its solidarity with the liberation movements. The conference established the TANU Committee for Liberation of Africa to be chaired by TANU vice president, Rashid M. Kawawa...

Secondly, TANU's solidarity with South African liberation movements was also shown in the form of financial and material support. Vicky Nsilo Swai testified how her husband, who was TANU treasurer in the early 1960s, used TANU funds to support the South African freedom fighters and refugees who were entering the country, buying clothes and other material necessities for them. TANU funds were also used to assist the ANC and the PAC with rent for their offices and to buy office equipment. TANU funds were raised mainly from members' contributions or from the general public. For instance, TANU declared 1974 (the year that marked its 20th anniversary), as liberation year. It mobilised public support for liberation struggles in various ways including financial contributions, blood donations and material goods. In the national celebrations of the anniversary, Nyerere, received Tsh4 066 595 (Tanzanian shillings) from public donations in support for the liberation struggles. TANU established a liberation fund and organised the distribution of money to the freedom movements. These contributions continued to come in throughout the 1970s and 1980s. At another level, TANU, being the supreme organ of the political system in the single-party framework, directed the government to extend financial and material support to the needy liberation movements upon request.

Thirdly, as already noted above, TANU was involved in political

mobilisation of public support for liberation through political rallies, meetings, newsletters, pamphlets and other publications linked to the party. The mass media owned by the party, Uhuru and The Nationalist played a significant role in this endeavour....

Lastly, another TANU strategy was the effective utilisation of the international platform, notably the UN, the NAM and the Commonwealth of Nations. Through these bodies TANU condemned the apartheid system and promoted the South African liberation struggle. The president of TANU, Nyerere, campaigned against the apartheid system in international meetings throughout his political

“Because of TANU’s commitment to African unity and the universal brotherhood of Africans, from the outset it declared its commitment to the liberation of Africa; Tanganyika’s independence would be meaningless unless and until the entire continent of Africa was liberated.”

career. Indeed, all the support linked to liberation campaigns in various international forums were party policies supporting the struggle for national liberation in Africa....

In 1977, TANU and the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar merged to form the CCM, which was thus the only political party of the United Republic of Tanzania. As its name connotes (Revolutionary Party), the CCM took up the challenge of carrying forward the task of African revolution begun by its predecessors. The CCM continued to execute the liberation struggle agenda of TANU and ASP with zeal. The CCM executed its most vigorous

campaigns against the minority regime in Rhodesia, helping to facilitate the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. This made it possible for the CCM to concentrate fully on confronting the apartheid regime as far as the the Namibian question and apartheid rule in South Africa itself were concerned. The entire decade of the 1980s, right up until the attainment of majority rule in South Africa in 1994, was indeed the pinnacle of the CCM's solidarity with the South African liberation struggle.

The role of the Tanzanian government in the anti-apartheid struggle

In order to grasp the role of the government of Tanzania in solidarity with the people of South Africa in the struggle against apartheid, we have chosen the extract below (from the London *Observer*, 7 March 1961) to express the commitment of this government:...

Now that the question of South African membership of the Commonwealth is under discussion, our attitude is inevitable, we believe that South African membership under the present conditions makes a mockery of the inter-racial composition of the Commonwealth. If the Commonwealth is as we believe a voluntary association of friends, a 'club' we do not see how any country like ourselves committed to policies based on the dignity of man can be a member at the same time as South Africa is one ... We believe that the principles of the Commonwealth are betrayed by an affirmative answer to South Africa's application for re-admission as a Republic. Inevitably therefore we are forced to say that to vote South African in is to vote us out [emphasis added]...

In another move, Nyerere nominated Chief Albert Luthuli for the Nobel Peace Prize which he duly won in 1961 and joined forces with Bishop Trevor Huddleston to influence the establishment of the British Anti-Apartheid movement. As opposed to some African leaders who gave mere lip service to Africa's freedom and unity, Nyerere was both an astute practitioner and a campaigner. As a practitioner he

struggled tooth and nail to federate the East African countries upon independence, but when that failed for lack of cooperation from his fellow East African leaders, he made a move to unite his own country of Tanganyika with her willing neighbour, Zanzibar, to establish the United Republic of Tanzania. This step demonstrated that African political unity was possible if the leaders were willing to strive towards that goal. With regard to the struggle for national liberation of Africa, he invited all southern African liberation movements to establish their bases in Tanzania. The earliest of these movements to do so were the ANC and the PAC of South Africa who were hosted in Tanganyika from 1960. Others included the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), the United National Independence Party (UNIP) of Zambia, FRELIMO, MPLA, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO).

