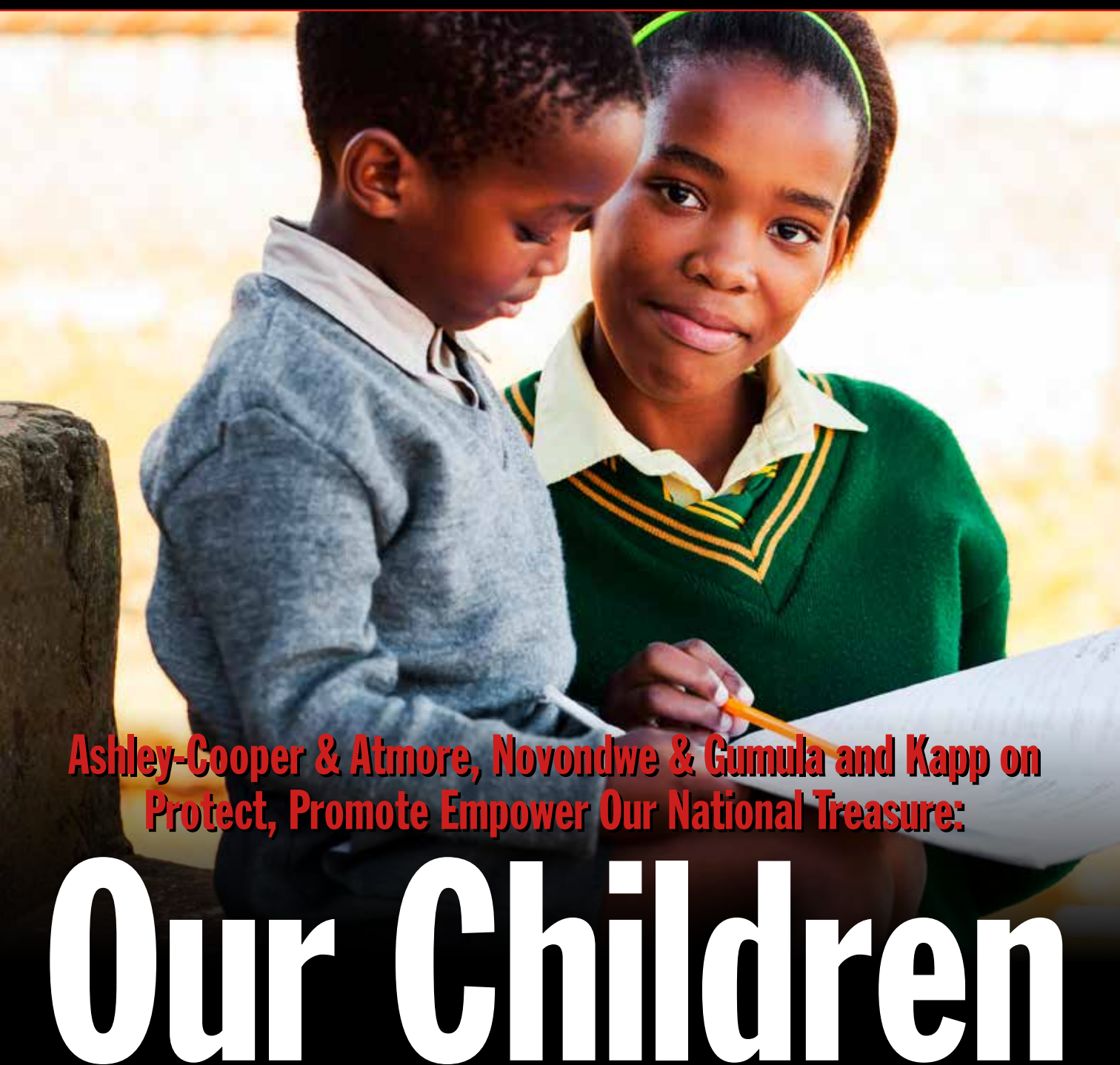


The Thinker

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

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**Ashley-Cooper & Atmore, Novondwe & Gumula and Kapp on
Protect, Promote Empower Our National Treasure:**

Our Children

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On the Cover:

Protect the best interest
of the child.

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PROTECT, PROMOTE EMPOWER OUR NATIONAL TREASURE:

Children

In this issue we carry three articles pertaining to the constitutional and fundamental rights of our children to a good quality of life. In their article on Early Childhood Development, Michaela-Ashley Cooper and Eric Atmore outline and demonstrate the critical importance of Early Childhood Development for “higher levels of social, emotional, cognitive and physical well-being in young children” as well as for poverty alleviation policies and strategies.

Lufuno Novondwe and Foldrick Gumula point out “The Constitution requires that the best interests of the child should be of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child. We opine that the protection of children’s rights includes the protection against sexual exploitation or degradation in publications, films and on the internet.”

In his irreverent and witty piece David Kapp writes about children in the Cape Flats who travel long distances to obtain a safer haven and better educational facilities. As he writes: “By anyone’s standard grade maths, these youngsters have a 12 hour day already. They are almost certainly exhausted at the start of the school day. What effect might this regimen have on their bodies in the long term?”

Since 1994 we have made great strides in improving the quality of life of our children. There is now far greater access to education, health care and social services for indigent children. The child support grant reaches most families in need, and this, together with the school feeding scheme, contributes to enabling school-age children to have at the very least one meal a day. However, the grant does not always translate into good food for babies and young children under six years old, where

adequate nutrition is crucial to development.

Despite the improvements, too many of our children attend schools and classrooms that are in disrepair, lack study material and other educational equipment and do not have access to adequate water and sanitation facilities. Worst of all, those in charge are not always competent, and some children receive little education or even care and protection in their schools. Such an educational environment is indefensible, and these schools need

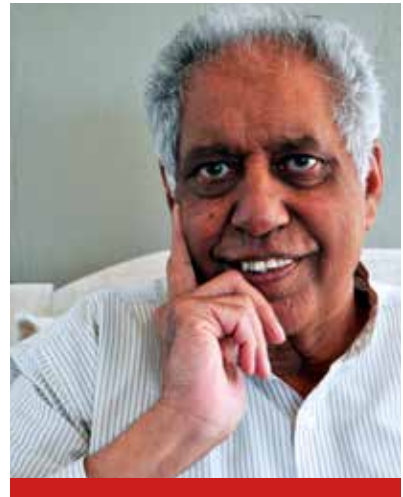
“We need to raise awareness so that every citizen finds child abuse abhorrent and without hesitation feels it their duty to intervene when they see indications that it may be happening.”

to be dealt with decisively.

The prevalence of the abuse of children, in particular rape, is a serious indictment of society. We need to raise awareness so that every citizen finds child abuse abhorrent and without hesitation feels it their duty to intervene when they see indications that it may be happening.

There can be no doubt that we also have to dramatically improve our record in relation to detecting and reporting the abuse of children, rapidly responding in a manner supportive of the abused child, conducting effective police investigations, and running an appropriate and effective judicial process.

There is a welcome improvement in



harsh and long-term sentences being meted out to those adults who abuse our children. But there is a need for greater consistency. Those who rape and abuse children must be removed from society so they can no longer harm others at will. Yet, to our horror, two men accused of raping six girls between the ages of 9 and 14 were granted R200 bail each in the Keimoes Magistrates Court!

To meet the needs of children requires that the issue does not become a party-political football. It is a human quest that requires the active and selfless involvement of political parties irrespective of ideology, as well as parents, teachers and civil society organisations, trade unions, the private sector, civil servants, community-based organisations and NGOs.

The struggle for children rights begins even prior to child birth. In an article in the *Financial Times* (28 May, 2013) Helen Warrel points out: “Being malnourished in the womb causes deficiencies in cognitive development that will reduce a child’s future earning potential by 20 per cent and is projected to cost the global economy \$125bn by 2030....Research by ‘Save the Children’ on infants in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam has found that those who do not receive the necessary nutrients in the first 1,000 days of life – from conception until their second birthday – suffer from developmental brain deficiencies that hold back their learning ability regardless of the quality of their schooling”.

In previous issues of *The Thinker* we have carried articles by Claudio Lema

Pose on Child Protection in conflict situations (September 2012) and on “The best interests of the child and truth and reconciliation commissions” (April 2013) that not only dissect the impact of war and conflict on children and their families but also on the strategy and policies that can be developed to protect the best interests of the child. He views favourably the approach taken by the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in dealing with children that were actually involved as child soldiers in that civil war. He wrote: “The Sierra Leone TRC was the first truth commission to involve children in statement-taking and in close and thematic hearings, as

well as in the preparation of a child-friendly version of the Commission report. The role of children in the Sierra Leone TRC was also groundbreaking in setting precedent and developing policies and procedures to protect the rights of children in truth commission processes. This has had a significant impact on the emerging understanding of children’s evolving capacities to contribute to the legal and social aspects of the TRC activities.”

From 27 May to 2 June 2013 we marked Child Protection Week. The Minister and Department of Social Development organised a series of events, meetings and conferences to highlight the continuing need to

heighten our commitment and work to protect children. One of these events was the major Southern African conference on orphans, vulnerable children and youth and held at the ICC in Durban.

If we, as a society, are unable to protect, promote and empower our children, what kind of a country are we building? The future will be largely determined by how we care for our national treasure. It is clear that immediate and urgent steps need to be taken to assist ECD practitioners, caregivers, teachers, parents and social workers to understand the issues and act to protect and nurture our children, particularly in poverty stricken areas. ■

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Boy soldiers in a war zone

Early Childhood Development and Economic Growth

According to standard theories of economic growth, increases in aggregate production can be driven through three broadly defined channels.

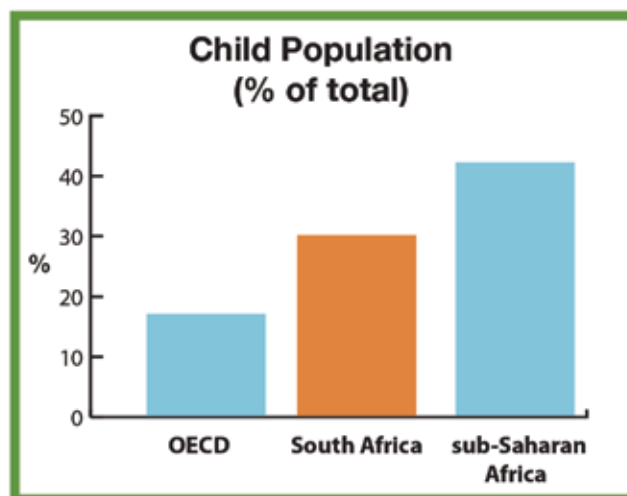
These three channels are, 'capital deepening' (so that each unit of labour is able to utilize more or better quality capital with which to produce goods), an expansion in the labour force (affected primarily by changes in the size of the working age population and the demand for labour), or an improvement in technological know-how (for example, an increase in education standards or a positive shock in information technology capabilities). Over the decades ahead, South Africa's growth prospects will therefore rely heavily on its progress in developing these three channels of growth.

With regards to the first channel, there is reason to be optimistic about the country's future. State-owned enterprises are currently set to drive massive infrastructure investment programmes over the medium term, which will contribute in a critical way to the improvement of our network industries, including rail, electricity, and telecommunications. Any recovery in business confidence will add to this investment drive, as the private sector releases its retained earnings in a bid to expand and maintain its production capacity.

The concern over future growth is therefore importantly linked to the latter two channels, which essentially reflect the size and quality of the labour force. The supply of labour, as indicated in the introductory paragraph, is driven by changes in national demographics. In this regard, Southern Africa is well positioned for prosperity. According to the most recent World Bank data, the proportion of South Africa's population that is below the age of 15 is 30%. More strikingly, the proportion of the sub-Saharan population (to which South Africa is increasingly linked through trade ties) that is below the age of 15 stands at 42%. If we contrast this to the OECD advanced nations, who on average have below 17% of their populations in this age group, it becomes clear that South Africa and sub-Saharan Africa in general possess the potential for robust growth over time, as our children become active economic participants in the future.

Growth in the size of the working age population is only one side of the equation however. For the child population to be effectively absorbed into the future economy, our actions in nurturing and protecting them now will be crucial. According to a 2010 study published by the *Journal of Child Development**, early childhood poverty has a statistically significant and large detrimental effect on the level of earnings in adulthood, even after controlling for other environmental factors and economic wellbeing in later childhood years. Making much needed progress in public healthcare systems and the urgent addressing of government's education policy shortcomings will play an important role in improving the future productivity and social wellbeing of South Africa's children.

Nevertheless, there is an enormous amount that the private sector can do to contribute to our children's future as well. Recently, Oasis and the Centre for Early Childhood Development embarked on a programme to meet the needs of young children at 30 Early Childhood Development centres in the Cape Metro South East Sector, better known as the "Cape Flats". This project provides services at various community-managed centres in the area, and promotes the children's holistic development through the provision of a range of quality



early childhood development services and programmes. The involvement of Oasis in the project includes centre upgrades, teacher training, provision of educational equipment, training of governing body members and supervisors, and assistance with obtaining provincial subsidies. A literature review published by the American Journal of Preventative Medicine** finds that these kinds of programmes are

generally shown to have material positive benefits in aiding early childhood development.

We at Oasis therefore believe that the impact of proper care in the early stages of life will play a vital role in unlocking South Africa's potential; serving as a catalyst for long term prosperity, as a more productive working age population will in the future become a more prominent driver of economic growth. ■

* Duncan, G.J., Ziol-Guest, K.M. and Kalil, A., 2010. Early-childhood poverty and adult attainment, behavior and health. Child Development. 81, 1: 306-325.

** Anderson et al., 2003. The effectiveness of early childhood development programs : A systematic review. American Journal of Preventative Medicine. 23: 32-46.



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Early Childhood Development as a Strategy to Eradicate Poverty and Reduce Inequality



By Michaela Ashley-Cooper and Eric Atmore

Poverty and inequality impact negatively on millions of people in urban and rural communities in South Africa. This has a particularly devastating effect on children and their families in these impoverished communities since it deprives them of their socio-economic rights and results in inadequate access to health care, education, social services and nutrition. As well as turning childhood into a time of adversity, it undermines the healthy development of the child. This has led former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan to say, “poverty is the major obstacle to the realisation of children’s rights.”

Growing up in extreme poverty, wherever you live, has many consequences. The most immediate of these include a propensity for illness, stunted growth, delayed cognitive development, poor nutrition and general lethargy.

One initiative which overcomes the effects of poverty is the provision of good quality early childhood development (ECD) programmes for young children, together with support for their families. Research in South Africa, and internationally, indicates that the early years are critical for development. The research shows that quality early childhood care, education and development leads to higher levels of social, emotional, cognitive and physical well-being in young children. These in turn lead to significant social and economic benefits for the country.

Globally, quality ECD opportunities for children are recognised as the foundation for success in life. The early years are recognised as the appropriate phase for young children to acquire the values, behaviour and attitudes which are important for the building of a peaceful, prosperous and democratic society.

Early and appropriate provisioning and interventions for children at risk can reverse the effects of deprivation and make it possible for children to grow and develop to their full potential, thus reducing the need for costly remedial interventions to address developmental lag and social problems later in life. Therefore, in order to overcome poverty and inequality in the most effective way, South Africa needs a much greater investment at the level that produces the greatest social and economic return: early childhood development.

Why Early Childhood Development?

Although economic opportunities are a key factor in poverty reduction, with economic growth contributing significantly to the reduction of poverty throughout a country (May et al. 1998), it cannot alone reduce inequality in the short or medium term; several areas of

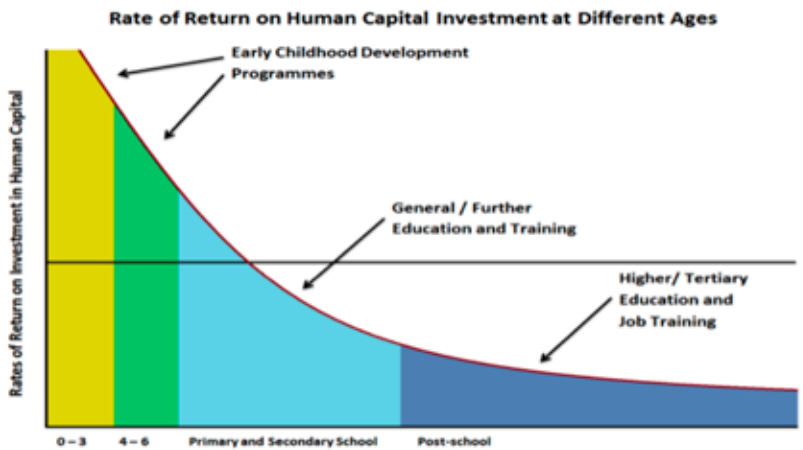


Figure 1. Rate of Return on Investment across Various Age Categories (Adapted from Carneiro & Heckman, 2003).

action are needed in order to reduce inequality.

Firstly, investment in education has long been recognised as a primary route to reducing poverty and inequality. Whilst South Africa has one of the highest rates of public investment in education in the world (SAInfo, 2012) public spending in the critical early years is lowest. Nationally, less than 2% of government spending (Departments of Social Development and Education) is spent on children aged five and younger (*Children Now*, 2011).

In terms of return on investment, recent studies have shown that focussed investment into Early Childhood Development programmes yields an “extraordinary return, far exceeding the return on most investments...” (Rolnick & Grunewald, 2003). Investment in ECD breeds economic success, not only in terms of those beneficiaries being educated; the ECD work force being trained and supported, and children provided with quality ECD stimulation and programming, but also for the overall economy as a whole. This economic success is the basis for a reduction in poverty and inequality.

More specifically, effective ECD interventions provide economic opportunities for the practitioners who are trained (by providing quality teacher, leadership and governance training) thereby affecting short and medium term economic growth. Through training, ECD interventions provide beneficiaries with the chance to become teachers and social

entrepreneurs, managing their own small enterprises. Indeed, more than 24 000 ECD centres have been established without government financial support. Each one of these centres has been set up and financed by entrepreneurial women in their communities, with the majority of ECD centres established in Kwazulu-Natal, Gauteng, Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. Although each of these ECD centres is run as a small social enterprise, they are currently not accessing the support provided to SMEs. But more than just providing this form of economic empowerment, ECD interventions provide a safe environment that stimulates learning for the children involved, creating a solid foundation for the work-force of the future.

But what programmes are available to bring about these outcomes?

Components of successful ECD interventions

Quality teaching and learning is essential for effective early development to take place. In order to produce quality ECD teachers (often called ECD practitioners), various training and education opportunities are made available through full ECD qualifications. The NQF Level 4 ECD practitioner qualification provides teachers with the necessary skills to meet the basic needs of young children in all areas of their development (physical, mental, emotional, and social), to facilitate the

holistic development of young children (including those children with special needs), and offer quality ECD services in a variety of settings. The NQF Level 5 ECD practitioner qualification provides ECD practitioners with the necessary skills to use their experience and knowledge in ECD to further their professional practice, and specialise in a particular area of ECD. This might include managing a community-based ECD centre or independent pre-school.

Those who obtain the full Level 4 or 5 qualifications can apply to register with the South African Council of Educators, and at Level 5 they can be employed to teach in a public school, but only in the reception class (or pre-school classes if they exist). In order to teach older children they must achieve a qualification at a Higher Education Institute.

There are also organisations which provide training for ECD governing body members and supervisors who are responsible for the ECD centres' leadership and management. This is often offered in the form of a series of workshops which focus on financial management, human resource management, fundraising, subsidies, fee policy, maintaining administrative systems and ensuring sustainability of the ECD centre. Centres are supported and assisted to register with the Department of Social Development and to obtain the per capita ECD subsidy from the Department.

For an ECD centre to become registered it is essential that it meets the minimum standards as determined by provincial government departments and the local authority. It is essential that ECD centres provide a safe and secure environment for young children. To this end, advice and assistance can be given relating to renovations and upgrades to ECD centres which must be carried out so that the centres can meet the minimum physical standards and requirements.

Educational equipment is a vital component in offering a quality early learning environment to young children. Play is a means for the growth of the child's physical, social, cognitive, emotional, social and moral development. The provision of age-appropriate educational equipment

to ECD centres and training for ECD teachers on the effective use of educational equipment is essential.

Due to the fact that there is minimal provision for children with special needs in South Africa, compounded by the fact that South Africa has a high prevalence of foetal alcohol spectrum disorder, a series of training workshops on the inclusion of children with special needs is of great benefit to ECD centres.

Such workshops equip ECD teachers with the knowledge and basic skills required to successfully integrate children with special needs into their playrooms and learning environments.

Family Outreach Programmes and Playgroups

Family outreach programmes involve the provision of ECD services within a home. Family outreach workers (also referred to as Family or Community Motivators) work with a number of families in a community and visit each family for a set amount of time each week or month (depending on the nature of the specific programme). During a home visit, the family outreach worker works directly with the caregiver sharing knowledge on how to provide early learning stimulation and provides information on various other important topics such as health, safety and nutrition. The family outreach worker also works directly with the children in their homes; demonstrating to the caregiver the various activities which can be done at home to stimulate early learning, and providing the children with a foundation for their early development. These programmes aim to empower parents and primary caregivers to provide early learning opportunities to their own children. The intention of the family outreach programme is that parents continue to provide these early learning activities and opportunities to their children after the completion of the programme.

Playgroups provide ECD services within a community setting or informal gathering. A fieldworker works with a group of parents and children on early learning activities on a session basis in a local park, in a residential home or at a community hall. The sessions focus mainly on the education activities that

the parents can do in the home with their children. A playgroup allows for information sharing to take place between the primary caregivers and provides a space for supporting them, as well as encouraging the parents/caregivers to support one another. These programmes also allow for children who usually do not interact with many other children, to interact in larger groups, on shared activities.

Although these project components can be provided independently, they are far more effective when combined as an integrated package as they address the ECD challenges in a holistic manner. Much research has shown that the best way to provide ECD programmes to children, and thus give them the best possible start in life, is by offering them an integrated approach to ECD (Department of Education, Department of Social Development, Department of Health & UNICEF, 2005).

Currently, the Department of Social Development (DoSD) provides some support to non-centre based ECD programmes, but this is on a very small scale and is not across all provinces. The programmes are almost always initiated by community members or NGOs, and supported by NGOs who obtain funding either from the DoSD or donors. A number of NGOs in South Africa provide programmes such as these, including Khululeka, Ntataise, Tree, ELRU, Grassroots, the Foundation for Community Work and the Centre for Early Childhood Development.

Assisting ECD centres to obtain the provincial government subsidy

One of the major barriers preventing young children from accessing ECD centres are the various costs involved. Should ECD centres receive the provincial government per capita subsidy of R15.00 per child per day, centres would be able to increase access for many young children. Moreover, receiving the government subsidy helps ECD centres to become financially sustainable. For example, an ECD centre with 40 children can access approximately R 150,000 each year. There are, however, some significant barriers preventing ECD centres from accessing the ECD subsidy. These

barriers mainly stem from the costs involved in ECD centres meeting the minimum standards as set out by DoSD in order to register with the DoSD; with costly infrastructure upgrades and re-zoning often needed. Once registered (a prerequisite for receiving the subsidy), many ECD centres need to be assisted in the various processes involved in obtaining this subsidy, which itself is limited to provincial budget allocations.

Nutrition

Due to the extraordinarily high prevalence of poverty in South Africa, hunger, malnutrition and food insecurity are significant challenges facing children in communities across the country. In terms of learning, research has shown that malnutrition and hunger greatly affect a child's ability to concentrate, focus attention, and perform complex tasks (Wildeman & Mbebetho, 2005). The negative consequences of malnutrition affect children's ability to achieve their full potential, stunting not only the child's ability to flourish in adulthood, but collectively limiting the country's potential development (McNeil & Donald, 2006).

The long-lasting effects of inadequate nutrition put significant additional stress on the health care expenditures of a country. Improving nutrition, through various interventions, can therefore bring about not only health and education benefits to children, but economic benefits to the country as a whole.

Nutrition programmes, such as the feeding schemes provided at primary schools for schools in the lowest 3 quintiles, are vital for the holistic development of children from birth to 5 years of age. Interventions include feeding schemes, the provision of deficient micronutrients through fortified sachet powders/pap to homes and community-based ECD facilities, the facilitation and start-up of food gardens, as well as skills development and training on nutrition and agricultural development.

Children attending ECD programmes in public schools are most likely to receive their nutrition through the National School Nutrition Programme

(NSNP), whereas food for children from registered and subsidised community-based ECD facilities is supposed to be funded through the DoSD per capita ECD subsidy. However, this per capita subsidy is not ring-fenced for feeding (unlike the NSNP), and is also used for administration and personnel costs (HSRC, 2009). Therefore optimal nutritional meal provision is not guaranteed in these ECD centres. Children who are not in any form of ECD provisioning are even more at risk of not receiving adequate nutrition.

Impact

The Centre for Early Childhood Development (CECD) provides a good example of the impact of such a multi-faceted approach. It has offered integrated interventions, in various forms, for the past eighteen (18) years, working throughout South Africa. To illustrate this, one of many such projects involved a range of interventions for five ECD centres in the disadvantaged area of Greater Lavender Hill. The project directly impacted on three hundred and fifty (350) children in these ECD centres. The following are some quotes in this regard:

- "Yes there is a big change...like when a baby is born, before you learn to walk, they found us in a state of a baby learning to crawl and they help us a lot...it cleared up our minds a lot!...We didn't have enough resources, but now there is a big change, even if we didn't have, we try to create, to work on what we have. Let's say we don't have paintbrushes, we use sponges, but now the project has helped us...we have brighter things, colourful things and the children are so happy...you can see the classrooms have changed!" - Nontutuzelo Mroxiso, Little Lambs Educare
- "Definitely a boost! Teachers got to connect with other staff, networking with workshops made them realise they are not isolated, there is support, they could connect with the community and community development as well, share ideas and implement it in the classrooms." - Faranaaz Johnson, Rainbow Educare
- "They did what they said they would

do...to get us to stand up on our own feet...teacher now has eagerness in her face...more options, there is enough activities to keep them [learners] busy for the whole day! Yes it has changed, but will continue to change, but at the moment it is working." - Cynthia Lewis, Vrygond Capricorn Children's Centre

In terms of financial management, each ECD centre made big strides. Nontutuzelo Mroxiso of Little Lambs Educare reports, "It has changed a lot, as the time goes on, more ideas come and as we go to the workshops, more ideas come; now separating books - petty cash book, income/expenditure, and keeping slips helped us a lot."

Regarding professional changes, Joanne Jackson of Kaalvoet Educare reported, "I've become more motivated, excited...I want our school to become a model in Lavender Hill, our school must be a model!" Cindy Engelbrecht stated, "We do everything professionally now as if we are expecting a visit...keep everything in order, and we have an open door policy."

Nontutuzelo Mroxiso further elaborates by saying, "Yes, this project has helped us a lot in terms of infrastructure, before a shack with no ceiling and the wind was coming in, but they helped with that. Now it's nice, brighter than it was before. They put the flushing toilets for us and ventilation. It was dark before, but now better, sun and air coming in. There is a lot of change!" Faranaaz Johnson also explains, "The classroom first of all, that is the biggest upgrade we could have hoped for...and equipment that was bought, quality of toys are durable...the atmosphere it sets for kids and teachers." Chrissandra Lewis of Vrygond Capricorn Children's Centre states, "My mind is different now," and also says she is more confident.

In terms of ECD specific changes, with regards to the quality of the early learning activities, all practitioners expressed significant positive changes experienced. Yusfa Mckie of Burning Bush Educare stated, "Yes, they have learned more things and gotten more things to help them... it's been a great help!" Chrissandra Lewis of Vrygond Capricorn Children's Centre adds,

"Things in the classroom...we're getting things we need because we didn't have the finances before, they've helped!"

In terms of practitioner/learner interaction, all respondents expressed that the relationships have become much better since the inception of the project. Thelma Fritz of Kaalvoet Educare noted, "It's much better, the interactions. You can see the changes, they are accepting more things, they are settling in better with other children." Chrissandra Lewis of Vrygond Capricorn Children's Centre comments, "They listen to me more, they understand more, I listen to them more, makes it easier." Yusfa Mckie of Burning Bush Educare also stated, "You treat your class like you treat your family at home, you make them yours." The overall communication has certainly improved.

On a personal level, all practitioners felt as though they had enhanced their ability and capacity. In the community sense, respondents indicated they have a new outlook on children in the community as well as their own family members who are young. It all indicates positive changes for the better. This is only one example of the effect that a focused integrated ECD intervention can have on a community. South Africa needs many more such interventions to eradicate poverty and reduce inequality. ■

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LIBYA



Deepening crisis is a threat to African peace and stability

It is increasingly difficult to understand why the international community continues to accept the policies of the UNSC and major western powers and their allies in the region towards Libya, given the tragic consequences of regime change: no democratic government has replaced the 40-year Gadaffi regime.

By Aziz Pahad

In March 2011 NATO intervened militarily in Libya to enforce regime change. In response to this dangerous development hundreds of Concerned Africans signed an Open Letter expressing immense pain and anger - that fellow Africans in Libya were being subjected to the fury of war by foreign powers using NATO war planes to bombard the country. This not only demolished Libyan self-determination but destroyed Libya and destabilised the entire region (see *The Thinker*, Vol 31, September 2011, for

the Open Letter).

It is conservatively estimated that over 50,000 people, including many women and children, were killed by a NATO-supported regime change operation carried out under the guise of "humanitarian intervention".

Today some governments, think tanks, academics, international and local media continue to propagate the myth of a "people's revolution" in Libya.

On 14 March 2013, to mark the second anniversary of regime change

in Libya, a special UN session adopted a new resolution on Libya which extended for 12 months the mandate of the UN Support Mission in Libya. This introduced some significant new elements, including freeing up Libyan frozen assets, and the liberalisation of arms supplies.

This approach was strategically adopted at a time when there were constant reports that arms suppliers from major western countries were flooding weapons into Libya and the internal economic, political

and security situation was rapidly deteriorating.

In February 2013 the UK *Guardian* newspaper reported that the British government was concerned that France and Italy were taking advantage of the situation to sell arms to the new regime, and in response it was seeking to increase its arms sales to Libya. Britain was planning to send a warship that would serve as a floating shop window.

It is increasingly difficult to understand why the international community continues to accept the policies of the UN Security Council and major western powers and their allies in the region towards Libya, given the tragic consequences of regime change: no democratic government has replaced the 40-year Gadaffi regime.

The director of the Cairo based Java Centre for Political Studies noted that the 'democracy' the west had once been so fervent in forcing upon Libya looks more like a medieval rule. "NATO air strikes threw the once prospering country...back into the Middle ages...[and] plunged it into civil war. The West used military force to install an obedient but unpopular regime unable to deal with the religious and tribal feud that is tearing the country apart."

Militias that were formed, supported and armed by NATO are operating with absolute impunity, running fiefdoms of their own in many Libyan villages and towns and enforcing tribal and racial cleansing in their own torture chambers and jails.

Karim Mezran, a senior fellow at the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East, confirmed that "the government has been paralysed and has allowed the Jihadist groups to establish camps in the south and in the east".

Some analysts are predicting that Libya is in danger of splitting up into two or three states ruled by tribal clans.

Given this reality, the orchestrated campaign to convince the world that the Libyan authorities will succeed in adopting a new "democratic" constitution accepted by all Libyan people is unrealistic and false.

The myth that the "democratic processes" in Libya were on track was further destroyed by events in May

2013 when heavily armed militias surrounded government buildings in Tripoli and demanded that all former regime officials should be sacked from any official posts.

164 members (from the Islamist Justice and Construction Front) of the 200 strong General National Congress (GNC) voted for the Political Isolation Law that would give effect to this demand. Only 4 voted against.

The full consequences of this law are still not very clear.

However it is widely expected that many people will be affected. Amongst these are the Prime Minister, Ali Zeidan, and GNC President, Mohammed Megarye, who were diplomats in the Gadaffi regime, and at least four ministers and 15 lawmakers (including the vice president of the national assembly), the National Forces

“The orchestrated campaign to convince the world that the Libyan authorities will succeed in adopting a new "democratic" constitution accepted by all Libyan people is unrealistic and false.”

Alliance leader, Jibril, who was a PM in the transitional government (he headed the economic Council under Gadaffi) and other former government officials, security officers, military personnel, university professors, student leaders and unionists.

A special commission was established to implement the new law and it is reported that some 'exemptions' will be given.

The Interior Minister resigned. The Defence Minister also handed in his resignation but the PM persuaded him to stay on. However, after intense pressure from other quarters, he again resigned.

There have been some protests against the law but this will have no significant impact on the extremists.

Exclusion policy is strongly advocated by the occupation forces and many influential think tanks in the West. Such policies were used extensively in Eastern Europe after the fall of the former socialist countries.

The occupation-imposed 'de-Bathification' in Iraq is significantly contributing to the catastrophic violence, which continues to escalate to this day. 'De-Gadaffication' will have the same negative consequences in Libya.

There is increasing evidence that the west, once again, like they did in Afghanistan when they created al-Qaeda to fight the Soviet forces, and in Iraq, through the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, have unleashed forces that they cannot control.

Mokhtar Belmokhtar, the Algerian founder of the Masked Brigade, told a Mauritanian newspaper (mid-December 2012) that "Jihadists in al-Qaida and in general were the biggest beneficiaries of the Arab world uprisings, because these uprisings have broken the chains of fear...that the agent regimes of the west imposed."

The US Military and Academy West Point Terrorism Centre analysed the Al Qaeda 'Sinjar' documents captured in 2007 and concluded that Libya provided the most foreign fighters per capita to fight Coalition Forces in Iraq, after the regime change of Saddam.

They were driven by an anti-American and jihadist vision.

In 2008 the US embassy in Tripoli informed the State Department that many Eastern Libyans take pride in the role their native sons have played in the insurgency in Iraq and they also expressed concern about "the availability of radical imams propagating messages urging support for and participation in Jihad".

NATO powers cannot claim that they were not aware that many of the armed fighters in Libya were linked to extremist groups and were supported by extremists from other countries.

Jousseff Jihani, a member of the Ansar al-Sharia in Benghazi, confirmed this when he told the *Associated Press* (late 2012) that the toppling of Gadaffi would not have been possible without the strength of jihad fighters who had joined the uprising to ensure an

"Islamic state of Libya, where Sharia rule is implemented".

He was representing the views of many of the armed militia groups.

Many reports indicate that on 11 September 2012, in Benghazi, the four Americans (including the ambassador, Christopher Stevens,) were killed by the armed militia group Ansar al-Sharia. This group now controls important sections of the area. However, most sections and checkpoints are controlled by other groups, who nevertheless share most of Ansar al-Sharia's ideology and its conservative interpretation of Islam.

The killings in Benghazi belatedly forced many in the west to publically acknowledge that the situation was out of control and that armed militias supported by foreign forces control this rich oil-producing area.

The Congressional hearings on the Benghazi incident failed to deal with many reports indicating that the US premises in Benghazi were being used to launch regime change activities in Syria.

The security situation is becoming "ungovernable" and foreign oil interests are being threatened.

The International News Safety Institute (24.01.13) told journalists that credible sources alerted them that "terrorist organizations may be preparing to attack oil fields in Libya. ...The majority of oil fields are located in eastern Benghazi, where Islamist groups are pushing for separation from Tripoli". Libyan commanders have called in pro-government militias or 'revolutionaries' from the city of Zintan to help protect the oil fields.

The US is preparing to use drone attacks in Benghazi. Analysts believe that this will unite the disparate militia groups and increase anti-western hostilities.

Recently the British and other western governments evacuated their citizens from Benghazi and Tripoli because of "specific and imminent threats to foreigners". The US has moved special forces from Spain to Sicily and US special forces in Germany have been put on alert.

The negative consequences of regime change are not limited to Libya.

The then Secretary of State Hilary Clinton belatedly 'warned' US Congress

that 'jihadist' groups had formed a complex network of alliances in North Africa using south Libya and Mali as their main bases.

A UN report in January 2012 warned that governments in the Sahel were struggling to address a spike in weapons proliferation, organised crime and terrorism.

Analysts believe that militants linked to al-Qaida will establish a strong foothold in Libya to spread violence and instability throughout North Africa and the Sahel. In the desert areas the borders are long and have little meaning, governments are weak and tribal and ethnic networks stretch from country to country. Scott Stewart of the US based intelligence group, Stratfor, commented Libya "is a very good place to operate

“The occupation-imposed ‘de-Bathification’ in Iraq is significantly contributing to the catastrophic violence, which continues to escalate to this day. ‘De-Gadaffication’ will have the same negative consequences in Libya.”

if you are an extremist. There are fault lines and divisions ...The central government has very little authority outside Tripoli. This is a very conducive environment for Jihad to survive."

Currently, Libya is engulfed in an evolving tribal war with a dangerous spill-over into the African Sahel. Already this has reinforced instability among countries neighbouring Libya such as Sudan, Chad, Niger, Mauritania and Mali.

A UNSC Group of Experts report published May 2013 concluded that Libyan government security forces remained weak and rebel fighters held power on the ground. It stated that "the proliferation of weapons from Libya continues at a worrying rate... Illicit

flows ...are fuelling existing conflicts in Africa and the Levant and enriching the arsenals of a range of non-state actors including terrorist groups."

Cases proven and under investigation include transfers of weapons from Libya to more than 12 countries, including Egypt, Mali, and Algeria. Weapons for the Sahel have gone through Tunisia, Algeria and Niger. It is suspected that some weapons remained in these countries. This includes heavy and light weapons including man-portable air defence systems, explosives and mines.