At the Addis Ababa Conference which led to the formation of the OAU in 1963, Nyerere moved the motion for African liberation and unity. Below is an extract of that speech:

We did not come here to discover whether we all want a free Africa ... We came here rather to find out what we should all do now in order to bring about the final liberation of Africa ... We in Tanganyika are prepared to support the proposal made by our brother, President Sekou Toure that one percent of our national budget should be set aside for the purpose of liberating non-free Africa. I want to assure our gallant brother from Algeria, Brother Ben Bella that we are prepared to die a little for the final removal of the humiliation of colonialism from the face of Africa.

Indeed, in practical terms, Tanzania committed more than one per cent of its budget to the OAU liberation fund annually.

Hosting the OAU LC

The newly established OAU LC was duly headquartered in Dar es Salaam. This resolution was based on the country's express commitment to liberation and her proximity to the territories of southern Africa that were still under colonial rule. The

proposal was warmly welcomed by the government and the Tanganyikan people, who were prepared to shoulder the responsibility of having the LC in their country in terms of national security and the sacrifices they had to make. Both the ANC and the PAC subsequently established their bases in Dar es Salaam, and Tanzania became known as the 'Mecca' of the freedom movements.

Tanzania, being the host country to the OAU LC, had an added responsibility to assist the committee financially and materially. Despite the country's annual financial contribution to the special fund of the LC, which was paid regularly (unlike many other

“There were two categories of these people in exile. There were those who identified themselves as freedom fighters and were affiliated to their liberation movements. They were not classified as refugees but as free people and were hosted in liberation camps.”

African countries), the government also provided additional assistance when necessary. Annual contributions to the committee from OAU member countries tended to be inadequate, irregular and unreliable. Some countries, like Malawi, Chad and Central Africa made no contributions at all. This meant that Tanzania's support became all the more necessary...

The former president of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa, also commended the fact that Tanzania took on the responsibility of the LC rather than just being a host country. It was thus a rational decision that the committee be led by a Tanzanian as the executive secretary. With the

support the committee received from the Tanzanian government it was able to carry out its noble task of assisting all the liberation movements, including the ANC and the PAC, in executing their liberation struggles and gaining their freedom.

Hosting the South African liberation movements

In 1960, the South African freedom fighters began to arrive in Tanganyika in large numbers to seek sanctuary. They were escaping the brutality of the apartheid regime in the aftermath of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres that led to the banning of the ANC and the PAC in March 1960. The first batch of freedom fighters was led by the acting president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo. The PAC members followed. Initially these people were hosted in Dar es Salaam. Later, they were moved to other places upcountry. In 1962, the ANC set up its headquarters in Morogoro where it operated until it moved its headquarters to Lusaka.

Tanzania did not treat these ANC and PAC members as refugees although the international community wanted them to be accorded refugee status. There were two categories of these people in exile. There were those who identified themselves as freedom fighters and were affiliated to their liberation movements. They were not classified as refugees but as free people and were hosted in liberation camps. Here they were oriented politically and militarily according to the goals and strategies of their particular organisations. There were those who did not identify themselves as freedom fighters and had no affiliation with any liberation movement. They were labelled refugees and were taken to the refugee camps that fell under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)....

All liberation movements including the ANC and the PAC were originally hosted at Kongwa Camp in Dodoma which was established in 1962. The earliest MK cadres received their training in this camp. Kongwa was the first, the 'mother' of the liberation movements' camps in Tanzania. During the initial period of the struggle, people from all liberation organisations were housed together in one camp.

This made it easier and cheaper to provide them with food, medicine, clothes and arms. However, as the struggle gained momentum and the number of cadres increased, it became necessary to relocate the different liberation movements to new camps and settlements. The ANC set up its base in Morogoro where it established Mazimbu and Dakawa settlement camps, while the PAC moved to Masuguru settlement camp at Ruvu in the coastal region. Meanwhile the Mgagao and Itumbi camps in Iringa and Chunya were turned into military training camps for the ANC and PAC freedom fighters. These camps also trained other freedom fighters like those of ZAPU, ZANU and SWAPO.

Education and training of freedom fighters

One of the great contributions made by the Tanzanian government was the education and training of the southern African freedom fighters. When the number of exiles grew larger and the struggles accelerated, Kongwa was no longer able to handle the influx and more camps were set up. The ANC and PAC combatants were shifted to Mgagao in Iringa and to Itumbi in Chunya. Later, after its establishment in 1978, Mazimbu also served as a training camp for the ANC recruits before they were moved to Mgagao for advanced training. In 1980, camps were established at Makuyuni and Kidete for ANC fighters while PAC combatants allocated training camps in Bagamoyo, Ruvu, Pongwe, Masuguru and Kitonga. There were also detachments in other places, including Dar es Salaam.

The task of military training was the responsibility of the TPDF, sometimes in collaboration with Chinese experts. To meet this need the TPDF had to be re-organised...