The report also concluded that transfer of arms to Syrian rebels was organised from various locations in Libya, including Misrata and Benghazi, via Turkey or Northern Lebanon. The report found that the extent of such quantities of arms could not be possible without the support or knowledge of the authorities. Security services in the west estimate that at least 30,000 surface to air missiles in the Gaddafi armoury are unaccounted for.

In the last few weeks there has been a coup attempt in Niger, and military attacks against the government and multinationals have increased dramatically. The Niger authorities have alleged that these destabilising activities are carried out from Libyan territory.

Reports indicate that the extremist group that seized the Tigatourine gas field in south eastern Algeria, resulting in the death of 38 hostages and 29 attackers, included several Egyptian "jihadists" active in Libya. Arms were obtained from Libya and before the attack the group had gathered in the Libyan town of Ghat, bordering Algeria. The Algerians believe that the group was the same group that attacked the American consulate in Benghazi.

The Taureg are an indigenous ethnic group living throughout the Sahel, from Mali to Chad, and into Libya and Algeria. In March, Tauregs, many of whom had returned from Libya armed with weapons from Libya, took control of the North and declared their long held vision of a Taureg homeland, Azawad.

They were later defeated by the al-Qaeda-linked jihadist group in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the

Ansar-Dine, which imposed an extreme form of Sharia law. By the end of 2012 the jihadists were in striking distance of Bamako, the capital of Mali.

France launched a military intervention in January 2013. Incredibly this was welcomed even in Africa. Some 'stability' has been enforced - but acts of terrorism still occur regularly. The negative consequences of French 'humanitarian intervention' will become clearer at a later stage.

There are increasing indications of regime change interventions causing blowbacks in many major western countries; for example, reports of many citizens from these countries fighting with extremists in Syria; the Boston Marathon attack; and the Woolwich killings are manifestations of what to expect.

In our analysis of the growing crisis in the Middle East, North Africa and Sahel and the increasing blowback against major western countries, we must guard against the danger of becoming instruments of the orchestrated campaign to link this crisis to an anti-Islam crusade.

There are some Muslims who, for various reasons, have adopted a fundamentalist and violent approach to resolving the many contradictions in their societies, but this must not be used to justify anti-Islam actions. Major powers must consider how their policies and support have given rise to and strengthened these extremist forces.

'Humanitarian intervention' is used in important geo-strategic regions to assert the political, economic and military hegemony of major western powers.

Today, the sovereignty and independence of Libya is in name only. Libyan assets are increasingly being taken over by foreigners.

Christine Lagarde of the IMF recently said that the "Arab Spring" must be followed by a "private Sector Spring". The IMF recognised the National Transitional Council while Gaddafi was still in power.

The budget deficit in 2011 was 27% of the GDP compared to a budget surplus of 16.2% in 2010. The IMF is imposing a structural adjustment programme by eliminating price subsidies, reducing private sector

wages and cutting employment. Oil investors, predominantly foreigners and advocates of regime change, have been given 65% tax incentives.

The intervention in Libya has provided increased opportunities for the US and France to significantly increase their military presence in Africa.

Is this all part of responding to the rise of the emerging powers, especially China, and the 'new scramble for Africa'?

Libya is an African country. As has been often been the case, it is now left to us Africans to deal with the serious negative consequences of regime change in Libya and to help bring stability to yet another African country.

African unity and leadership is needed

“ Jihadists in al-Qaida and in general were the biggest beneficiaries of the Arab world uprisings, because these uprisings have broken the chains of fear...that the agent regimes of the west imposed. ”

now more than ever. Let us recall that on 10 March 2011, the African Union Peace and Security Council adopted an important Resolution which spelt out the roadmap to address the Libyan conflict, consistent with the obligations of the AU under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. Five AU Heads of State and Government: South Africa, Uganda, Congo, Mali and Mauritania, were appointed to implement this decision.

The AU plan includes the following elements:

- the immediate cessation of all hostilities, including disarming the militias;
- the cooperation of the NTC authorities to facilitate the diligent delivery of humanitarian assistance to the needy populations,

irrespective of race or tribal affiliation;

- the protection of foreign nationals, particularly African migrant workers living in Libya; and
- dialogue between the Libyan parties and the establishment of an inclusive transition period, with the view to adopting and implementing the political reforms necessary for the elimination of the causes of the current crisis, with due consideration for the legitimate aspirations of the Libyan people for democracy, political reform, justice, peace and security, as well as socio-economic development.

This was the best approach to end the violence and create the necessary framework to create an environment for democratic transformation in Libya.

Seven days later, on 17 March 2011, when the UN Security Council adopted its Resolution 1973, it was aware of the AU decision and that the five AU Heads of State and Government were in the process of implementing this resolution, including preparing to visit Libya.

By deciding to ignore the AU decision, the Security Council consciously contributed to the subversion of international law, as well as undermining the legitimacy of the UN in the eyes of the African people.

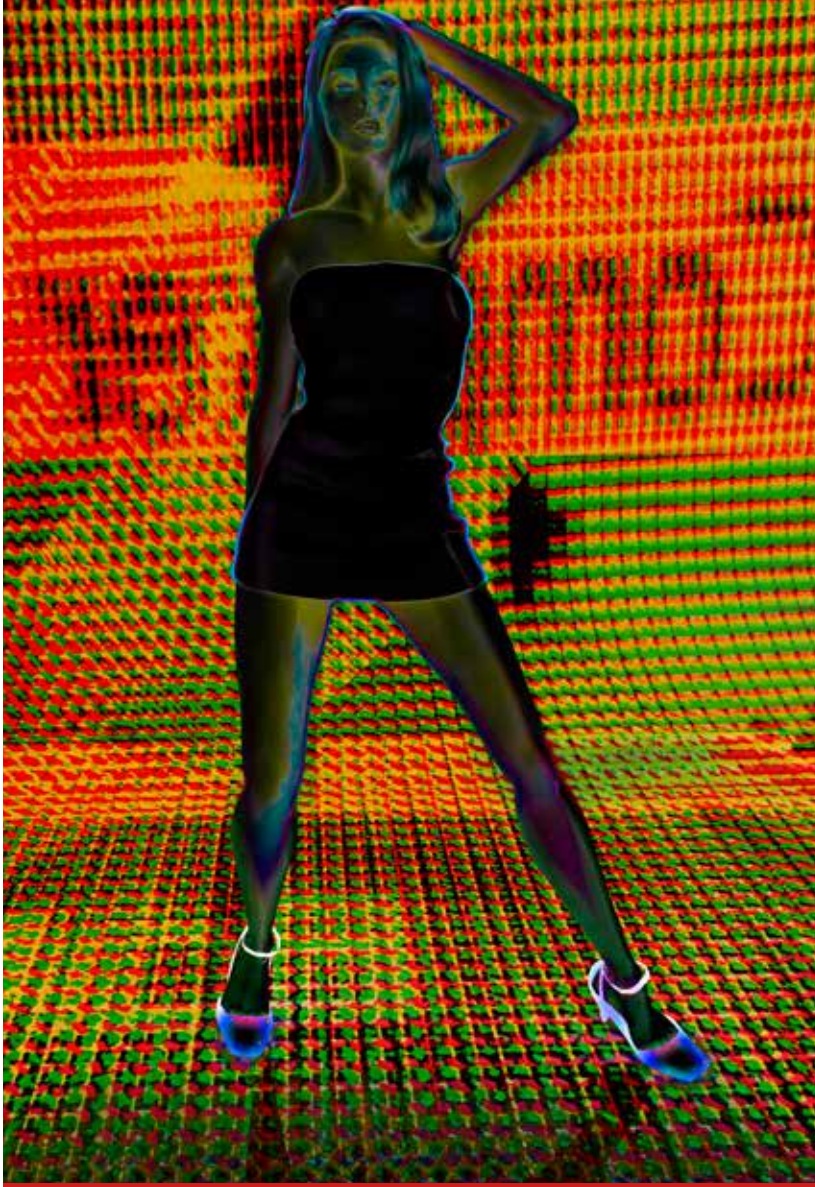
As the 'concerned Africans' stated in their Open Letter:

"The Security Council, whose mandate is to promote international peace and security, has been abused to entrench the immensely pernicious process of the international marginalisation of Africa in regard to the resolution of conflicts in our Continent.

"Those who brought a deadly rain of bombs to Libya must not feel victorious now that their planes have flown back home to their bases, or even delude themselves to believe that the apparent silence of the millions of Africans means that Africa approves of the campaign of death, destruction and domination which regime change represents."

Africa must act resolutely and meaningfully to defend the right of the Africans including those in Libya, throughout the Continent, to decide their future and determine their own destiny! ■

Technological advances and the exposure of children to child pornography in South Africa



By Lufuno Novondwe and Foldrick Gumula

The article looks at the use of online media to create and distribute child pornography in South Africa. It is argued that the lack of parental supervision of children on their cellphones perpetuates child pornography. The article further looks at the mandate of the Films and Publication Board which is at the forefront campaigning against child pornography. It also explores the rights of the children and freedom of expression and argues that the best interests of the child are of paramount importance. There is a need to strike a balance between freedom of expression and the rights of children. The article concludes that child pornography does have a negative effect on children and recommends that legislation to prohibit child pornography should be implemented effectively, as this offence is rife in South Africa.

South Africa has become one of the world's largest distributors of child pornography and has become a popular sex tourism destination for paedophiles. South Africa has been listed as one of the top five countries that legislate meaningfully on child pornography; however this seems to fall on deaf ears in terms of the actions of the perpetrators. At the centre of all this is modern technology which is the ultimate distributor of child pornography in South Africa. Children are well acquainted with the use of technology and social networks which are rapidly becoming a part of everyday life in the modern world.

In South Africa the internet is currently accessed principally through mobile devices such as smartphones which are more and more popular. The number of internet users in South Africa rose to 8.9 million in 2011, nearly twice the 4.6 million totals in 2008. Whilst this shows how technology is been used for communication purposes, unfortunately this also results in child pornography becoming more accessible. Access to mobile phones by young people, and children in particular, has led to an increased risk of exposure to potentially undesirable and explicit content that is inappropriate for children of certain ages. This can place children at risk of abuse.

The Films and Publication Board (FPB)¹ is at the forefront of promoting the need for parents to protect and inform children of the dangers of child pornography and the responsible use of cyber-space as well as the new media platforms. This body is concerned with the classification of materials (films, publications and games), and protection of consumers, in particular children. This body engages in various campaigns involving the media, school visits, community outreach programmes and social media networks to advocate against child pornography.

Whilst these campaigns have proven to be successful to some extent, children remain exposed to child pornography and adult content directly or indirectly. The number of incidents where children themselves have been involved in the creation and distribution of child pornography within schools and in communities is alarming². Equally, there is the continuous threat of adults who, masquerading as children, use social networking sites to lure children into forwarding them images and videos of their private parts in sexually compromising positions for sexual arousal³. Online media dominates these practices. The following questions therefore become relevant: What measures can be put in place in order to regulate social networks in South Africa? What is the impact of child pornography? Is the legislation criminalising child pornography adequate or does such legislation need to be amended? And is the legislation properly implemented?

Online media (social networks)

The advantage of modern technology is that children are able to access information about the world at large without difficulty. Social networks are designed for convenient communication between individuals, but if not well-managed or monitored they can lead children astray. The internet and advances in digital technology have provided fertile ground for offenders to obtain child pornography, share child pornography, produce child pornography, advertise child pornography, and sell child pornography. The Internet also has allowed offenders to form online

communities with global membership not only to facilitate the trading and collection of these images, but also to facilitate contact (with each other and children) and to create support networks among offenders⁴.

Rather than simply downloading or uploading images of child pornography to and from the internet, offenders also use current technologies to talk about their sexual interest in children, to trade comments about the abuse depicted in particular images even as images are shared real-time to validate each other's behaviour, to share experiences, and share images of themselves abusing children as they do so⁵.

Social networks that are popular among the youth include twitter, facebook, mxit, whatsapp, mySpace, flicker and friendster. Generally these

“The question that needs to be asked is whether there are no laws that govern social networks so as to ensure that these social networks are not used to expose children to undesirable content. If such laws do exist, the cardinal question is whether these laws are implemented effectively.”

social networks are being utilised without parental supervision and this is where children become vulnerable as they connect with others, believing those they communicate with have no ulterior motives.

What effect does social network have on society? More often than not, the FPB reported that in all communities and schools visited during campaigns, members of the public and learners cited cases where they themselves or people they knew or had heard of, had been either victims of

child pornography or had seen others carry or receive pornographic content mostly on their mobile phones. Mobile Internet access makes it easier for South African young people to become exposed to sexual content online. The FPB Research Report, 2006, found that 64 per cent of students have been exposed to pornographic images on the internet; more specifically, 74 per cent of boys and 52 per cent of girls have been exposed to such materials. 70 per cent of surveyed students reported that they came across pornographic images on digital mediums “accidentally”.

Privacy is one of the fundamental rights in the Constitution. The right to privacy includes the right not to have communications infringed. With the development of smartphones, social networking sites and mobile networks have created applications that track the location of mobile users and are often able to view the communications of others users without their consent. It is submitted that privacy has become difficult to maintain in the digital sphere.

This is an alarming reality. The question that needs to be asked is whether there are no laws that govern social networks so as to ensure that these social networks are not used to expose children to undesirable content. If such laws do exist, the cardinal question is whether these laws are implemented effectively. We argue that such laws do exist, but that the implementation of these laws is a challenge which the FPB and other law enforcement agencies are grappling with.

What is child pornography?

Defining child pornography has never been an easy task. The Films and Publication Act define child pornography as:

“[A]ny image, real or simulated, however created, depicting a person who is or who is shown as being under the age of 18 years, engaged in sexual conduct or a display of genitals which amounts to sexual exploitation, or participating in, or assisting another person to engage in sexual conduct which amounts to sexual exploitation or degradation of children.”⁷

The Constitutional Court in *De*

Reuck v Director of Public Prosecutions looked at the general definition of pornography from the New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary where pornography was defined as: “The explicit description or exhibition of sexual subjects or activity in literature, painting, films, etc., in a manner intended to stimulate erotic rather than aesthetic feelings.”

In this case De Reuck was charged with the possession of child pornography. He was a film maker and claimed that he possessed the images for professional reasons. He challenged section 27(1) read with the definition of child pornography on the basis that it infringed his right to privacy, freedom of expression and equality. The Court found that the infringement of his rights were reasonable and justifiable.

The Constitutional Court used the definition above as a useful guide and added that erotic and aesthetic feelings are not mutually exclusive. The Court however stated that where the aesthetic element is predominant, the image will not constitute pornography. Accordingly child pornography bears a corresponding meaning.

The Constitutional Court defined child pornography, excluding material that is substantially aesthetic. The Court observed that:

“The stimulation of erotic rather than aesthetic feelings is an essential element of the definition of child pornography. Any image that predominantly stimulates aesthetic feelings is not caught by the definition. It does require, however, that the image viewed objectively and as a whole has as its predominant purpose the stimulation of erotic feelings in certain human beings who may conveniently be referred to as the target audience.”⁸

In the *De Reuk* case, A J Epstein in his judgement ruled that:

“the fact that the Constitution regards a child’s best interests of paramount importance must be emphasised. It is the single most important factor to be considered when balancing or weighing competing rights and interests concerning children. All competing rights must defer to the rights of children unless unjustifiable. Whilst children have a

right to, inter alia, protection from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation, there is a reciprocal duty to afford them such protection. Such a duty falls not only on law enforcement agencies but also on right thinking people, and ultimately, the Court which is the upper guardian of all children.”

As was the case in *R v Sharpe*⁹, the South African Court placed particular emphasis on executing the right of the child to be protected from abuse and degradation, in this way enforcing section 28(2) of the Constitution.

According to Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act¹⁰ child pornography

“the fact that the Constitution regards a child’s best interests of paramount importance must be emphasised. It is the single most important factor to be considered when balancing or weighing competing rights and interests concerning children. All competing rights must defer to the rights of children unless unjustifiable.”

as “means any image, however created, or any description or presentation of a person, real or stimulated, who is, or who is depicted or described or presented as being, under the age of 18 years, of an explicit or sexual nature, whether such image or description or presentation is intended to stimulate erotic or aesthetic feelings or not, including any such image or description of such person-

- (a) engaged in an act that constitutes a sexual offence;
- (b) engaged in an act of sexual penetration;

- (c) engaged in an act of sexual violation;
- (d) engaged in an act of self-masturbation;
- (e) displaying the genital organs of such person in a state of arousal or stimulation;
- (f) unduly displaying the genital organs or anus of such person;
- (g) display any form of stimulation of a sexual nature of such person’s breasts;
- (h) engaged in sexually suggestive or lewd acts;
- (i) engaged in or as the subject of sadistic or masochistic acts of a sexual nature; and
- (j) engaged in any conduct or activity characteristically associated with sexual intercourse.”

Striking the balance between the children’s rights and freedom of expression

There are various statutes that provide adequate protection of children’s rights. The most important legislation is the Constitution which is the supreme law of the country which defines a child as a person under the age of 18 years. The Constitution provides that every child has the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation. A child also has not to be required or permitted to perform work or provide services that-

- are inappropriate for a person of that child’s age; or
- place at risk the child’s well-being, education, physical or mental health or spiritual, moral or social development¹¹.

The Constitution requires that the best interests of the child should be of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child. We opine that the protection of children’s -rights includes the protection against sexual exploitation or degradation in publications, films and on the internet.

In *De Reuck* the Constitutional Court held that

“Children merit special protection by the state and must be protected by legislation which guards and enforces their rights and liberties. This is recognised in section 28 of our Constitution. Children’s dignity rights are of special importance. The

degradation of children through child pornography is a serious harm which impairs their dignity and contributes to a culture which devalues their worth¹².

Society has recognised that childhood is a special stage in life which is to be both treasured and guarded. The state must ensure that the lives of children are not disrupted by adults who objectify and sexualise them through the production and possession of child pornography.

There is obvious physical harm suffered by the victims of sexual abuse and by those children forced to yield to the demands of the paedophile and pornographer, but there is also harm to the dignity and perception of all children when a society allows sexualised images of children to be available. The chief purpose of the statutory prohibitions against child pornography is to protect the dignity, humanity and integrity of children¹³.

The concept of 'freedom' denotes a right to perform certain acts without fear of hindrance or reprisal. It is this concept that forms the basis of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution. The right to freedom of expression in the Constitution includes

- freedom of the press and other media;
- freedom to receive or impart information or ideas;
- freedom of artistic creativity; and
- academic freedom and freedom of scientific research¹⁴.

Freedom of expression lies at the heart of democracy and this means that tolerance should be exercised not only on expressions that are deemed appropriate but also those expressions that are deemed to be inappropriate.

The FXI in its submission to the films and Publications Board said that the freedom of expression is the cornerstone of a functioning democratic state, since it gives people the opportunity to be exposed to a number of different viewpoints so that they can make informed and legitimate decisions about both their political and private lives. Furthermore without the right to express beliefs society would be disintegrated into a state of stasis where there

would be no substantial intellectual growth.

It has been argued that persons who possess materials that create a reasonable risk of harm to children forfeit the protection of the freedom of expression and privacy rights altogether, and that section 28(2) of the Constitution "trumps" other provisions of the Bill of Rights. The Constitutional Court in *De Reuck* put guidelines to this imbalance by reaffirming the approach adopted by the Court itself to the effect that constitutional rights are mutually

“The state must ensure that the lives of children are not disrupted by adults who objectify and sexualise them through the production and possession of child pornography.”

interrelated and interdependent and form a single constitutional value system. The Constitutional Court held that section 28(2), like the other rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights, is subject to limitations that are reasonable and justifiable in compliance with section 36.

Conclusions and recommendation

It is evident that South Africa has profound legislation that is aimed at curbing child pornography. This practice seems to persist despite existing legislation and we assert that each Internet Services Providers (ISPs) must do everything in its power and take reasonable steps to prevent its service being used for illegal processes. The ISPs must further report any internet address that disseminates child pornography to relevant law enforcement agencies. It is further suggested that it would be prudent if ISPs could prevent access to the internet service of the those internet addresses that accessed child pornography.

The use of the internet hotline

initiative by FPB should be welcomed. The internet hotline affords the members of the public with an opportunity to report, online, any child pornography or sexual abuse images discovered accidentally on the internet. The internet hotline provides and guarantees a secure and a confidential environment to members of the public when reporting child pornography¹⁵. The hotline staff adheres to the code of ethics (which puts emphasis on confidentiality) as prescribed by National and International Bodies such as the International Association of Internet Hotlines.

It is clear that the exposure of children to inappropriate material is often a result of access to internet, cellphones, social networks and chat rooms without parental supervision. It is suggested that the FPB campaigns should also be aimed at educating not only children but also the parents to exercise parental supervision of their children when they are on their cellphones.

The number of reported child pornography cases in South Africa is unknown because sexual offence data is not disaggregated. The extent of the problem in South Africa is also not known given the clandestine nature of the crime. However it is safe to conclude that child pornography has a negative impact on children, and more measures have to be put in place to identify offenders and act against them. ■

References:

- ¹ The FPB is a public entity of the Department of Home Affairs, established in terms of the Films and Publication Act 65, 1996. It is formerly the Censorship Board under the Apartheid era, and has transformed to the FPB, a classification Authority within the democratic order.
- ² FPB, Campaign Against Child Pornography Report (2011) p11.
- ³ Ibid p 12.
- ⁴ US Department of Justice, "The National Strategy for child exploitation, prevention and interdiction", a report to Congress, August 2010, p9.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ UNICEF, *South African Mobile Generation, A study on South African Young People on Mobiles*, p27.
- ⁷ Section 1(a) of the Films and Publications Act as amended.
- ⁸ *De Reuck v Director of Public Prosecutions and others* 2004(1)SA 406 (CC), Para 32.
- ⁹ (2001) 194 DLR (4th).
- ¹⁰ Act, 32 of 2007.
- ¹¹ See section 28 of the Constitution.
- ¹² *De Reuck v Director of Public Prosecutions and others* 2004(1) SA 406 (CC), Para 63.
- ¹³ Section 16 of the Constitution.
- ¹⁴ Films and Publications Board, Anti child pornography, online, <http://www.fpbprochild.org.za/Home.aspx> accessed on 30 January 2013.

SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN A DISORDERLY WORLD

Will the centre hold?

Several challenges persist which continue to test South Africa's foreign policy resolve and capability and these challenges in turn raise critical questions about the direction of South Africa's foreign policy under President Zuma.

By Garth le Pere

In his state of the nation address on 14 February 2013, President Jacob Zuma re-iterated the themes that have formed the essential *leitmotifs* of South African foreign policy since 1994. He echoed very similar values, emphases, and priorities as those which underpinned the presidencies of his predecessors, Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki. He talked, inter alia, about contributing to a stronger African Union, supporting efforts to build a more stable and peaceful continent, building the pillars of South-South cooperation through BRICS, and strengthening North-South relations, particularly with the US, Europe, and Japan. In short, President Zuma was referring to the very strong foreign policy foundation and legacy he had inherited in promoting South Africa's international engagements and external relations, a foundation that is essentially held together by the mortar of its moral capital, normative agency, and political stature.

However, there are legitimate concerns that this capital, agency, and stature is fast depreciating because of

recent egregious missteps and strategic blunders in the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy. While obviously subject to debate and contestation, reference is often made to South Africa's controversial tenure on the UN Security Council including our vote for UNSC Resolution 1973 which imposed a "no fly zone" over Libya, the Dalai Lama visa communication debacle, the divisive campaign to win the chair of the African Union's Commission in the context of the unwritten convention that the major African powers would not contest such positions, the tragic military intervention in the Central African Republic, and now the embarrassment of 'Guptagate'. This is a worrying trend since the country's foreign policy over nearly two decades since its democratic transition is, arguably, one of the most successful and inspiring areas of post-apartheid public affairs and has been built on the paradoxical legacy of the racialised apartheid state and the values of the ANC-led liberation movement. Above all, South Africa's activist foreign policy agenda since 1994 has been premised

on a belief in the compatibility of human rights, democracy, solidarity politics and its own development needs. This is buttressed by multilateralism as the strategic anchor for pursuing foreign policy goals and implicitly, by the enduring notion of South Africa's presumed status as one of the de facto leaders of the African continent and indeed, of the global South.

In order to get better analytical purchase of how South Africa has arrived at this crucial juncture, it would be useful to trace some of the normative contours which have shaped South Africa's foreign policy since its transition to democracy in 1994. One of the great virtues of South Africa's foreign policy was that it formed an ethical and moral vocabulary with its own syntax and meaning. All of this is fast being lost amid mounting dilemmas relating to the depreciation noted above which has direct implications for principled foreign policy leadership and the lack thereof.

In terms of the country's dramatic rehabilitation from international pariah to bastion of African democracy, the primary challenge during President Mandela's era was repositioning South Africa on the global stage. Of particular importance was full representation and membership in international and regional organisations, establishing a global diplomatic presence, and transforming its instruments of foreign policy as well as the language of its diplomacy. Of course, all these processes were greatly facilitated by Mandela's own international reputation and larger-than-life persona.

Yet one of the enduring dilemmas for the government then and a *fortiori*, currently has been how to balance the calculus of financial, commercial, political and defence interests with its role as moral crusader on behalf of worldwide human rights, social justice and democracy. In the view of some critics at the time, the absence of conceptual and ethical coherence between these poles and an underlying strategic logic caused the Mandela foreign policy to 'lean all over the place'. There were also other constraints that inhibited and circumscribed South Africa's ambitious foreign policy agenda in southern

Africa, Africa and globally. These included a pressing need for financial resources and investment; limited institutional capacity due to difficulties experienced in transforming key foreign relations and security institutions of the state; continuing misapprehension on the part of officials about the complexity of Africa's political terrain and the content of its international relations; and persistent ambiguity over the nature of South Africa's identity as an African country.

President Mbeki was to provide a steadier compass by recasting foreign policy with a stronger sense of purpose and vision and by giving further substance to closer engagement with multilateral partners in Africa as well as with developing and developed countries. He invigorated South Africa's foreign policy in terms of a broader value-driven continental and global agenda that conformed in the first instance with the requirements of a developing country in the world's most impoverished continent. In global terms, let us also bear in mind that South Africa is a middle-level country with a medium human-development ranking. Moreover, its income inequality, and levels of poverty and unemployment are among the highest in the world and continue to seriously impair its growth and development prospects as the National Development Plan shows in its diagnostic assessment.

Secondly, and linked to the President Mbeki's vision of an 'African Renaissance', was his effort to engage more earnestly and vigorously with the forces of globalisation and the agents of the liberal world order as a means for improving South Africa and Africa's growth and development opportunities as well as those of developing countries more generally. For improved policy coordination and effective implementation of his initiatives, President Mbeki also consolidated the instruments of foreign policy through a reworking and clustering of government decision-making structures.

However, the crucible upon which South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy would be judged has been in the regional and continental contexts where its leadership is often contested and its society is viewed

with suspicion, especially following the violent and vitriolic xenophobic type attacks in May 2008. The southern African region - thought to be the area where South Africa could readily exercise its influence - has proven to be a much more problematic political theatre of operation than expected. While South Africa has made great strides in promoting positive trade and development agendas, this has been somewhat compromised by the challenges that come with continuing authoritarian and repressive tendencies among governments, some post-war reconstruction challenges, fragile peace and democratic transitions, as well as mounting levels of poverty, sluggish economic growth, and the tragic effects of the HIV/Aids pandemic.

Whereas concerns about human rights and democracy featured quite prominently in the immediate post-apartheid period, recourse to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) - despite its formal

“South Africa's activist foreign policy agenda since 1994 has been premised on a belief in the compatibility of human rights, democracy, solidarity politics and its own development needs.”

commitment to these issues - has tended to circumscribe substantive action in support of these values because solidarity politics remains highly consequential for the regional project. This is particularly so in view of that fact that the Southern African region has the highest concentration of ruling parties that came to power through struggles for national liberation. As a consequence, the diplomatic approach towards Zimbabwe and South Africa's mediation efforts has underscored the limitations to overtly challenge the non-interventionist norm in SADC, while at the same

time holding fast to the maxim that the problems in that country must be resolved by Zimbabweans themselves. Here foreign policy values collide nakedly with political interests.

At the continental level, Africa has faced its own economic conundrums and political paralyses stemming from decades of misrule, resource wastage and corruption, civil wars, and environmental degradation. In terms of its 'Africa Agenda', South Africa's diplomacy has sought to reconstruct and promote a new institutional architecture to address such problems. Central to this thrust has been the establishment of the African Union (AU) as the governance custodian and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as its socio-economic blueprint. South African participation in these continental initiatives inspired leaders of developed countries, especially the G-8, to give unprecedented attention to President Mbeki's messianic idea of an 'African Renaissance'. The G-8 Action Plan for Africa (adopted at Kananaskis, Canada in 2002) was in large measure a result of Mbeki and other African leaders' advocacy at G-8 summits, starting at Cologne, Germany in 1999 with debt relief and then thereafter, broadening the ambit of engagement on the basis of the Action Plan to include trade, aid, economic growth and social development. At the bilateral level, President Mbeki also forged close links with South Africa's main trading partners, especially the US and EU but increasingly with the emerging powers of China, Brazil, and India with whom high-level bi-national commissions were established.

It should be borne in mind that forging and nurturing the diplomatic interface with these emerging powers very much served as the incubators for South Africa helping to shape and then join the India, Brazil, and South Africa Forum (IBSA). Quite crucially, this logic later informed and was elaborated in South Africa joining the BRIC club. In terms of developing a new South-South axis of cooperation, President Mbeki elevated South Africa's commitment to and support of other developing countries to another strategic foreign policy value and priority. Their marginalisation

and increasing poverty in the global system has been and continues to be of particular concern. All three presidents, for example, have been outspoken about the role of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in perpetuating crises and poverty among developing countries. Moreover, their undemocratic structures and practices have militated against more open, fair, and participative forms of global governance.

Restructuring the UN Security Council and the reform of the UN system have also been critical multilateral themes and have weighed heavily in South Africa's foreign policy discourse, notwithstanding a chequered stint as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. South Africa's alliance with emerging powers such as IBSA and BRICS has augured well for cooperation in other multilateral forums such as the World Trade Organisation and in climate change negotiations. It has also joined the G-20 (a mix of developed and developing countries) which is an important portent for shifting the balance of power globally so that the developed countries can no longer steer global issues and concerns unilaterally.

South Africa's multilateral agenda has very much been driven by a collective search for a form of global 'redistributive justice' that both widens and deepens the range of engagements started during the Mandela era and which were then robustly consolidated during the Mbeki era and continued by Zuma. However, the terrain which South Africa has chosen for cultivating its foreign policy objectives is not an easy one. Several challenges persist which continue to test South Africa's foreign policy resolve and capability and these challenges in turn raise critical questions about the direction of South Africa's foreign policy under President Zuma.

As an avowedly continental power, can South Africa provide more assertive leadership in strengthening regional and continental security, especially as far as peace-keeping and conflict mediation are concerned? By its own example, is it capable of deepening democracy in the face of manifest reversals in many African countries? And given their unsteady and highly politicised genesis

as well as huge resource constraints, can South Africa really rely on the AU and NEPAD to drive the pan-African security, governance, growth and revival agendas? Is South Africa's faith in the ethical foundations of multilateralism a sufficient base from which to address the North-South divide and the growing gap between rich and poor countries? And can South Africa's global governance reform discourse succeed in a world where the dictates of asymmetric power and influence still hold strong sway, and where unilateral militarism by the US is still practiced with impunity?

These questions must be posed against the backdrop of South Africa as a country that is still undergoing a daunting transition, exacerbated and scarred by poverty, social unrest, unemployment, and inequality. However, what has been truly

“There are legitimate concerns that this capital, agency, and stature is fast depreciating because of recent egregious missteps and strategic blunders in the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy.”

remarkable is its unusually strong commitment to play an activist role on the global stage as a 'norm and value entrepreneur', a role that is unfortunately not as redolent as it once was. This acute sense of global mission for a better world and a better Africa is of course a product of its own successfully navigated transition from the cusp of an impending apocalypse.

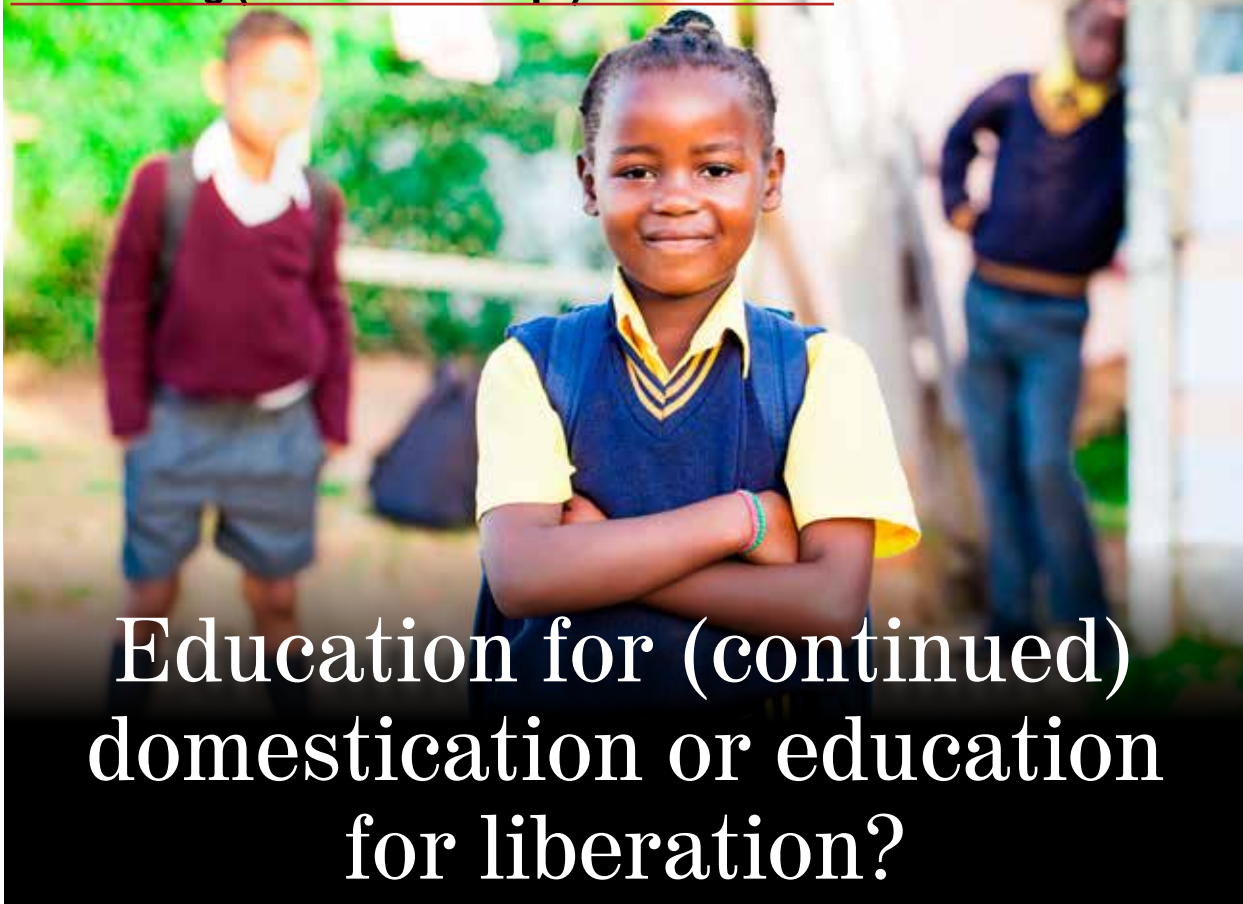
The National Development Plan, rightly or wrongly, makes some pointed judgements about South Africa's current standing in the world. It observes that the country's diplomatic capacity is overstretched, its power and influence in the world have declined in relative terms, it has a poor image and acts in bad faith in its regional neighbourhood,

and as a consequence, it has suffered material losses in bargaining power and in trade and investment opportunities in the region and more broadly, in Africa. President Zuma will therefore have to navigate the ship-of-state through what is bound to be stormy and turbulent waters at home and abroad over the rest of this and his next presidential term at a time when there are recurrent doubts about his ability to do so and cynicism about whether the 'Zuma doctrine' is no more than an empty platitude.

Notwithstanding the putative depreciation of the country's moral and political currency, we would do well to remember those values which have inspired its transition and its place on the global stage. It therefore still matters a great deal how South Africa sustains a world-view which is driven by an ethical foreign policy and how it promotes the belief that the coin of idealism still holds value in a disorderly, mercurial, and increasingly disenchanted world. While it might struggle to hammer out its foreign policy values on the pragmatic anvil of means and ends, those foundational values expressed by Zuma in his state of the nation address still provide South Africa with the normative centre for dealing with the cold and often intractable realities of African and international politics and must be pursued with greater vigour and purpose than is presently the case. They can only be abandoned at great peril since South Africa's foreign policy increasingly appears bereft of what Immanuel Kant called a 'categorical imperative', namely, ethical behaviour that could form the basis of some universal principle and practice.