The training included courses in military combat, motor artillery, anti-aircraft guided missiles, signals and political education. After passing out, some cadres were infiltrated back into their respective territories. A few selected combatants in every group were trained as military officers at the Monduli Military Academy in Arusha Region. Others were sent to the Soviet Union, Algeria and to the countries of Eastern Europe for further military

training. There were also those who were trained as policemen at Moshi Police College and Kurasini Police Officers College in Dar es Salaam. The government of Tanzania was involved in facilitating all these arrangements. Apart from military training, the freedom fighters received ordinary education in the Tanzanian primary and secondary schools. As noted above, the ANC combatants established their own education centre at Mazimbu...

Logistical support

Another central role played by the government of Tanzania linked to the liberation struggle of South Africa was that of logistical support. This involved unloading, transportation, storage and distribution of goods secured from friendly countries. This ranged from

“The training included courses in military combat, motor artillery, anti-aircraft guided missiles, signals and political education. After passing out, some cadres were infiltrated back into their respective territories.”

military equipment, to food, medicines, vehicles, office equipment etc., that was distributed to the freedom fighters. The logistical operations were conducted through the Special Duties Unit (SDU) of the TPDF. This unit was established by the TPDF specifically to provide logistical support to the freedom fighters. It dealt with unloading of military hardware from Dar es Salaam's harbour, transportation and storage of the same in the TPDF go-downs at Lugalo in Dar es Salaam and Mbalizi in Mbeya. Thereafter the equipment was handed over to the Zambian Army for transmission to different destinations such as Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The SDU also collaborated with the Zambian Army to

ensure that the equipment was handed safely to the freedom fighters who were stationed there. Another of the SDU's tasks was that of record keeping for the military equipment supplied, and the preparation of the reports concerning logistical operations for presentation to the executive secretariat of the LC...

In order to help Zambia to reduce its dependence on South Africa for transportation of its goods, Tanzania invited Zambia to use Tanzanian ports. Zambia is a landlocked country and was dependent on South African and Rhodesian rail and road systems to transport her goods for export or import via the South African ports. Because of Zambia's commitment to liberation, Zambian goods were often intercepted. The road linking Zambia and the port of Dar es Salaam was in a very bad shape and had to be upgraded to serve Zambia effectively. Furthermore, there was no railway linking the two countries. Because of the resultant bottleneck, the governments of Tanzania and Zambia embarked on an ambitious project to building the Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TAZARA) popularly known as the Uhuru (Freedom) railway. They also built a tarred road and laid a pipeline from Dar es Salaam to Lusaka in Zambia. TAZARA is the only railway line built in post-colonial Africa. These projects were started in 1970 under a generous loan from China. By 1975, the railway project had reached its destination in Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia and the tarred road and pipeline projects were completed....

Conflict management and resolution among and within the nationalist movements

Conflict management in the various nationalist movements was another important task performed by the government of Tanzania and particularly by Julius Nyerere as the chairperson of the group of frontline states. The southern African freedom movements were far from united and there were differences within their ranks and between the various liberation movements. For instance the intra-ethnic conflict in ZANU led to the assassination of its chairperson in 1972. FRELIMO also experienced protracted leadership disputes prior to the rise of Samora Machel as undisputed leader.

As far as the South Africa liberation movements were concerned, there were ongoing divisions and leadership disputes in the PAC in the 1960s and 1970s, one of which led to the removal of Potlako K. Leballo from the presidency in 1979. There were also clashes in the ANC leadership structures from the 1960s but these were resolved at the Morogoro Conference of 1969. In the mid-1970s, internal clashes resurfaced in the exiled ANC, when a group of 'rebels' with anti-communist leanings led to 'venomous clashes'. This so-called Group of Eight was dismissed from the ANC in October 1975. Furthermore, ideological differences and divergent liberation strategies led

“Tanzania’s commitment to South Africa’s liberation struggle included the mobilisation of the Tanzanian masses.

This spirit was fostered in a multitude of ways. In schools, children were made aware of the liberation cause in speeches by government leaders, songs, drama and sporting events.”

to acrimony between the PAC and the ANC throughout the struggle period.

Perhaps, this is the context in which allegations that PAC convinced the government of Tanzania to expel ANC cadres en masse from the country in 1969. However, neither primary records nor retired army officers who served at Kongwa and in the SDU between 1967 and 1974 are able to throw any light on this. For example, in his testimony at the treason trial in 1968, Leballo (the PAC leader and chief prosecution witness) claimed that the coup plotter, Kambona, recruited him because he (Leballo) had men who could fight (PAC cadres). Because



Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, Milton Obote and Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta.