Because of its resonance for South Africa it might be apt to end with an injunction from Hans Morgenthau, the high-priest of international relations realism. Drawn from *In Defence of the National Interest*, Morgenthau wrote these words in 1951: "Remember that diplomacy without power is feeble, and power without diplomacy is destructive and blind... Remember that no nation's power is without limits, and hence its policies must respect the power and interests of others." ■

EARLY TO RISE, EARLY TO SCHOOL – The Post-1994 Democratic Choices of The Travelling (Urban Western Cape) School Learner



Education for (continued) domestication or education for liberation?

early to bed early to rise
chew on your garlic and
you are sure to be wise

By David Kapp

Two youngsters, who I and others have come into contact with recently through the (Cape Flats-located) Belthorn Primary School's volunteer reading programme, are ferried to and from dusty Delft to the green of Belthorn Estate (a quiet little neighbourhood, squeezed in and between the Hanover Park end of Belgravia and Thornton Roads, right up against the Turfhall Sports Ground, in full view of Table Mountain). These youngsters are in grades 3 and 4; and in all likelihood are not the only

young learners up at 4am on a school morning, arriving at school between 6-6.30am, and probably getting home at 3.30-4pm.

"We require 8 hours for work, 8 hours for our own instruction, and 8 hours for repose."

There is no such May Day adage here. By anyone's standard grade maths, these youngsters have a 12-hour day already. They are almost certainly exhausted at the start of the school day. What effect might this regimen have on their bodies in the long term? This is

quite apart from the "other" cost – the financial cost – to their families' budget (if there is such a thing, a "budget"!) and every-day community and parent-child activities.

But they are in school, so the province's (education) grey-suits can take their blue ballpoint pens to a little checkbox on a little scrap of paper in a file somewhere. In pondering whether we barbarians were at all educated behind the school fences, Jonathan Jansen reckons "you've been schooled". Does that not sound

ominously like “you’ve been had”?! In one of his “An Educated Guess” columns for the daily *The Times* newspaper (“Are you schooled or are you educated?”), he articulates...

“...simply insisting that our children access and stay in school is not very helpful. In fact, the dangerous institutionalisation, the unforgiving rules and unpredictable timetables might in fact do more damage than if the children simply stayed at home. For that matter, schools might not be the best places in which to obtain an education”.

ActionAid’s head of programme development, David Archer, in “Children in school is not enough – they must learn something there”, points out that “a reductive focus on literacy and learning outcomes can lead us into at least four fundamental mistakes”. Since I have enticed you a trifle, these “mistakes” are, briefly –

- investing disproportionate resources in comparative assessment
- to look for and promote “magic bullets”, or simplistic technical solutions, that adopt a one-dimensional approach to teaching literacy
- to claim that a focus on learning outcomes means “inputs” are not important any more
- to think schools will do everything alone.

(www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2012/apr/23/children-school-learn-literacy-education)

For the purpose of this piece, I myself was enticed by Archer’s *mistake number four*; in the main because our English First Language primary school (or “English Home Language”, as the June examination time-table has it) – as with a number of schools, post-apartheid’s dastardly Group Areas legislation – the complexion (as it were) of schools has changed somewhat: from the playgrounds of English First Language schools we hear many tongues a-rolling and a-clicking (in true “rainbow nation” style, patriots might even say!). But, it is not the same at home. Archer says:

“...The biggest determinant of success in any school is the home environment. When children come

from homes where both parents are illiterate, and there is nothing to read or reinforce their learning, they are likely to fail. If the school is an oasis of literacy in a village community, it is hard for children to develop literate habits or to value literacy practices”.

Then too that the likes of unemployment, teenage pregnancy, crime and drug and alcohol abuse all affect South Africa’s youth. Family breakdown, and the absence of fathers in particular, may contribute to these social ills. “Nine million kids with no dads” was the headline on the front page of *The Sowetan* newspaper on 5 April 2011. It was based on the South African Institute of Race Relations’ (SAIRR) research into family breakdown and its harmful consequences for children.

“Freire called for a liberating education based on dialogue between teachers and learners – a learning process that respected people as active and creative subjects rather than treating them as passive objects or receptacles.”

Further, the SAIRR writer argued that the fact that two thirds of children do not live with their parents is ‘damaging to our future workers, entrepreneurs and leaders’.

“...There is no doubt that family breakdown is part of a cycle. After all, if parents are not involved in their children’s lives, how do they know what their children are doing? How do values get imparted to young people? How do children benefit from the experience of older generations?

“...More worryingly, young people with absent parents, living in poverty and with few prospects in life are more likely to go on to have unplanned children or perhaps children with

multiple partners, and another generation will be born without stable families”.

In another David Archer article, this time one in which he reflects on the life of one of the greatest educators of the twentieth century, the bearded Brazilian philosopher and activist Paulo Freire (“Education or banking? Reflections in memory of Paulo Freire”), we hear that –

“...No education is neutral. Education systems and educators can either work to “domesticate” children or to “liberate” them. Freire called for a liberating education based on dialogue between teachers and learners – a learning process that respected people as active and creative subjects rather than treating them as passive objects or receptacles. Rather than seeing the teaching of literacy as a technical transfer of skills, Freire argued that “Learners must see the need for writing one’s life and reading one’s reality”. It is clear that education can either work to close down people’s minds or to open them up. Unfortunately, closing them down is usually easier – and cheaper”.

But, perhaps, I digress. By going to school, pupils escape the violence – and all that goes with it – in the neighbourhoods where they live. All too often, school is that “safe haven” for them; an oasis of (relative) calm and peacefulness. The “dusty Delft” mentioned at the beginning of this article is an example of one such community:

“... The influence of gangsters and drug lords is killing our community” (*Argus*, June 7 2013)

Delft residents are, according to this local newspaper article “Red X aims to shame drug houses” ‘reclaiming their community’ by marking the houses of suspected drug dealers with a red X. The chairman of the Community Police Forum said that residents were ‘taking back what belongs to them by mass participation’. A mother of three comments that her children could not walk to school ‘without getting robbed’; and the article concludes with a woman – who asked not to be named – adding that ‘residents didn’t feel safe walking around and chose to stay indoors’.

Delft Update: At the time of writing,

a 15-year-old Grade 7 boy died of multiple stab wounds in an alleged gang attack (in Delft). His mother, Zoleka Gogo, believes that her son, Ntobeko was the victim of 'mistaken identity'. Two suspects, aged 16 and 17, have been arrested ("Gangsters killed wrong boy, says mother", *Cape Times*, Monday June 10 2013).

Note: This so-called update could very well apply to almost any settlement on the Cape Flats.

Not too long ago, I was hanging out at the Belthorn Primary School's Fundraising Bazaar with a young boy who I (almost) regularly bring a Rooibos yoghurt. He lives in not too nearby Philippi; and when I asked him why he did not attend school in the neighbourhood where he lives, his raised-eyebrow response was "gangsters". By my standard grade sums, a head-count of that rainy Saturday's Bazaar crowd tells me that the most of the folks there had taken the time and trouble to journey in from the communities where they resided. An oasis...

Ted Leggett of the Institute for Security Studies, in an article entitled "WHAT'S UP IN THE CAPE? Crime rates in Western and Northern Cape provinces" (published in *Crime Quarterly* No 7, 2004) mulls over the curious (or, that which is curious to the academics of the world!).

"According to the official crime statistics, the Western Cape has emerged as the country's most crime-ridden province, and the Northern Cape as the most violent. This is confusing for criminologists who link crime to poverty, because these are two of the best developed provinces in the country, with the highest employment levels. Explaining crime in these provinces requires further research on the people and conditions in the area".

The Western Cape has by far the nation's highest rate of murder: 85 murders per 100,000 citizens in 2002/3. The national average was 47. Murder is the most accurate gauge of the violent crime situation, as it is more likely to come to the attention of the police than other violent crimes. This means that very few murders remain unrecorded. And, as we know, rape is

quite under-reported.

Same old story – the 'other'

Circa October 2011, at the time of the country's National Census (some say the "senseless") I penned a ditty entitled "I am the other". For this very purpose, I unearthed an article I had filed away (circa August 2010), from a community newspaper, the *People's Post* (its Claremont-Rondebosch edition) reporting on a robbery, under the heading "Claremont resident wounded in shootout with robbers".

*I am the other
An executive director
was apparently most worried
their small poodle gone
missing during a house robbery*

*(their domestic worker
tied-up and quite unnamed
probably a woman too)*

I am the other

To the said (sad?!) "executive director", their domestic worker was "invisible", as it was under apartheid. This time round I won't bring shame and discomfort unto the former (local) head overseer of apartheid-capitalism by mentioning the name of his "foundation". He who tersely declared that the paler folks of the beloved country need not apologise for apartheid.

The DG Murray Trust's Dr David Harrison used the word 'invisibility' when addressing a gathering of Rotarians. He spoke about a childhood incident when he, aged 4, returned home with his dad; walking right past the gardener without greeting him. The story goes that his father took him back down the garden path and made him acknowledge the presence of the *other adult* (my emphasis). He commented that one of the 'evil things' about our previous dispensation – apartheid, if anyone has a sudden political memory lapse – was that it 'tried to make certain people invisible'.

(See the weekly *Athlone News* and *Tatler*, 2 Western Cape community papers' "Coffee with Cathy" articles, "Use your imagination to help 'invisible' people", 5 and 6 June 2013 respectively). I must note that the "news" carried by these 2 papers is

often quite poles apart: In Athlone, in the main, it is murder and mayhem; whilst in the *Tatler's* precinct it is all too often all about cockatiels and manicured pussy cats gone AWOL.

Apartheid's Group Areas – and its aftershock

*Hewers of wood and drawers of water
Black people don't need mathematics,
Said Verwoerd, the architect of
apartheid.*

*Since they are simply
hewers of wood and
drawers of water.*

Just as some folk, say, still.

There are a number – quite a number – of young learners at our school (and, no doubt at countless other schools in the country), who travel lengthy distances in the early hours to school. At the tender ages of between 9 and 10 years old. What might this (situation) be preparing them for? The continued journey their parents and their parents before made – under apartheid – from pre-1994 dormitory group-area townships to their places of work; be those places factories or the homes of their straight-nosed, blue-eyed, naturally blonde, pale-faced and non-bucket-using employers.

Apartheid's Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 (commenced 7 July, replaced by the Group Areas Act No 77 of 1957) forced physical separation between people – or, as the rulers then called differently-shaded folks, "races", by creating different residential areas for different "races". Implementation began in 1954 and it led to the forced removal of people living in what was considered the "wrong" areas and the comprehensive destruction of communities. Well-documented Western Cape examples are the forced removals in District Six and Claremont.

An official circular issued in 1967 tells us, in the crude apartheid idiom of the time:

"It is accepted government policy that the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic, for as long as they offer their labour there. As soon as they become, for some reason or other, no longer fit for work or superfluous in the labour market they are expected to return to their country of origin or the territory

of the national unit [bantustan] where they fit in ethnically if they were not born or bred in the Homeland It must be stressed here that no stone is to be left unturned to achieve the settlement in the homelands of non-productive Bantu presently residing in the European areas”.

(David Welsh, “The rise and fall of apartheid”, Chapter 3, page 62)

The author makes the point that we see shades here of the Western Europe Gastarbeiter (guest worker) – in Italy and Germany for example – of that time.

Same old song – to each your own

Yet, these learners need not make this journey, as there are schools in the areas where they reside. They could, as this little enclave’s education minister Donald Grant says (quite matter-of-factly and blithely), go to school in their “own” “areas”. Is this not as apartheid did: containing / restricting its non-citizens to specific areas? After all, the dreaded apartheid group areas act is no more; there is “freedom of movement”, as it were, if you can pay for it (and moved into a “gated community”).

So why do parents not “do the Donald Grant”? They’d be saving money. Their little ones – and the whole family – would be able to put in a bit more sleeping and family hours. And the learners would be far more receptive and co-operative participants in their learning and education (and wider-awake too!). Is it just a simple matter of parents exercising (their) democratic choices? Are they voting with their feet?

Is this not how it should be? Or, how it should have been, had it not have been for the separate anti-development of apartheid? Parents seem to want to give their children a better chance than what they and their parents before them had. Even at the expense of less sleep and a less well-stocked kitchen cupboard and fridge. No hewers of wood and drawers of water here!

There is, also, the small question of language. English. Parents might reckon on their children having a better life “in English”, as the language is, folks say, the dominant language of business communication out there in the big

wide world. Anyone for Mandarin?!

By the by, the province’s education minister might want to be remembered for the image of himself bulking his besuited way over a locked school-gate, rather than for his unilateral attempt to close a number of schools in the region.

An urgent interdict stopped the closure of 17 schools in the Western Cape High Court; where Judge Siraj Desai found that the department’s public hearings were conducted in a “peculiar manner”, without two-way debates or any consultation processes. “The hearings were patently farcical”, Desai said in his judgment. “They were merely platforms for the Western Cape

“By the by, the province’s education minister might want to be remembered for the image of himself bulking his besuited way over a locked school-gate, rather than for his unilateral attempt to close a number of schools in the region.”

education department to passively listen to the community and then report back to the MEC (i.e., Grant)”. He said that public hearings implied at the very least a public dialogue, if not debate, with the elected representatives or delegated officials (lifted from www.news24.com).

Challenges and Opportunities?

There are challenges for schools though: in “managing” the early-comers, the so-called migrant learners who are ferried in from “other” areas; language (and that perplexing phenomenon called “culture”) can be seen as a barrier and not an opportunity for the melting pot of the “rainbow nation” to materialise, naturally, without any (further) social engineering – and without ballpoint-wielding grey-suits interfering! This might be particularly important in the greater South African project, as

a recent study shows that friendships (at the University of Cape Town) don’t come easy across the racial and social divide. A PhD researcher there found that –

“....socio-economic status, racial identity and ethnic identity, language and accent were important contributing factors in the formation of racially homogeneous friendships”

(Cape Times, 7 June 2013, “Race, social class are barriers to friendships at UCT, study finds”)

There are challenges for communities too: in a too-familiar and too-recent conversation with an old school buddy of the time (1968 – 1970!!), he observed with something of a half-grimace that “(but) there are lots of blacks” at our alma mater. He is not alone in his dark thoughts, by a long piece of chalk. With a stroke of a ballpoint-wielding grey-suit, Apartheid’s Group Areas legislation was expunged from the statute books. But it is still fixed in the country’s consciousness. Neighbourhoods and communities still need to come to terms with the oft uncomfortable reality of the Gastarbeiter, the former guest, now in their midst, on their very doorstep. What can they – and the whole school community – do together, to break down the artificial barriers, and to find each other?

If you want to change the world, tell a child a story

Karin Schimke, poet, journalist and editor of the *Cape Times*’ books pages, in an evocatively titled article “Children must be drenched in words” (23 April 2012), tells us of the simple actions we could take in this regard; how, in the words of the June / July 2012 *The Educational Journal*’s ‘Notes in school’ writer, ‘stories start a huge process of mental growth’ –

- stimulating the imagination
- magically opening in the child the means to understanding people and the world
- laying the foundation in the child for the development of a thinking, feeling human being.

The ‘Notes in school’ writer observes that, as importantly as stimulating the child’s interest in language, is that it is the means of story-telling; and

the setting in motion of a life-long fascination with this life-essential means of learning and communication.

But, it laments, the opposite applies for millions of the country's children, where – instead of development – there is stagnation, no story-telling or developing linguistic skills, and poor literacy.

Them belly full (but we hungry)

As you learned folks out there well know, Bob Marley and the Wailers happen to be responsible for “Them belly full”, an old struggle ditty, that reminds us“a hungry man / mob is an angry man / mob”.

Though, we reckon, young children will not become “an angry mob”, and go on a “riot”. In the main, since we keep them “in their place”, quietened at home and at school (can you hear shades of John Lennon’s “Working Class Hero”?). Like the apartheid-Calvinists of old, we seem to have a democratic penchant for the words “mob” and “riot”. “It can’t happen here”, we might say from the ivory tower of parliament ... “as we are a democracy”. Well, the hungry mob – that our Peninsula School Feeding Association struggles to feed – might “riot” on your (democratic) doorstep when they “grow up”.

Every weekday, thousands of pupils long for 10:30 (the school “first break”) when they are handed a plate of food. For some, their next meal will be 24 hours later, at the same time the next day. Malnutrition and a lack of energy spell a dark future for children filled with potential. World Hunger Day has passed without much fanfare; and as food insecurity increases, so more children end up going to school without a meal. Three out of four children go to school hungry every day.

The Peninsula School Feeding Association works tirelessly to help feed these needy pupils; feeding two meals to about 330,000 children every school day. A total of 660,000 meals are served daily in the province. The Association receives a subsidy from the Department of Education to feed 90% of that total, while the remaining 10% requires the group to raise R12m to avoid being forced to decrease the number of children being fed. However, the government subsidy

will be terminated in June 2013. This funding will now be given to a different organisation in the new financial year.

It costs only R2 to feed a child two cooked meals a day. People are being encouraged to adopt a child for the year for only R395. As the Association’s biggest fundraising event looms, the public is being called on to participate. Now in its 44th year, Blisters for Bread usually held on the last Sunday in August, is one of Cape Town’s calendar events. The race last year attracted a record number of more than 15,800 walkers, coming out in support of the Association and feeding hungry children. All funds raised are directed to the school feeding programme so that more pupils can be nourished. Entry is R42, which will help feed 21 children for a day (See Laila Majiet’s article in the local *Peoples Post*, Athlone edition, Tuesday 28 May 2013, and for details of the fund-raiser, visit http://www.psfa.org.za/blisters_for_bread).

Let them take matters into their

“As you learned folks out there well know, Bob Marley and the Wailers happen to be responsible for “Them belly full”, an old struggle ditty, that reminds us“a hungry man / mob is an angry man / mob”.

own hands, and feed themselves themselves!!

Sufficient food, love, security and stimulation – a simple environment

In “The simple, early triggers that help our children to learn” (*Cape Times*, Friday May 31 2013), the DG Murray Trust’s David Harrison reminds us of what he calls the “simple environment” – “of sufficient food, love, security and stimulation”; and that, in this “simple environment ... the child is primed to learn, and the brain grows in size and sophistication”. Further, says he, “(B)y the time she goes to school, neural circuitry is well established and the

brain is already 95 percent of its adult size. The rich experiences of the first six years of life over-stimulate the neural pathways and what follows is a process of pruning and reshaping”. The Trust supports the Nal’ibali initiative (see www.nalibali.org). Nal’ibali – isiXhosa for “here’s the story” – is a national reading-for-enjoyment initiative that gets people in South Africa – adults and children – passionate about telling and reading stories.

Wordworks (www.wordworks.org.za) in “Narrowing the literacy gap and strengthening language and literacy development between birth and six years for children in South Africa” reminds us that “While a focus on early literacy and language development requires a narrow lens, it is nevertheless necessary to frame this within the broader impact of poverty on cognitive development. We know that the structure and functions of the brain are affected by a wide range of environmental factors, including malnutrition, disease, stress and under-stimulation”.

What is the point, then, of “us” (that is, democratic South Africa) throwing a sizeable portion of our budget at “education”, when our (poorer) children have to be fed by a struggling NGO? What is the point of endless Annual National Assessments, and the like? Equally, we can endlessly volunteer our time in Reading (for Enjoyment) Programmes. Up against Pink Floyd’s (yet another) Brick in the Wall!!