Kambona had also served as the chairperson of the OAU LC, he could not have planned to use both PAC and ANC cadres in the plot. On the other hand, Vladimir Shubin admits that he once raised the issue with President Nyerere for clarification, and the president could not recall it. For two important reasons it is suspected that in 1969, a significant number of ANC cadres may have been relocated to the Soviet Union for strategic reasons. First, following the debacle of the Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns which Chris

Hani himself described as 'suicidal missions', measures had to be taken to ensure that idleness and proximity to the motherland did not tempt cadres to undertake any further 'suicidal missions'. Secondly, the historic Morogoro Conference which was also precipitated by the debacle directed the ANC to adopt new strategies in confronting the enemy. As discussed below, in a way, the Lusaka Manifesto echoed the same message. Relocation to the Soviet Union, offered the Movement as well as the cadres space

to contemplate and even plan for the new strategies. In short, relocation was not imposed on the ANC by the government of Tanzania. All in all, throughout the period of the liberation struggle, the efforts by Tanzania and the OAU LC failed to resolve political and ideological differences between ANC and the PAC...

Nyerere and apartheid South Africa's aggression in Angola

It was the South African invasion of Angola, its all out support for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) and the tacit approval and involvement of the US, that provided favourable political conditions for Nyerere to throw a challenge to those OAU member states who wavered over which organisation to support in the Angolan conflict. He called on all member states to bury their differences. 'Despite our differences' he said, 'it should be possible for many African countries to speak with one voice against the involvement of South Africa. Even those countries which were hesitating in their condemnation of foreign intervention can now take a position'. He told the African leaders that FNLA and UNITA did not deserve support because of their collusion with the enemy. His support for the MPLA was unequivocal: 'we would not hesitate to pass arms to the MPLA to fight South Africa'. The MPLA needed help and it did not matter where this help came from as long as it was directed at defeating South Africa...

This was a powerful argument which no self respecting head of state could fault. But Nyerere faced those who were more preoccupied with the tedious tune that the Soviet Union was the principal enemy and that the MPLA was the Soviet ticket to expansion. These states included Mobutu's Zaire; Amin's Uganda; Burundi, the Central African Republic, Gabon, Mauritania, Senegal and Togo. They held on to the thesis of a government of national unity for Angola regardless of South African aggression and US complicity in it. The majority of these African countries also supported dialogue with the apartheid regime. When Cuba sent internationalist military support to the

MPLA in order to safeguard Angola's sovereignty and independence, US president, Gerald Ford, dispatched a letter to the African heads of state declaring that it would not 'stand idly by' if Soviet and Cuban support for the MPLA continued. Ford's letter was very offensive and Nyerere described it as 'arrogant and uncalled for'. He reminded Ford that 'if my country is attacked by South Africa, I will call for foreign aid, including troops. That is nothing new'...

Mobilisation of mass support for liberation

“Tanzania's most significant legacy to the liberation of Africa is that southern Africa is free from colonial domination and the apartheid system is dead and buried. South Africa is now a democratic state. Tanzania's commitment to South Africa's liberation struggle, in a certain sense, also consolidated Tanzania's freedom.”

Tanzania's commitment to South Africa's liberation struggle included the mobilisation of the Tanzanian masses. This spirit was fostered in a multitude of ways. In schools, children were made aware of the liberation cause in speeches by government leaders, songs, drama and sporting events. Public meetings and rallies that were addressed by government and party leaders were also an important forum. Tanzania also supported the isolation of South Africa in international sporting events until the apartheid system was dismantled in 1994. The general

public also expressed solidarity with South African liberation struggle through demonstrations (see below) and on such occasions the evidence of solidarity was often sanctioned by government officials. For example, public reaction in the streets of Dar es Salaam after the killing of young people in Soweto in 1976 was given official status when the CCM publicity secretary, Daudi Mwakawago, delivered a statement condemning the killings in the strongest possible terms.

The role of the media

The Tanzanian mass media made an important contribution to the South African liberation struggle by spreading news on its progress and reporting anti-apartheid activities positively. Radio Tanzania (RTD) was based in Dar es Salaam and was very effective in this regard. It reported the liberation news to Africa and to the world. It also broadcast its news and current affairs programmes to the southern African territories and liberation programmes often featured the freedom fighters themselves. RTD also provided a platform for the ANC's Radio Freedom.

The government owned newspapers (*The Daily News* and *Sunday News*) and those of the ruling party (*Uhuru* and *Mzalendo*) played a similar role. Liberation news was given front-page coverage virtually every day. Sources of information for the liberation news were the Western media like the Reuters, BBC Africa Service and the AFP. But since this news was often skewed in favour of the minority regimes, the media in Tanzania saw to it that liberation efforts were represented in a true light, untainted by Western propaganda.

The role of public and civil societies in solidarity with the South African struggle

The Tanzanian public expressed their solidarity with the South African liberation struggle by donating blood, money and providing material assistance of various kinds...