We have to go beyond (ActionAid) David Archer’s “Children in school is not enough – they must learn something there”. ■

Notes

1. A mighty huge thank-you to those drowsy and yawning Belthorn Primary School learners who I cross-questioned around and about where they stayed, where their parents laboured, and why they did not attend a school nearer home.
2. “Broken Families Are Breaking Youth” was written by Lucy Holborn for the South African Institute of Race Relations. This article was first published on the Tshikululu Social Investment website.
3. The Educational Journal (Editor, Mrs HN Kries) is now published by the NUPSAW Education Section. Formerly, it was the mouthpiece of the Teachers League of South Africa (TLA).
4. The “early to bed early to rise” maxim comes from a ditty penned by myself circa June 2008, titled “Schools are centres of learning”. “I am the other” is a ditty penned on the National Census (the “senseless”) in October 2011. The “Hewers of wood” ditty was written in response to a 30 June 2005 headline (Metro Burger OOS) community newspaper article “Maths ‘key to future’”.

MANUFACTURING FONG-KONG HISTORY



Helen Zille and the Struggle for Liberation

Zille's distortions are founded on a theory conveniently crafted to inflate the importance of the DA and exaggerate the contribution of conservative liberals to the struggle for freedom.

By Eddy Maloka

The public anger over the abuse of history by the Democratic Alliance (DA) is expected. But DA leader Helen Zille has been in the business of manufacturing fong-kong history of the struggle for some time; it's only that she has gotten away with this in the past. An example is her speech delivered in November 2009 at a function to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Progressive Party (PP) which is full of distortions and in some cases even blatant lies¹. In that speech, she traced the political lineage of her party to the PP: "The PP became the PRP [Progressive Reform Party] and then the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] and then the DP [Democratic Party] before we became the DA".

She cited what the PP's first leader, Jan Steytler, once said in 1959: "In future, colour and colour alone should not be the yardstick by which people are judged"; and made a startling claim: "In the iron grip of apartheid, this was radical, subversive even, coming from a white South African. In fact, today we look back on Jan Steytler's words and realise that he was more than 50 years ahead of his time".

This is not true. Steytler couldn't have been ahead of his times because by then the liberation movement had the Africans' Claims of 1943 and the Freedom Charter of 1955, both of which contained elaborate ideas of a non-racial future with a Bill of Rights. Steytler was just echoing the opening

lines of the Freedom Charter: "We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people".

Furthermore, what Zille failed to mention about the PP is that it represented a conservative brand of liberalism at the time. A few years before coming into being, in 1952, a Liberal Party (LP) was formed which adopted a franchise policy of universal adult suffrage, something liberals of the PP's creed were not prepared to accept. The PP believed in "qualified franchise" with educational, property

and income requirements that excluded the majority of black people, especially the poor.

The LP made genuine effort to collaborate with the liberation movement when the PP saw that as too risky, fearing to be alienated from the white electorate. The PP chose to work in apartheid parliament, while the LP didn't. Some of the members of the LP were so radical that they even tried to form their own armed organisation, the African Resistance Movement, around the time when the ANC established its MK.

The LP decided to fold in 1968 instead of surrendering to the fate that awaited the party following the passage of the Prohibition of Improper Interference Act which banned parties from having non-racial membership. The LP could not accept that it would have to give its black members the boot. But the PP didn't see anything wrong with that and continued to exist. Helen Suzman defended the PP's stance when she reported to her Houghton constituency in August 1968: "It [the Act] prohibits multiracial political parties. It has meant the death of the Liberal Party and has deprived us of our non-white members. I have not the slightest doubt that we are absolutely right to continue [as a party] – this is what our non-white members wanted us to do; it is very definitely what the Government did not want us to do"².

The second distortion: Zille bragged in her speech that when the founders of the PP broke away from the United Party in 1959 "they knew that Parliament could be a powerful tool to expose the injustice and absurdities of the apartheid system. This proved to be a key factor in the growing domestic and international pressure which eventually brought about apartheid's demise".

This is also not true. In fact, the opposite is what happened – the PP and its successor parties isolated themselves from the broad movement of struggle when they chose to participate in the apartheid parliament. They were not even a factor in the struggle for the international isolation of apartheid South Africa as insinuated by Zille. Hence Oliver Tambo could

ridicule Helen Suzman in his New Year Message of 1 January 1971:

"Vorster, Klopfer, Helen Suzman and lesser agents of colonialism, have turned Africa into a veritable hunting ground for stooges and indigenous agents of racism. Mrs. Suzman deserves special mention: This sweet bird from the blood-stained south flew into Zambia and sang a singularly sweet song:

I am opposed to apartheid;
I am opposed to the isolation of South Africa;
I am opposed to violence;
I am opposed to guerrillas;
I am opposed to the Lusaka Manifesto;
I am opposed to the decision of the

“Steytler couldn't have been ahead of his times because by then the liberation movement had the Africans' Claims of 1943 and the Freedom Charter of 1955, both of which contained elaborate ideas of a non-racial future with a Bill of Rights.”

World Council of Churches;
I know the Africans can do nothing to cause political change in South Africa;
I am in favour of change;

Clearly in favour of change but determined to prevent change"³.

Zille's third distortion: "It is not widely acknowledged that the Constitution that the DA defends today has its roots in the Molteno Commission set up by the Progressive Party in 1961... It recommended a national convention, an entrenched Constitution, a bill of rights, a common voters' roll... The negotiations at Codesa that culminated in our Constitution and Bill of Rights were not just a victory for every South African, they were also a vindication of our intellectual tradition. If the groundwork was laid by the Molteno Commission in the 1960s, it was the DP's negotiating

team, led by the formidable Colin Eglin together with Ken Andrew and others who ensured that there were significant checks against power abuse..."

There is no space here to dwell on the DP's role in the CODESA negotiations. However, one fails to understand why Zille would hide the fact that the Molteno Commission was a flop as its recommendations which became PP policy were widely considered racist and Eurocentric. The Commission's brain and Chairperson, Donald Molteno, had political differences with the LP as explained in his biography:

"By 1957 Molteno was at odds with the Liberal Party. Besides his objection to the moves in the Party to abandon the qualified franchise policy, he regretted the lack of support for his proposals, as Chairman of the Party's Constitutional Committee, for a federal solution to South Africa's problems. Finally, as one who certainly put a higher value on stability and order than the Liberal Party was prepared to do, he rejected the extra-Parliamentary activities which certain members of the Party were engaged in or contemplating. In October 1957 he resigned from the Liberal Party"⁴.

Molteno, according to his biographer, was convinced that "universal suffrage was not only unsuited to South Africa's multi-racial society but would alienate the white electorate who had to be convinced that there was a middle way between the stark alternatives posed by the Nationalists – race suicide or apartheid"⁵. He took his constitutional proposals which failed to sell in the LP to the PP. At the latter's first Party Congress in November 1959 he drafted a resolution which resulted in the establishment of his Commission with the following among its terms of reference:

- To establish conditions which will enable the peoples of South Africa to live as one nation in accordance with the values and concepts of Western Civilisation.
- To enable suitably qualified citizens of a defined degree of civilization belonging to any population group to participate in the Government of the country....
- To provide constitutional safeguards

through a reform of the Senate and/ or otherwise to prevent the exercise of unchecked power by any group in order to dominate any other group, white or non-white.

- To decentralize legislature and executive power by devolving on the existing provinces, or other provinces into which the Union may in future be delimited...⁶.

As the terms of reference implied, the Commission came out in favour of qualified franchise. The Commission was fully aware that for black South Africans "the demand is general, among the politically conscious elements, for adult suffrage", but still justified its stance: "Whilst understanding this attitude, we are bound to point out that it bears no necessary relation to personal freedom, the rule of law, ordered progress, or any of the other values that Western democracy was conceived in order to foster. Its inspiration is rather non-White nationalism, which, like all nationalisms, is ultimately totalitarian in its logical outcome".

The Commission advocated federalism and the policy of the protection of minority rights – the two constitutional projects which enjoyed the support of both liberals and apartheid ideologues which were however defeated during the CODESA negotiations.

With the formation of the PFP, a Slabbert Constitutional Committee (chaired by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert) was established by the party to develop new policies, by implication displacing those of the Molteno Commission. The new policies included universal adult franchise and doing away with "civilization" requirements. How Zille forgot to make reference to the Slabbert Committee is anyone's guess. But the Slabbert Committee also had its own shortcomings, obsessed, like the Molteno Commission, with the rights of the white minority and how to prevent majority rule in South Africa. Slabbert himself would later lose faith in the PFP's methods, decamping from the party to undertake his missions to Dakar and Lusaka, reaching out to the liberation movement, instead of confining himself to Bantustan leaders as his party was doing.

Zille's distortions are founded on a

theory conveniently crafted to inflate the importance of the DA and exaggerate the contribution of conservative liberals to the struggle for freedom. She argued in her speech: "From the early 1970s, with the growth of black consciousness, it did sometimes seem as if we would be crushed between competing racial nationalisms"; and that: "What brought people together [in the PP etcetera] was our faith that South Africa could defy the unfolding logic of our history and avoid a racial civil war".

From the 1950s at least, liberals

“Liberals propagated a theory that attributed South Africa’s problems to a “clash” between black and Afrikaner nationalism, instead of a colonial system whose foundation was laid essentially during the British imperial era from the beginning of the 19th century to the 1940s.”

propagated a theory that attributed South Africa's problems to a "clash" between black and Afrikaner nationalism, instead of a colonial system whose foundation was laid essentially during the British imperial era from the beginning of the 19th century to the 1940s. They presented themselves as a middle-way between two extremes. As shown in the citation above from the Molteno Commission report, black nationalism was considered to be just as dangerous to the country as the Afrikaner nationalism that gave birth to the philosophy and system of apartheid. Liberals had a weak spot for the British because liberalism itself came to South Africa as an offshoot of the Empire "on which the sun never sets".

The idea of an impending "racial war" was used by liberals to justify

their opposition to the methods the oppressed had chosen to fight for their liberation. Liberals preferred a gradual process of struggle, under their paternalistic leadership, through a multi-racial political platform; as opposed to the radical, militant, mass-based revolutionary struggle under the command of the oppressed themselves. They did not believe in the agency of the oppressed in the struggle for their own liberation. Yet the history of liberalism in South Africa was shaped in a deterministic manner by the liberation struggle – the LP and the PP emerged in the context of the Congress Movement's Defiance Campaign and the mobilisation around the Freedom Charter in the 1950s; the shift to the PFP in 1977 was occasioned by the crisis engendered by the 1976 youth uprising; and the people's war of the 1980s forced the realignment among liberals which resulted in the formation of the DP in 1989.

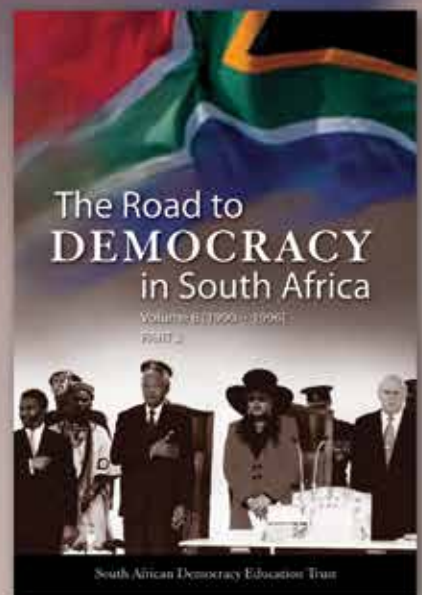
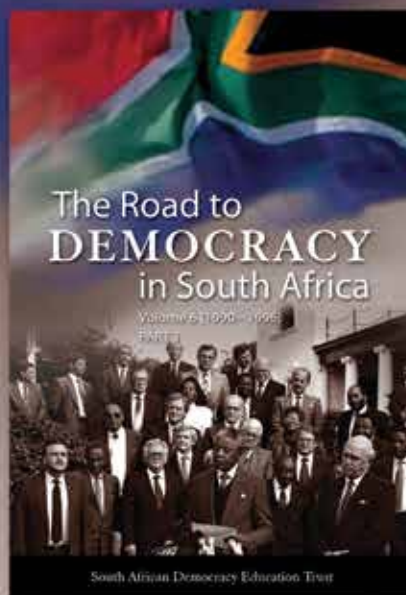
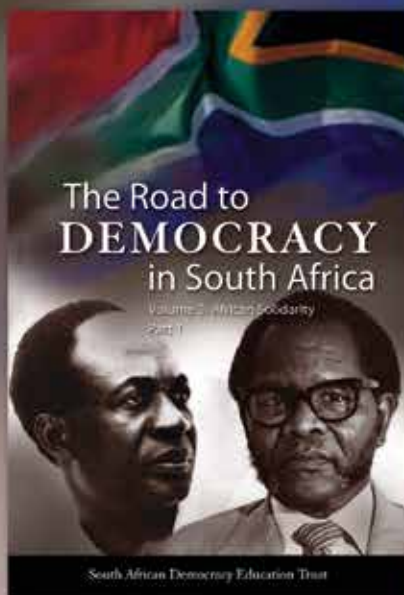
Zille closed her speech with a shocking forecast: "The next fifty years will be defined by a battle between two competing visions for South Africa. One has its roots in the progressive movement and holds that all should have access to opportunities [that is the DA] ... The other has its roots in the apartheid regime and has been enthusiastically adopted by elements in the ruling party...". So, the current attempt by the DA to draw parallels between the ANC and the apartheid government is not new at all. Whatever her problems with the ANC, Zille should be well advised to heed Amílcar Cabral's counsel: "Tell no lies, claim no easy victories".

No matter how hard she tries to re-package herself, Zille descends from a conservative line of South African liberalism. And for God's sake, could she please stop using "people of colour" to refer to Africans? This is old fashioned, colonial slang. ■

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- ¹ See SA Today, "Helen Zille on the liberal tradition", 13 November 2009.
- ² Phyllis Lewsen, (ed.), *Helen Suzman's Solo Years*, (Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 1991), p.101.
- ³ "New year message to the ANC external mission by Oliver Tambo", Sechaba, March 1971.
- ⁴ David Scher, *Donald Molteno: Dilizintaba – He-Who-Removes-Mountains*, (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1979), p.78.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p.76.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p.81.

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Why Africa needs the BRICS Development Bank versus the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank



The BRICS Bank initiative is linked to the developing world's disillusionment with the status quo of world financial institutions.

By Yazini April

The emerging national economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) have a substantial standing in the affairs of the world. Trade within the group surged to \$282 billion last year from \$27 billion in 2002 and may reach \$500 billion by 2015, according to data from Brazil's government. Foreign direct investment into BRICS nations reached \$263 billion last year, accounting for 20 percent of global FDI flows, up from 6 percent in 2000, according to the recent website on United Nations Trade and Development¹. Against this backdrop, the BRICS bloc has begun planning its own development bank with a prospective bailout fund which according to diplomatic sources, would be created by pooling together an estimated \$240 billion in foreign exchange reserves². In setting up the development bank, BRICS would

be mounting a challenge to global institutions like the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which attach political conditions to the low-interest loans they disburse to developing countries.

The BRICS Bank initiative is linked to the developing world's disillusionment with the status quo of world financial institutions. For example, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) continue to favour US and European presidents over BRICS nations, and in 2010 the US failed to ratify a 2010 agreement which would allow more IMF funds to be allocated to developing nations. There is also the much debated history regarding World Bank and IMF stringent conditions and policies which unlike the European reconstructions strategies such as the Marshall Plan have left many African countries poorer, aid dependent, and

de-industrialised. This has rendered the continent one of the most challenging places in which to do business and promote 21st Century sustainable development. In contrast, the BRICS Development Bank is expected to offer non-conditional loans at a higher interest rate.

At the same time, it has been suggested that the BRICS bank could augment the World Bank by funding projects in industries that the World Bank does not, such as biofuels, large dams and nuclear power plants, which don't meet the World Bank's environmental standards. The proposed bailout mechanism, on the other hand, could act as an alternative to global financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund. If so, the bailout fund could also significantly enhance the BRICS countries' international stature and influence.

The significant response of the Western and South African media which is very critical of the BRICS Bank planning is, to say the least, perplexing. Many in the mainstream media have regarded the 5th BRICS summit held in Durban last month as more of a failure than a success. News agencies such as Al Jazeera published online headlines such as *BRICS nations fail to launch new Bank: Leaders of emerging powers agree in principle on joint infrastructure fund, but say more talks needed to complete plan*. Voice of America flashed *BRICS Summit Ends Without Development Bank Deal*. Money Web said *Deal on Development Bank eludes BRICS Nations at Summit, BRICS Ministers Fail to Agree on Development Bank Details* and even claimed *BRICS Bank is just a Castle on the Air*.

Finding an objective article was a challenge. In particular, highlighting the differences of the banking countries did not make sense as there were disagreements between Harry Dexter White and John Maynard Keynes in creating the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. After all, no one had even heard of the BRICS until recently and the term was only invented in 2001. The BRICS grouping is still in the embryonic phase and it is therefore appropriate that the leaders are aiming for pragmatic steps. The recent media response reminded me of the 2010 FIFA World Cup negative critics. They were always quick to point out how the South African government would never be able to pull off the event. Without a doubt, criticism of any institutional development is essential to growth and development. However, the outright pouring of endless cynical criticism of the BRICS Development Bank endeavours made me question the real reason for the negativity towards this necessary institution. The Bank is perceived as a threat to the status quo, and is essential for South-South Development.

One of the BRICS bank's key objectives is to help its member countries pool resources for industrial development. Industrial development is essential for economic growth and regional integration in Africa. However, in order for industrial development to succeed, infrastructure, which remains a challenge on the continent, has to

be upgraded and improved. That Africa remains the poorest region of the world, where 34 of the 50 least developed countries are located and in which poverty is on the increase, is a reflection of its low level of industrialisation and marginalisation in global manufacturing. This low level of industrialisation despite the high records of economic growth also contributes negatively to the concept of regional integration as intra-trade on the continent remains at 12%.

The fact is, regional integration is not feasible without the necessary infrastructure required for the

“In setting up the development bank, BRICS would be mounting a challenge to global institutions like the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which attach political conditions to the low-interest loans they disburse to developing countries.”

movement of people, goods and services. Given the urgency of the continent's industrial growth, the bank is seen as a way of gaining influence on the world stage, countering Europe's dragging economic crisis and addressing the \$4.5 trillion in infrastructure spending the BRICS countries are estimated to need over the next five years. In essence the BRICS Development Bank would help facilitate some of the World Bank and IMF infrastructural efforts on the continent. This leads to the question: What have been the bottlenecks to effective growth over the decades?

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) are a result of the Bretton Woods Institutions, created

by a trio of key experts - US Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, his chief economic advisor Harry Dexter White, and British economist John Maynard Keynes. They were set up at a meeting of 43 countries in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA in July 1944³. The IMF and World Bank are largely controlled and owned by the developed nations such as USA, Germany, France, UK and Japan. The US, for example, controls 17 to 18% of the voting right at the IMF. When an 85% majority is required for a decision, the US effectively has veto power at the IMF. In addition, the World Bank is 51% funded by the US treasury.