The Tanzanians hosted freedom fighters in their homes, gave them food, clothing and even married them off to their daughters. Indeed, the bond that developed between them and the freedom fighters

transcended mere political solidarity for the freedom struggle. A Tanzanian woman, Mama Mate, claimed that the bonds established between Tanzanians and the South Africans were more like 'blood bonds'.

The Tanzanian people also expressed their solidarity through civil societies like the trade unions, women's groups, youth groups and other social organisations and clubs. The National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA), for example, stood in solidarity with the ANC in its liberation struggle as testified by the statement by NUTA's publicity director, J.J. Nambuta at the 1969 ANC Morogoro Conference: 'I wish to assure comrades of the ANC and all comrades in the revolutionary struggle that you can continue to count on the support of the workers of Tanzania'. The TANU/CCM Women's Wing supported their women counterparts in the ANC and the PAC in their struggle. They popularised the names of prominent women in the struggle for national liberation like Winnie Mandela, so much so that it became fashionable in Tanzania for mothers in the 1970s and 1980s to name their daughters Winnie.

The TANU/CCM youth wing expressed similar sentiments of solidarity, and often invited the freedom fighters to their political meetings and rallies. In these forums, inspiring messages of solidarity were exchanged sometimes associated with financial and other material contributions to support liberation process. In the 1970s and 1980s, songs with liberation struggle messages became popular, with some of them calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. Others praised struggle leaders for their heroic stand against apartheid. Traditional musicians and dancers, actors and poets played similar roles in the mobilisation of mass support for the liberation struggle.

Industries producing consumer goods joined the anti-apartheid ranks and offered their products in support of the struggle. Textile mills offered clothes to the freedom fighters, often with 'khangas' and 'vitenges' (African prints) bearing portraits of South African political heroes like Mandela,

while Tanganyika Packers provided them with cartons of canned beans and beef. Academics and students at the University of Dar es Salaam showed their solidarity in August 1977, when they demonstrated against the visit by the French Foreign Minister. France was openly condemned for arms sales to the Pretoria regime. The French Foreign Minister took the incident personally and demanded an apology from the government of Tanzania – which it refused to do. In retaliation,

“The Mazimbu complex is now a campus of Sokoine University of Agriculture. Dakawa is an Agricultural High School and a Vocational Training College, both under the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. The ANC hospital in Mazimbu now resorts under the Ministry of Health, a journey which began with the arrival of professional African nurses from South Africa in Tanganyika in 1961.”

he cancelled his scheduled three-day visit to Tanzania and went back home. The academics and students then proceeded to establish a Liberation Support Committee at the university and organised an annual liberation week when public lectures, displays, plays and drama were held to enhance national consciousness on liberation. Solidarity was also a topic of discussion in Tanzanian schools. The syllabus on political education included themes

on anti-colonial struggles in the African continent. Students participated in songs and plays which condemned racism and apartheid. For their part, religious leaders condemned racism and apartheid from the pulpit and prayed for reform in South Africa...

Conclusion

Tanzania's most significant legacy to the liberation of Africa is that southern Africa is free from colonial domination and the apartheid system is dead and buried. South Africa is now a democratic state. Tanzania's commitment to South Africa's liberation struggle, in a certain sense, also consolidated Tanzania's freedom. Secondly, Tanzania's outstanding contribution to liberation has left a lasting imprint on the history of Africa as the most essential protagonist and a rear base of the southern African liberation struggle. Thirdly, the liberation struggle was mutually beneficial in that the infrastructure built to serve the liberation endeavour (such as TAZARA, Tanzania Zambia Road Services, and the TANZAM pipeline) are now useful links in the SADC Region, promoting economic, social and political development. Furthermore, the buildings in the liberation camps have been converted into educational and training institutions for the Tanzanian people. The Mazimbu complex is now a campus of Sokoine University of Agriculture. Dakawa is an Agricultural High School and a Vocational Training College, both under the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. The ANC hospital in Mazimbu now resorts under the Ministry of Health, a journey which began with the arrival of professional African nurses from South Africa in Tanganyika in 1961. Nyerere must have been very proud to witness the end of apartheid in 1994.

As President Samora Machel noted in 1985, 'to speak of Nyerere is to speak of the liberation of Africa'. He 'is a symbol that cannot be substituted'. Nyerere remained a source of inspiration and the symbol of solidarity in the anti-colonial struggle for justice, equality and human dignity in Africa and the world, until his death in 1999. ■

Mpumalanga Province and SAB partner on socio-economic development



Premier David Mabuza and SAB Managing Director, Mauricio Layva.

South African Breweries



The Mpumalanga Provincial government and the South African Breweries (SAB) recently entered into a public/private partnership with the aim of addressing critical socio-economic needs in the province. The agreement will further entrench SAB's commitment to investing in communities and promoting social upliftment.