The Western aims were to help rebuild the shattered post-war economy and to promote international economic cooperation. They wanted to establish a post-war economic order based on notions of consensual decision-making and cooperation in the realm of trade and economic relations. It was felt by leaders of the Allied countries, particularly the US and Britain, that a multilateral framework was needed to overcome the destabilising effects of the previous global economic depression and trade battles. This process led to the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to give loans for reconstruction of Europe after the World War II. For instance, in 1950, a total of US\$28,600,000 was made available by IBRD for the reconstruction and modernization of steel capacity in France, Belgium, and Luxembourg (World Bank website). The demand for funds, however, failed to match the expectations of the World Bank, and its lending portfolio failed to grow within the industrialised countries.

The constant pressure on IBRD to invest eventually forced it to look beyond the western frontiers to channel surplus funds from rich to poor nations. The lack of any expertise in dealing with problems of developing countries, plentiful funds in the coffer and the pressure to lend made a heady concoction. A disaster was imminent and it led to the overnight resurrection of IBRD as the World Bank - the leading financial institution for global development.

In the move from West to East, the

Bank could foresee vast opportunities for investment in long-term loans for large infrastructure projects in developing countries. And rightfully, too. During the seventies, World Bank lending increased dramatically as it had started to fund large scale dam projects in Asia, road construction projects in Africa and highway projects in Latin America. Electricity supply, often connected to large dam projects, represented almost half of its total annual lending. A niche had finally been found for the World Bank's fund.

The Bank in its new-found role of the leading development financing institution started to grow in aura, power and the ability to impose its influence on recipient countries. Its investments had started to bear good returns and it was posting profits for its major shareholders each year since 1948. There were years when the annual returns exceeded the annual amount of loans disbursed. Even if the Bank during this period stressed investments in the social sector, the increase in lending mainly came in the traditional sectors like infrastructure development. This trend continued until the emergence of the international debt crisis in the early 1980s⁴.

According to the *Global Envision*, most of the debts in Africa, which contribute to its poverty, are due to the policies of the IMF and the World Bank. The IMF and the World Bank's policies had now become very different from what they were originally intended for during the post-war reconstruction period. The IMF in particular was originally formed to promote steady growth and full employment by offering unconditional loans to economies in crisis and establishing mechanisms to stabilise exchange rates and facilitate currency exchange. Much of these visions never came to be realised. Pressure from the US government made the IMF start to offer loans based on strict conditions.

Moreover, according to various critics these policies have reduced the level of social safety and worsened labour and environmental standards in developing countries. In his 1966 book entitled *Tragedy and Hope*, President Clinton's mentor Carroll Quigley writes about the afore-mentioned institutions. He states "The powers of financial capitalism

had [a] far-reaching [plan], nothing less than to create a world system of financial control in private hands able to dominate the political system of each country and the economy of the world as a whole." The money loaned to the Third World came from the 90% the banks allow themselves to loan on the 10% they actually held. Also in *50 Years Is Enough*, Kevin Danaher indicates how the unwritten goal of the IMF and World Bank were to integrate the elites of all countries into the capitalist world system of rewards and punishments. Danaher maintains that when the World Bank and IMF lend money to debtor countries the money comes with strings attached. The policy prescriptions are usually referred to as structural adjustment. Debtor governments were required to open their economies up to penetration by foreign corporations, allowing them access to the workers

“The fact is, regional integration is not feasible without the necessary infrastructure required for the movement of people, goods and services.”

and natural resources of the country at bargain basement prices. Other policies imposed under structural adjustment included: allowing foreign corporations to repatriate profits, balancing the government budget (often by cutting social spending), selling off publicly owned assets ("privatisation") and devaluing the currency.

Given the afore-mentioned historical development legacy on the continent, the BRICS Development Bank serves as a welcome alternative. The BRICS Development Bank could help to mobilise resources for infrastructure and sustainable development projects in BRICS and other emerging economies and developing countries. A rapid sustained economic plan can only happen through a coherent and concise industrial plan that promotes economic growth and sustainable development.

The BRICS countries have the capacity to promote and facilitate an infrastructural process that could economically integrate the continent.

An example of infrastructural capacity through BRICS is the contribution China has made on the continent. The Chinese government has already established a successful infrastructural development track record on the continent with the construction of roads, bridges, hydroelectric power and irrigation schemes, schools, hospitals, health centres, an array of government buildings and recently the construction of the African Union building in Addis Ababa. Moreover, a number of Chinese State-owned enterprises have to date invested an average of \$2,53-billion a year on infrastructural development alone.

President Zuma in some of his speeches has emphasised that the BRICS Bank could be used as an industrial development tool for the continent. The BRICS Development Bank establishment should be considered as "a declaration of the independence of the emerging community of nations" and a signal of its intention to open new ways of funding and underwriting development in emerging economies. With this aim in mind, the BRICS Bank could also provide financial support to countries suffering from financial instability, a function that has so far been largely reserved for the IMF. While a basic function of the proposed bank would be to provide finance for joint BRICS projects, its proponents also see a massive and naturally wealthy underdeveloped region ready for development and rapid growth. BRICS therefore makes industrial sense for the continental regional integration plan. Particularly since BRICS have over the past decade contributed towards Africa's economic emergence, and elevated the continent's contemporary global relevance. ■

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The Technology Innovation Agency (TIA) was established in terms of the TIA act, 2008 (act no. 26 of 2008), with the objective of stimulating and intensifying technological innovation in order to improve economic growth and the quality of life of all South Africans by developing and exploiting technological innovations.

TIA's core business objective is to support the development and commercialisation of competitive technology-based services and products. The Agency primarily uses South Africa's science and technology base to develop new industries, create sustainable jobs and help diversify the economy. It invests in the following technology sectors: Advanced Manufacturing, Agriculture, Industrial Biotechnology, Health, Mining, Energy and ICT.

MANDATE

TIA's mandate is to support and enable technology innovation across all sectors of the economy in order to achieve socioeconomic benefits for South Africa, thereby enhancing its global competitiveness. This entails supporting the development and commercialisation of research outputs from higher education institutions, science councils, public entities and private research institutions, with a view to bringing these to the market.

VISION

To be a world class innovation agency that supports and enables technological innovation to achieve socio-economic benefits for South Africa.

MISSION

To support technology innovators to unlock South Africa's global competitiveness and deliver socio-economic value.

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

The Agency's strategic objectives are as follows:-

1. To stimulate the development and demonstration of technology based products, processes and services.
2. To support the commercialisation of technology innovations.
3. To develop an enabling environment for technology innovation and commercialisation in South Africa.
4. To develop an enabling internal environment within TIA to successfully execute its strategy.
5. To facilitate the development of innovations skills to support technology innovation and commercialisation.
6. To become a schedule 3B entity in terms of the Public Finance Management Act.

The key TIA differentiator with the government funding agencies is that TIA invests in high-risk early stage technology. TIA has invested in more than R2 billion in technology innovation ideas of which some of these are beginning to be profitable.

**For enquiries, Funding Application Guidelines and Application Forms visit
www.tia.org.za**



Freedom of Association vs Substantive Freedom in the context of workers' rights in Namibia



In the final analysis, capability deprivation is a better measure of freedom of association compared to “formal” freedom of association as provided for in the Constitution and other legal instruments.

By Gerson Uaripi Tjihenuna

This article tries to bring to light the constitutional and legal frames of reference which provide the basis for workers' right to *freedom of association* in Namibia. These will be weighed against some limitations which militate against these constitutional and legal imperatives.

Namibia's ruling South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) Party, which was formed in 1960, had its genesis in the struggle of the Namibian workers. As a result, SWAPO was

very instrumental in the formation of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) in the 1970s and the subsequent industry-based unions which were formed later; and which are affiliated to the NUNW. Since its inception the NUNW has been affiliated to SWAPO and even after independence in 1990 that affiliation remains strong.

Given these strong historical ties between SWAPO and NUNW, the SWAPO-led Government has, over the

years, created a pro-labour platform for Namibian workers. This pro-labour platform is underpinned by Constitutional and legal provisions – including key International Labour Organisation (ILO) instruments which Namibia has ratified.

Chapter 3 of the Namibian Constitution (1990) covers Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms, which cannot be amended or repealed in a way that would diminish any of the enshrined rights.

The Namibian State is thus founded on the principles of a constitutional democracy anchored on a rights-based Constitution. These rights include, inter alia, *freedom of association* which is covered in Article 21 (1) (e) of the Constitution.

By virtue of Article 1(6), the Constitution is the Supreme Law of the country and it is therefore the template against which the validity of all laws is tested. Furthermore, Article 144 of the Constitution states that “unless otherwise provided by this Constitution or Act of Parliament, the general rules of public international law and international agreements binding upon Namibia under this Constitution shall form part of the law of Namibia.” In other words, all treaties duly ratified are automatically incorporated into the Namibian law and can be acted upon or enforced in Namibian courts, except for those that are in conflict with the Constitution.

Chapter 2 of the Namibian Labour Act (Act No. 11 of 2007) states that all workers and employers have the *right to freely form and join organisations* to promote and defend their interests, without interference from one another and the state. Namibia has also ratified the ILO Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise (No. 87 of 1948) and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (No.98 of 1949). The articulation of freedom of association in both the Namibian Constitution and the Labour Act (No. 11 of 2007) was influenced, and is in fact underpinned by these two ILO instruments; which by virtue of Article 144 of the Namibian Constitution have become part of the domestic legal system.

On the labour front, SADC adopted the Charter of Fundamental Social Rights in SADC on 26 August 2003 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Namibia was a signatory to the Charter. Under Article 5 of that Charter, member states undertake to establish a priority list of International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions for ratification. That priority list makes reference to the Freedom of Association and Collective Bargaining Conventions (No. 87 and 98) as some of the important

Conventions which must be ratified by the SADC member states.

However, these pro-labour Constitutional and legal imperatives seem to be mitigated by certain factors. The first limitation is rooted in the notion of *substantive freedom*. This refers to the freedom of individuals to achieve things they have reason to value, including escaping avoidable mortality, being well nourished and healthy, being able to read, write and count etc. This concept has been articulated by many people, for example by Amartya Sen, in *Development as Freedom*. In other words, Constitutional and legal provisions only provide formal freedom of association, but the degree

“Workers whose interests are, for one reason or another, not well-articulated by the unions are, for example, security guards, domestic workers, farm workers, petrol attendants, and informal sector employees.”

to which that freedom is exercised in a practical manner is a different issue altogether. In order for the Namibian workers to get hold of and exercise the *right to freely associate*, they need to possess certain intellectual and organisational capacities. Not all the workers in Namibia seem to possess the necessary intellectual and organisational skills to be able to fully exercise the right to freely associate. This is mainly due to the lack of substantive or capability freedom which is reinforced by a low literacy rate, ignorance, poverty, fear, intimidation by some employers, isolation from other workers etc.

Although the NUWN and its affiliates have, by and large, managed to mobilise many workers over the

years to join trade unions and to have their rights protected by these unions, a good number of workers are still not properly unionised. Workers whose interests are, for one reason or another, not well-articulated by the unions are, for example, security guards, domestic workers, farm workers, petrol attendants, and informal sector employees. The reasons why it is difficult to unionise these categories of workers are various. These include low literacy levels among these workers (the lower the literacy rate the less likely they are to be aware of their rights) and isolation from one another because of distance. The *practical* lack of the right to freely associate on the part of some of these categories of workers poses a serious challenge and creates a dichotomy between Constitutional and legal imperatives on one hand, and what empirical evidence suggests, on the other hand.

The lack of government capacity to carry out effective labour inspections, and in some cases failure to implement recommendations from labour inspectors, has also been a major challenge to the compliance with pro-labour Constitutional and legal provisions. Another major handicap is that unions seem to lack the internal collective bargaining capacity to hold employers fully accountable regarding the protection of the workers’ right to freedom of association. The compliance issue is further complicated by some of the employers who still maintain very autocratic labour relations which were inherited from the old Apartheid colonial dispensation.

The bottom line here is not that freedom of association is not an important democratic value; it is very important. However, given the information asymmetries in Namibia (between employers and employees – which information asymmetries are heavily loaded against the latter), that right cannot be fully realised and therefore there is a need for a richer and more empowering informational base. In the final analysis, capability deprivation is a better measure of freedom of association compared to “formal” freedom of association as provided for in the Constitution and other legal instruments. ■

KENYA

A New Taste for the ICC

Western analysts have less of a grasp on African politics than they realise, and Africa is increasingly ready to defy Western and international opinion.

By Charles Villa-Vicencio

Kenya has had a relatively peaceful presidential election. The result has been confirmed by a full bench of the Supreme Court and Uhuru Kenyatta has been sworn in as president. A leading Kenyan opposition parliamentarian has observed, "Like it or not, Kenyatta has cobbled together a constituency, however tenuous, drawn from across Kenya's diverse population. This we accept."

Western journalists were sceptical as to whether Kenyatta could win. Some predicted a repeat of the violence that followed the 2007 election. Human rights activists asked whether a person facing an International Criminal Court (ICC) indictment for crimes against humanity, resulting from his alleged involvement in the 2007 violence, should become president and Western leaders have responded to his election with caution. Two things: Western analysts have less of a grasp on African politics than they realise, and Africa is increasingly ready to defy Western and international opinion.

Jomo Kenyatta, the father of Kenyan independence in 1963 and the country's first president remained in power until his death in 1978 when he was succeeded by his vice-president, Daniel arap Moi. By then Kenya was an established ally of the West, a *de facto* one-party state, and by the time Moi was constitutionally barred from running for re-election in 2002 he had elevated patronage and corruption to new levels of intensity. Desperate for change, the country elected Mwai Kibaki's opposition "National Rainbow Coalition" to power in 2002. The controversial and disputed election in 2007 resulted in over a thousand people being killed in post-electoral violence, before a joint Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga government was installed as a result of international pressure. In the aftermath of these violent polls a number of institutions were established to deal with the past including a Kenyan Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) and a National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC). A

new Constitution was subsequently promulgated in 2011. An Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission prepared the way for the successful March 2013 elections.

Uhuru Kenyatta, the son of Jomo Kenyatta, is one of Kenya's richest business people and the Kenyatta family is among the largest landowners in the country. Kenyatta and his running mate, William Ruto, campaigned on a platform that combined populist inclusivity and ethnic mobilisation, dismissing the accusations of the ICC as further evidence of Western-driven interference in African affairs.

The internal problems he faces are, however, substantial: Al-Shabab militants warn of a "long and gruesome" war if Kenya fails to withdraw Kenyan troops from southern Somalia. The demands of the secessionist Mombasa Republican Council increase the risk of ethnic and religious-driven violence where ethnic divisions continue to undermine national integration. Consisting of 42 distinct ethnic communities, the dominant demographic breakdown of Kikuyu (22%), Luhya (14%), Luo (13%), Kalenjin (12%), Kamba (11%), Kisii (6%), Meru (6%), other groups (15%), and people largely of Indian origin (1%) demands huge political sensitivity. Deep economic disparities, traceable back to post-colonial land and resource redistribution, continue to locate wealth largely in the hands of the Kikuyu and Kalenjin elite, with the rural and urbanised poor who live on the fringes of the nations' cities having limited access to employment, shelter, education and health care.

The major international problem Kenya faces is the ICC charges against President Kenyatta. Following the precedent of Nuremberg and Tokyo Trials in the wake of the defeat of Nazism in 1945, the ICC was established in 2002. It requires those who bear major responsibility for certain forms of violence to be prosecuted. A point of African contention in this regard is that all 30 indictments issued by the ICC since its inception are against Africans, which has led some Africans and others to ask why those alleged to bear major responsibility for atrocities in Afghanistan, Chechnya, Gaza, Iraq, Pakistan and elsewhere are not being

subjected to the same response from the UN Security Council and the ICC.

Tensions between the ICC and the African Union (AU) came to a head with the issuing of a warrant for the arrest of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir in March 2009, despite a formal request by the AU that the warrant be deferred in order to give Africans an opportunity to pursue a negotiated settlement to the Darfur crisis. This resulted in a subsequent refusal by some African countries to co-operate with the ICC in the arrest of al-Bashir. The AU had also appealed for a ceasefire in the Libyan conflict as a basis for a negotiated settlement, before Gaddafi was assassinated in the wake of the NATO-led invasion of the country.

Kenyatta is president and the ICC will need to ponder Kenya anew. It's a tough call, not entirely different from the South African transition in 1994 (which predated the institution and jurisdiction of the ICC), where a negotiated settlement would probably not have happened if apartheid leaders had faced Nuremberg-type prosecutions. Dullah Omar, the former and late South African Minister of Justice, responded to the criticism by international human rights' organisations of the amnesty clause in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), stating: "We are building a future for South Africans and where there is conflict between what the international community is saying and what is in the interests of the people of South Africa, then I think that we will have to live with that kind of conflict."

Kofi Annan, speaking during his tenure as UN Secretary-General, stressed that the purpose of the ICC is to intervene only where the state was unwilling or unable to exercise jurisdiction over perpetrators. "It is to ensure that mass murderers and other arch-criminals cannot shelter behind a state run by themselves or their cronies, or take advantage of a general breakdown of law and order. No one should imagine that this would apply to a case like South Africa's, where the regime and the conflict which caused the crimes have come to an end, and the victims have inherited power. It is inconceivable that in such a case the Court would seek to substitute its judgement for that of a whole nation

which is seeking the best way to put a traumatic past behind it and build a better future."

The question is whether a democratic vote in favour of Kenyatta is akin to the vote by a democratically elected National Assembly in South Africa to grant conditional amnesty to those responsible for gross violations of human rights in South Africa? The Commission of Inquiry into the 2007 Post-Election Violence in Kenya recommended that the government set up a special tribunal to prosecute those responsible for the worst crimes. This was rejected by the National Assembly, although the Commission submitted

“All 30 indictments issued by the ICC since its inception are against Africans, which has led some Africans and others to ask why those alleged to bear major responsibility for atrocities in Afghanistan, Chechnya, Gaza, Iraq, Pakistan and elsewhere are not being subjected to the same response.”

names of the persons allegedly bearing major responsibility for the violence to the Pre-Trial Court of the ICC. Kenyatta's name was among them and his lawyers have since appealed for the case against their client to be dropped. Whatever the outcome of the Court decision, it will impact heavily on international politics.

Above all, it could impact on Kenyan stability. The alleged actions of Kenyatta are a matter of major concern to the global human rights community and to many human rights advocates in Kenya and the region. The question is how to deal with this concern? The United Nations' 2004 report on *The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies* defines transitional justice as "Judicial and non-

judicial mechanisms, with differing levels of international involvement (or none at all) and individual prosecutions, reparations, truth-seeking, institutional reform, vetting and dismissals, or a combination thereof." This inclusive understanding of transitional justice is frequently lost sight of by those determined to drag Omar al-Bashir, Joseph Kony, Robert Mugabe and other dubious characters before the ICC.