The partnership was announced by Premier David Mabuza at an official signing ceremony of the memorandum of understanding in Nelspruit, together with SAB Managing Director Mauricio Leyva, in August this year.

The public/private partnership will see both the Mpumalanga Provincial Government and SAB co-operating on areas that seek to assist the province with its current socio economic challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Speaking at a signing ceremony, Premier Mabuza commented that there would be a clear focus on areas of water supply, enterprise development and on programmes dedicated to educating communities about the harm of alcohol abuse.

"To us as a provincial government, today is a different day; we are

“With its current socio-economic challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality, the public/private partnership will see both the Mpumalanga Provincial government and SAB co-operating in areas that seek to assist the province...there would be a clear focus on areas of water supply, enterprise development and...about the harm of alcohol abuse”

making progress in a different manner. We are beginning to see the public private partnership making great impact in the lives of the people.

"The most exciting development in this cooperation is education and water. Education will always remain the future of this country. We must deliberately prepare our children for the future in order for them to occupy our space in future.

"Water is life, it is essential in the lives of human beings. We would never see any development without water. As a provincial government we are humbled by this gesture as we believe we are not entitled to these things you will do for the people," said Mabuza.

Meanwhile, Mr Leyva re-committed SAB's support to ensuring that the communities where the company operates are able to thrive.

"SAB believes the company's success, and the prosperity of communities, are inter-dependent. It is for this reason that we strive to work with different partners, including government, to make a difference to local communities," he said.

"We believe that this partnership with the Mpumalanga government will identify and implement projects that will make a difference to the lives of individual people in communities," Leyva continued.

The partnership between the Mpumalanga province and SAB will be in place for an initial five years. Details of the various projects falling under the partnership will be announced in due course, but are expected to include programmes dealing with regulatory affairs, rural development, human capital development as well as research and development. ■



THROUGH A CREATIVE LENS

In these two performance pieces the writers are deeply angered about the distortions of reality that are pedalled as truth, and the way the world appears oblivious to their cries for justice: 'I am an interruption in your dinner conversation, a constant irritation and consternation...'. Searching in vain for a viable way forward, they are driven beyond the tipping point, an apt expression of their pain being found in the words: **'the beast has gone too far'**.



guns&rights

sonwabo meyi

in a rush to come
to terms wit de capitalists
we have settled for less
fathers abused mothers raped
my mind choked in deep prison
cells i'm forced to be a rebel
coz i'm in chains the whiteman
does not want to let go
when i speak like this the
president chucks me into
the ghetto while ma people get
shot in kliptown for marching
for their rights so please go tell
mandela that sonwabo meyi

is not down with this rainbow
nation myth i'd rather die fighting
like steve biko who said: "the most
potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor
is the mind of the oppressed"...
i got to keep ma mind black and strive
for a consciousness that will
never sellout like many leaders of
today...go tell the BEE fat cats
that ma AK-47 is fully loaded if they
don't start sharing with the poor
i'm gonna start the revolution...please give a
call to chris hani and che guevara tell them
i need some help...the beast has gone too far

This poem is from Sonwabo Meyi 's collection "rage against the beast'. He writes "i formed a company called 'magenge theatre productions' with three friends of mine. i'm now a director/technician in theatre, do drama for sabc radio, do freelance photography/manipulating sound pictures and video clips on my computer. word sound power is the name of my game."



The New Black

Ayub Mayet
Jeremy Karodia

So do not forgive my rudeness, I am described as uncouth
and even shameless

You can think me useless, peddling untruth and aimless.

I am an interruption of your dinner conversation, a constant
irritation and consternation

As opposed to a sovereign nation with a history going back
forty generations.

Violence, brutality and expulsion signed off in a convoluted
U.N. hand

To a land with no people, for a people with no land.

In an even stranger twist, an unholy tryst, a superpowers'
black list ...

I am no victim I am a terrorist!!!

So do not forgive my insolence, just answer my questions

Because I am losing patience and this is my time to be your
conscience!!!

Chorus: Did I hear you speak? Did you hear the children
plead?

In the deathly cold of night, with no warmth nor food in
sight

Did I hear it said won't you please end this blockade?

Free up the food and free up the aid, oh please won't you
end this blockade.

So do not forgive my frustration, aggravation and anger

Because the humiliation of the occupation is fraught with
danger.

It's par for the course on a sunny day in Augusta or a
massacre on an aid flotilla

The memories fade of Sabra and Chatila and a little boy
called Mohammed al Durrah

Bombed and blasted into a surreal Stone Age setting
seething in strife a nation grieves

For a shrinking, shriveling landscape shattered and shaped
by the subversion of thieves

In an even stranger twist, the oppressor cries victim and is
accepted, lauded and applauded

In a flurry of sniveling propaganda and hatred!!!

Because I am losing patience and this is my time to be your
conscience

Did I hear you speak? Did you hear the children scream?

When white phosphorous weapons incinerated heaven

And left a nation to bleed,

Where was Obama? When the devil came to Gaza?

Did I hear him plead?

Show mercy, mercy please.

So do not forgive my sarcasm, irreverence or cynicism

Because all antagonism or criticism of God's chosen is
forbidden

As visions and hallucinations of peace is spat out from the
belly of an M16

Blackhawks & bulldozers batter and betray all reason,
deadly and obscene

Conspiracies of conventional and chemical carnage,
bearing a simple message

Resistance in action will be met by the glory of western
civilization.

Without oration or ovation, I beg the question

What's the price of my forgiveness Jack?

What the heck, I'll survive another attack

'Cos you ain't cutting me no slack

There ain't no goin back

My freedom is on track

Because Palestinian is The New Black!!!

Palestinian is The New Black

Palestinian....is... The New Black.

This performance piece was written and composed by Ayub Mayet and Jeremy Karodia, and recorded in the album 'Pura Vida' by The Mavrix. They performed it at the launch of Mats Svensson's book, *Crimes, Victims and Witnesses: Apartheid in Palestine*, Real African Publishers. Ayub writes, "This song is the expression of our outrage at the atrocities committed under 'Operation Cast Lead' by the Israeli Defence Force and is inspired in large measure by Susan Abulhawa's book *Mornings in Jenin*."

The Thinker

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Drink and eat what you are giving us



By Ayanda Ngcwabe

In the deep rural and mountainous hinterlands of the Eastern Cape villages, there's still a huge importance attached to tradition. Respect for tradition makes a person. In Xhosa tradition, guests are treasured even though most villagers are now largely indigent.

When serving your guests, you are the first to take pleasure in the treat, "ukhuphe (ibhekile) idliso". This is an assurance to the guests that there is no poison in the delicacy which they will enjoy, with you, without any anxiety.

It could create a very dull impression if you were to invite people to your function and leave them unattended for your comfort of more classy single

malt whiskys and other treats.

Ideally, what you give to the people you treasure must be good enough for you too. If you invite people and then isolate yourself, you are actually destroying the values of Ubuntu. You are not a people's person.

A leader, following the above analogy – the host, must be visible. You must be among the people you lead so that you better understand their difficulties. You must be there so that you feel their pain. A leader is first amongst the first, the primary point of access so that whatever happens to them starts with you. You must lead from the front.

If you are a councilor in Alex, how

can you stay in Sandton? How are you going to appreciate the challenges that are faced by your people? As one reggae artist says in one of his songs: "Who feels it, knows it."

If they do not have water, sanitation, electricity, or their drains are blocked, refuse not being collected and roads riddled with potholes, how will you have a sense of urgency? You must also feel the pain; you cannot be isolated or disconnected from your people.

In South Africa the hosts do not want to taste first. We are left with no choice but to ask a question, "how do we know it's nontoxic?" If the host doesn't want to taste first, you are left

with two options: indulge or refuse. In most cases, most will put their jackets on the shoulder and leave.

They know that the leaders have all the means to entertain themselves. There are those who have nothing, those who are desperate. In order for them to have drinks and entertain themselves someone must organise such gatherings: then they will come, they do not need to be invited, by the way. This group will stay even if they do not trust the beer - they have no choice.

In South Africa we have public schools and hospitals but there are government leaders who do not want to use them. Government leaders who are saying "We care about the people we lead. We have built good hospitals but we cannot use them as they do not meet our standards."

"The rest can go and use them but as government leaders we will use private hospitals with your taxes." These leaders say "We care about educating and developing leaders of tomorrow because we are a concerned government. We shall provide an environment that is conducive for effective learning.

"However, the conditions will not be favorable enough for our kids. Our children study in private schools as we do not trust the schools we have built for you."

There are those members of society who are not desperate; they just leave these public institutions and use private institutions for their health and education of their own. This group acts like those who are not desperate when the host doesn't want to taste first.

There are those who don't have a choice but stay and use public hospitals; they are economically challenged. This is the group that stays even if the host doesn't want to taste first. Even if they not going to get good services they still go because they have no choice. Even if their kids are being taught inside dangerous buildings that can collapse while they are inside they have no choice.

These are the ones who are treated

with little respect, only recognised during elections. These are the voting fodder who are easily duped by food parcels and the first to go to the streets when the parcels are finished.

They vote for the same government that has failed them for years, because when there's another group of cadres that is going to be deployed they always have hope that finally things will change and all will be well. After elections they are forgotten. That's when they throw stones.

Even though they are poor they have eyes to see what is right and wrong. They know they have rights to basic services and they can stand up for their rights. When they are raising their grievances they are killed by police officers. They are killed by the same police officers that are supposed to protect them from criminals.

These things are happening because people who are claiming to be their leaders are disconnected from them. They do not lead from the front nor back; they are nowhere. These leaders are even scared of the people who voted them into power; they are literary disconnected from their constituencies and they consider them as criminals.

They will only be their gullible poor voters when elections come around again. When they come to see them they will come in convoys of black big cars and bodyguards. This shows the disconnection and they are basically saying, "We are scared of you, that is why we come to you with so many cars and bodyguards, we don't trust you, you might kill us, you are criminals".

Who is the real criminal here, who is stealing the tax payers' money? They come and say, "Don't complain too much. Here is the food parcel: eat because you are hungry, we know you don't have a job. Give us a vote and you will be rewarded. We will reward you with open toilets". Then in the last weekend prior to the elections old people will be taken to big rallies as a "display" that people can be reminded of old struggle days and vote for the failing government again and again.

It must be clear that the history of this freedom that is being enjoyed

by certain individuals is not going to solve the problems that we have. The problems that these leaders of our own have created, I am talking about the problems of cronyism, nepotism and maladministration.

The same leaders that we trusted so much have become the bullets of the same gun that is killing us, but we don't see that because we are blinded by liberation history and we are blinded by songs that were sung during '70s and '80s.

We are blinded by the gallantry that was shown by real leaders who are not among us today. There are real leaders that I am quite sure that wherever they are they are not happy with that is happening today. I am sure Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki and others are not happy to see poor people being so marginalised. I can hear the voice of Steve Biko asking Solomon Mahlangu "Solomon is that what we died for?" And Solomon, replying with sadness, "definitely no".

Fellow South Africans, especially concerned young people we need to stand up and say no to wrong things and endorse plans that seek to take this country and this continent forward.

If we don't stand up today these "problems" are going to affect generations to come after us. For example, today we are faced by the HIV/AIDS challenge and it is affecting young people mostly.

Truly speaking we are not the ones who took it for granted; it was the generation before us that did not stand up from the very onset and that is why today it's our problem. If we don't stand up today and say NO, tomorrow our own kids are going to stay in misery. Let us join hands and build the country of our dreams. Just like in the bible when the walls of Jerusalem were fallen an invitation was given to come and build the walls of Jerusalem. "Come let us rebuild the wall of Jerusalem and we will no longer be in disgrace". (Nehemiah 2 v 17). "Agang" yizani sakhe, come let us build the South Africa of our dreams.

STAND UP FOR TOMORROW ■

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.

SERVICE DELIVERY AN IMPERATIVE
OF OUR TIME



MAYOR'S *Message*

As Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, we invested largely on improving our planning processes and the oversight role of the Councillors, as well as the Mayoral Committee, which ensured that the municipality excels in its performance. We also invested in resources, as well as in stabilising and professionalising our administration to improve its efficiency. More importantly, we have also devoted some considerable resources to facilitating community participation in the affairs of our municipality - making it truly people-centred.

The ability of the municipality to spend public resources responsibly has become a critical measure in determining the performance of a municipality since the advent of democratic local government in South Africa, and this has been further enforced through the introduction of the Municipal Financial Management Act in 2003.

As the Metro, we have made some significant improvements in financial expenditure from 38% rate of expenditure in 2011/12 financial year to 70% rate of expenditure in 2012/13 on core service delivery projects. This marks an improvement of 32% in one year, suggesting that this municipality is capable of achieving 100% expenditure in the 2013/14 financial year.

It is essential that the communities continue to engage the municipality to ensure that it keeps to its commitment of ensuring timely service delivery as well as accounting to the people.

We prioritised the electrification of shacks on realising that the perpetuation of illegal connections was increasing the life-risk for a number of innocent citizens, whilst costing the metro considerable revenue.

We are happy to confirm that more than 200 shacks have already been electrified and in this financial year we have set aside an amount of R10 million as part of this project in the interest of restoring the dignity of our people through providing them with electricity as a basic right. Our investment in this project will also pay off through minimising the unnecessary electricity outages caused by illegal connections.

Soon we will be rolling out an awareness campaign to highlight the dangers of illegal connections. We have a constitutional obligation to ensure that our people live in safe and secure environments. We trust that our people will embrace this campaign as it seeks to address their plight. In areas where there are bottlenecks, we have asked our administration to address such hindrances.

It should be acknowledged though, that these successes would not have been possible without the valuable input of the Finance Oversight Committee, the Municipal Public Accounts Committee, the Executive Mayoral Committee, and the entire Municipal Council, as well as the Administration led by the Municipal Manager for their unwavering commitment to excellence in service delivery.



BUFFALO CITY
METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

Cllr. Zukiswa Ncitha
Executive Mayor
Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality



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