A warrant for the arrest of President Kenyatta could have serious implications for Kenya and a continent that is seeking to redeem itself in the wake of having experienced 87 successful and 149 unsuccessful coups since 1960. Kenya has acquired a sense of political stability since 2007 and has a projected real GDP growth rate of 5.7% for 2013. It is at the same time imperative that further infrastructure development take place – ranging from roads to telecommunications and mobile banking – for the informal sector to be integrated into the formal economy and for exploration of possible oil and mineral deposits to be facilitated. If the Kenyan economy collapses this is likely to have a disastrous impact on the East African Economic Community.

Kenyan stability requires human rights, the rule of law and a narrowing of the gap between the rich and the poor. This cannot simply be imposed through the strike of the gavel in an ICC court. It could have the opposite effect. In the words of Albie Sachs, a retired South African Constitutional Court judge, "Human rights are not exported from one centre to the rest of the world. Rather they are the product of unabating struggle and shared idealism throughout the world. The international principles emerge as the distillation of a universal quest for human dignity." Without human rights principles that embrace the different values, experiences and perspectives of different countries and regions, as well as the memories, cultures and religions that define these countries, the legitimacy of what we call universal human rights will continue to be questioned to the detriment of all. Kenya provides a new opportunity to find political and judicial compatibility between international and national human rights law and self-preservation. ■

Time for Innovative Thinking

We find, more and more so, that mechanistic and reductionist approaches are no longer relevant or sufficient to deal with today's strategic complexity.

By Steyn Heckroodt



Internationally organisational performance is under pressure. In some instances, 'crisis', as a term, actually describes it better. This state of crisis cuts across all types of organisations, including commercial, non-commercial and governmental. Like a drop of ink in a glass of water, it spreads across the globe, affecting all nationalities, genders and classes.

In the foreword to my book, Prof de Coning from the University of Stellenbosch refers to the Chinese wish: 'May you live in interesting times',

and describes it as a very appropriate phrase within which to describe the postmodern challenges of sound strategic management.

This book proposes a new view on the environment of the twenty-first century and structures a thought process which scratches the surface of something totally new and different that will help us make sense of the sweeping randomness in our environment.

De Coning continues by saying that the twenty-first century is characterised by unprecedented

volatility, complexity and mechanistic approaches to problem solving. Sadly, non-systemic recipes to strategically manage institutions are bound to fail. As Peter Drucker once said, we are faced with the daunting challenge of reducing complexity to manageable simplicity, and this perhaps is a very appropriate description of our strategic challenge. More specifically, it poses the question: 'What would be the 'correct' way to deal with this strategic challenge?'

This question lays the foundation

to the genesis of this book as we find, more and more so, that mechanistic and reductionist approaches are no longer relevant or sufficient to deal with today's strategic complexity. In an attempt to address this challenge, the book provides something new, something distinctly different to identify the emerging newness which is created by the dynamic interplay between today's dynamic business environmental systems. It is within this complexity that organisations need to map the best strategic course for their institutions. In the light of this, Prof de Coning calls for the enhancement of both width and depth of the strategic dialogue within our relevant institutions.

What exacerbates the challenge of such a conversation is the need, in the new and formidable process of 'new thinking', to both 'unlearn' the old and 'learn' new and more appropriate levels of strategic behaviours. As a process of innovative thinking, this method of 'unlearning' and learning carries the probability of ensuring an optimal, yet floating, equilibrium of our organisations in a total environment of complexity.

In this sense, the book represents a significant contribution to our current skills and knowledge with regard to expanding our strategic frameworks. It helps us to expand our strategic thinking frameworks from an epistemological (and limited worldview) perspective and transform the strategic behaviour of our institutions by abandoning an outdated ontological perspective.

In plain English – it will increase the role of our individual viewing perceptual filters as we try to make sense of the world in our efforts to manage it better through higher levels of understanding complexity.

The genesis of this book stems from a simple thought about the continuous challenge faced globally by organisations to remain sustainably competitive and successful. This thought occurred to me during the time that I was acting as CEO of a multinational company in Northern Sudan in 2010.

At the time, I was in my fifth year of my PHD research project at the University of Stellenbosch Business

“How can we continuously ensure sustainable organisational increased performance in an environment that, at times, appears totally dysfunctional and dynamic?”

School, involving 121 local and international business and non-business organisations regarding environmental scanning and its impact on postmodern strategic thinking.

The company in which I was acting CEO was under severe pressure due to the challenges that sanctions and the free movement of money had placed on its cash flow. Everybody in the organisation seemed to be consumed with what to do next, and this prompted the simple thought I refer to in the opening line of this book. That simple thought is: 'What if the challenge of sustainable competitiveness is better served by understanding *how to think* about business and the environment in which it operates, as opposed to needing to know *what to do next* – or *what to think next*?' If we suppose this to be true, or at least suppose that before we can know *what to do next*, we realise that we need to start thinking differently about business and the environment in which it operates, then some further questions would

“How to think, as opposed to *what to think*, leaves some room for originality and innovation, as *how to think* focuses more on levels of understanding, as opposed to mere levels of knowing.”

follow. These are:

'What do we have that could assist us to better understand business and its operating environment?'

'How can we ensure greater accuracy in planning scenarios and appropriateness in our strategy selection to bring about a high level of sustainable competitiveness?'

In short: 'How can we continuously ensure sustainable organisational increased performance in an environment that, at times, appears totally dysfunctional and dynamic?' Jeff Immelt, CEO of GE, calls this 'sweeping randomness' of the environment.

In the early 1600s, the philosopher Descartes achieved world recognition for his statement *cogito, ergo sum* ('I think, therefore I am'). The idea that thinking could enhance our level of understanding is not new — in principle anyway. Thinking in itself entails no newness as an activity. However, *how* to think, as opposed to *what* to think, leaves some room for originality and innovation, as *how to think* focuses more on levels of understanding, as opposed to mere levels of knowing. Knowledge in itself starts with our discovery of something we do not understand, whilst discovery is linked to seeing what everybody else is seeing, but thinking what nobody else has thought (Frank Herbert and Irving Good).

In this sense, maintaining organisational sustainable competitiveness requires an evolvment beyond empiricist knowledge towards levels of understanding as the basis of strategy thinking and selection.

In answering the question about sustainable increased performance, the book advocates a broader and deeper understanding of the business environment and how this new understanding impacts on scenario planning, strategy selection and business performance. The goals relating to this deeper understanding are addressed by moving beyond our current knowledge of organisations and of the environment. The need is expressed to approach and manage organisations creatively, within an ever-changing business environment, based on our understanding of this.

Progressing beyond what we

know leads to the questioning of the adequacy of a methodology through which we categorise and segment the business environment. This we typically do through mechanistic methodologies such as PESTLE. This is the acronym for Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal and Environmental (green) analysis, where the segments constitute an environmental sphere or spheres. Of course, the biggest unintended by-product of a reductionist approach is that we tend to lose sight of the interrelatedness and interdependence which act as the glue between environmental systems, in itself, pockets of undiscovered information. It is this interrelatedness and interdependence which gives rise to new information regarding the environment, termed *complexus*. Breaking with the reductionist thinking tradition, or any other tradition for that matter, has the tendency of throwing our thinking into crises. Organisations tend to cling to the known paradigm of boxed thinking, understandably so, and find it difficult to think outside of the box, let alone abandon the box.

The current boxed paradigm that the book refers to when it comes to strategic thinking, relates to our dependency on stable environments for scenario planning and strategy selection. Explaining environmental stability in a PESTLE-like methodology jargon means that we need the environment to be something that can be understood and managed through breaking it into smaller manageable categories and segments. Terming it differently, our current thinking paradigm functions optimally only if we are allowed to plan strategically by regarding environmental systems as static and something that can be reduced to smaller manageable components.

This means that the environmental systems 'stay' in the environmental sphere into which they have been categorised, according to our understanding and resultant conceptualisation of the environment.

Allow me to explain the point through a practical example.

If we conceptualise, say, the supplier system as belonging to the transactional environment (the environmental sphere containing

“It is this interrelatedness and interdependence which gives rise to new information regarding the environment, termed *complexus*.”

systems over which the organisation has some level of influence), our strategic thinking regarding this system is based on the assumption that this system will remain in the segmented position. However, reality and the principle of shifting hierarchical levels of influence dictate that the relational status between a business and any particular environmental system is only a temporary one. Organisations, as environmental systems, have grown permeable boundaries constantly moving between stability and disruption as they seek to achieve the optimal floating equilibrium in relation to environmental systems, referred to earlier. We are thus disallowed from thinking strategically, per environment and per environmental system, as if those systems are static in relation to the environmental sphere and its relation to an organisation.

If what is argued here is true about 'moving' and non-static systems, it radically questions the way in which organisations have previously scanned the environment, based on their understanding of the environment and their related strategy selections based on a strategy-environment fit.

“Organisations tend to cling to the known paradigm of boxed thinking, understandably so, and find it difficult to think outside of the box, let alone abandon the box.”

In this sense, the book goes as far as claiming that the current thinking mode of organisations pertaining to the environment is in a crisis and needs a major paradigm shift, or rather paradigm progression in terms of its behaviour.

For organisations to change their strategy selection processes, business leaders need to change the way in which they think about the everyday challenges faced both internally and externally by business organisations. As opposed to the conventional categorisation of the environment and basing decision-making on what is right, and what is wrong, business leaders should not just think outside of this box. They should abandon the box altogether.

When leaders categorise strategic decision-making only in terms of the right and wrong environmental fit, it means they focus only on the apparent relevant aspects of a situation. Abandoning this boxed and mechanistic categorisation opens up the road to seek and explore less-obvious perspectives.

Part of the boxed thinking referred to above is the outcome of the current focus on the typical linear and sequential relationships between components of a business process. Hence, organisations scan the environment as a starting point, impacting on everything which follows on the scanning activity and the informational compound yielded, downstream, to the point of business performance as an outcome. But what if that which was scanned yesterday, has changed today? How can organisations plan strategically as if the information yielded through scanning holds true throughout and regardless? This would be similar to continue viewing a supply chain as a chain, and ignoring the fact that it is a multidirectional, non-linear movement of money, products and/or services and information throughout a multilevel network of operations, which is changing all the time. In this case, when business leaders need to analyse causality, thinking in a linear fashion would perhaps be similar to still believing that the earth is flat.

In terms of thinking, business leaders need to break away from thinking analytically by reducing everything in

the business environment into smaller understandable and manageable bits, ignoring the characteristic of change. Rather, their thinking needs to be holistic and systemic. Business leaders should focus on the interrelatedness and interdependence between environmental systems and not on the systems in isolation. In this lies the creation of what I, in the book, call the emerging systems complexus.

Identifying and analysing this emerged newness and qualifying its content construct help us to embrace thinking of how to creatively resolve tensions among opposing ideas and generate innovative outcomes, as opposed to settling for the lesser of two evils. In this regard, strategic thinking requires assimilated thinking as opposed to conformist thinking and needs to offer longer-term and more flexible solutions to market demands as well as short-term opportunistic resolve. Abandoning the paradigm of requiring a reality in which environmental systems are static, for purposes of thinking strategically, opens the opportunity to view and approach the environment as fluid and shaped by temporary hierarchical levels of influence between environmental systems, meaningful only when attached to a specific point in time and space. To remain competitive, businesses need an understanding of how the temporary status of an environmental system is affected, relative to its relational status with the particular business scanning environmental systems, at the time.

In this sense, I believe that conceptualisation of the inter-relational dynamism of environmental systems is essential in order to move businesses beyond limiting the environment to existing categories of classification. Such limitation may lead to formalising and entrenching past practices. Scanning of the environment, moreover, should attempt to widen perceptions of the future environment.

Further motivation of the need to expand our view of the environment through an expansion of current conceptual scanning frameworks, is that we are under the misapprehension that we know what is happening in a world which is much more complicated than we realise (Taleb 2007: 8–9). This

“Business leaders should focus on the interrelatedness and interdependence between environmental systems and not on the systems in isolation.”

complex randomness is primarily an outcome of the continuously evolving social complexity in which we currently find ourselves.

In our efforts to de-clutter complexity in our business organisations, we spend much time and resources on enhanced scanning techniques that seek to mitigate the randomness embedded in an uncertain and fast-evolving environment. However, most of these attempts focus on technique and methodology, whereas in this book, I propose focusing on levels of understanding and openness of mind, i.e. *thinking*.

The outcome of expanding existing conceptual scanning frameworks, as explained in the book, should enable us to manage complexity through design, as opposed to chance or mistake. In this sense, the conceptual expanding of current frameworks assists in opening up our mind space and perceptual filters while impacting significantly on how we think about

“The conceptual expanding of current frameworks assists in opening up our mind space and perceptual filters while impacting significantly on how we think about our organisations and the related environment.”

our organisations and the related environment. This, in turn, has a dramatic impact on the content of our planned future scenarios, the selection of an appropriate strategy and our resultant business performance, competitiveness and sustainability.

Frik Landman – CEO of Executive Development Ltd at the University of Stellenbosch Business School writes:

With this book Heckroodt tackled, in the context of organizations and their strategic scanning process, the question that has kept philosophers busy for millennia: how do we know that we know? Not a trivial question at all, but one difficult to find a satisfying answer for. He looks at the act of the strategist to scan the environment (that is dynamic and very unpredictable) in an effort to make sense of it and then to shape the strategic response accordingly. In a richly referenced book (for those who want to read broader and dig deeper) Heckroodt critically reviews the existing frameworks (e.g. PESTLE) available to managers highlighting the shortcomings. He shows the practitioner (the leader and manager) that the reality to be scanned is most probably more a function of how we think than some reality out there to be discovered. He opts to leave the positivistic approach behind, showing how the frameworks based on a mechanistic approach do not suffice, but he instead lights a candle from the systems thinking approach, hoping for more completeness. He diligently assists the serious manager not only by means of a theoretical review but offers the leader (who needs to understand that things may not be what they appear to be if viewed mechanistically through aged methodologies and frameworks) through a concept of The Key Master, a more comprehensive approach that alerts the observer (the strategic scanner, manager, leader) of the worldviews (that act as filters shaped by particular values) prevalent in the environment to be scanned, as well as of his own worldview in executing this important task. This is a good read and it's satisfying to see how philosophy, in a practical way, enters the realm of management and make a serious effort to enhance the strategic thinking ability of leaders. ■

The Role of Science in South Africa in the 21st century



South Africa has to make hard decisions and be prepared to live with tough sacrifices if it is to live up to the 1994 promise.

By Jerry Sehume and Wilson Manganyi

Historical evidence demonstrates the value of science and technology in advancing the general interests of society. Humanity has benefitted immensely from advances and contributions of scientific breakthroughs aimed at improving and enhancing the conditions in people's lives. It can be argued that without science, humankind would be less able to respond effectively to challenges of disease, communication, transportation, and basic survival. Social relationships therefore are

codified by and organised around using the cumulative understandings or mastery of natural laws governing our world.

Science is not value-free since it is subject to dictates of the environments where it is practiced. In the past, while science was used in projects aimed to entrench exclusion and prejudice, similarly it has been used for good to combat superstition, ignorance and oppression. For instance, the Arab Spring revolutions relied on social networks to channel people's

grievances and aspirations. Of course, the launch of the plutonium-powered Discovery onto Mars, the SKA Project and discovery of the Higgs boson or 'God particle' can only whet the public appetite for scientific matters. These scientific innovations can be said to suggest a major difference between successful countries in the West (since the Enlightenment Age) and East (China since the Han Dynasty) and regions in the South still suffering from a dependency syndrome.

Where is South Africa positioned in these debates? The Apartheid regime developed science education to sustain a divisive political and economic system. A duty of our democratic dispensation was then to initiate a science discourse that would provide equal opportunities by involving the formerly marginalised. Arguably to its credit, the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) stated the fundamental role of science and technology in creating spaces for millions of citizens. The remaining question is: how far has the RDP and such well-intentioned public policies provided solutions to humanity's crises, especially concerning the link between education, employment creation and national economic growth?

Various studies conducted to evaluate the generic performance and standards of physical science and mathematics paint a rather jeremiad picture. These range from the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS) to the Annual National Assessments (ANA). While their conclusions and recommendations may differ, their consensual summation is that, despite the sizeable investment made into the education sector, our learners are not performing to the required standards in maths and science as compared to their counterparts in other African countries.

These studies also indicate the need for a catholic approach in attempting to resolve this national crisis. It speaks to a return to fundamentals: the responsibility of parents for learner supervision, role of principals in ensuring a proper learning environment, capacitating teachers for readiness to deliver lessons, and

constant pupil motivation to deliver on their task of applied learning.

It is equally important to respond to the question as to why most pupils seemingly fear dealing with the science curriculum. Despite protest by some, there is no denying that science and mathematics are subject fields demanded by the market and are required by South Africa in order to compete in the region and internationally. As a result, it is disconcerting to see how many young people register for subject streams where there is already a surplus of unemployed graduates. Why is there so little interest in entering the scientific domain in order to benefit from employment and entrepreneurship in medicine, engineering or business? Is this an outcome from our inherited history or is this a sociological issue that talks to inhibiting cultural factors? Some would even say it is a reflection of the state of the teaching profession with decidedly constraining aspects (poor teacher training in science, disabling unionisation, geographic and class disparities, lack of material resources). Still others insist this is perhaps an effect of the overall approach adopted. However, let us note that it is very difficult for students to get admission into medicine and engineering. It is also a concern that we have a high drop-out rate, especially amongst engineering students.

It is argued that possibly we should consider the carrot approach adopted by an organisation like Kagiso Trust (KT) in its efforts to empower schools in deprived communities (rural areas). KT rewards with infrastructure schools performing well after consensual agreement is reached about yearly targets. This is because so far, the method of merely flooding schools with resources is evidently not reaping sizeable fruits as the ANA and TIMMS investigations manifest.

Moreover, the welfare of our people requires a linkage between essential science inquiry and the moral and ethical values of human solidarity. Such a mind-frame would ensure science application is managed to serve society and that pupils are stimulated through aggressive interventions to seize the unlimited opportunities offered by

Further Education and Training (FET) colleges. One supposes this is the main reason that the Department of Education decided to invest billions into this sector.

Generally, what is needed therefore is more branding and marketing of occupational and vocational training and education as the engine for any economy and as a gateway to self-employment.

Fortunately, while our character as a developing country is relatively unique, we can learn from experience elsewhere. In his first term as president of the United States, President Barack Obama was decisive in declaring that the US would be “spending less time teaching things that don’t matter and more time teaching things that do”. His address invoked East Asia as a model since places like Singapore and Hong Kong focus more on science as a strategic national priority. To be sure,

“Why is there so little interest in entering the scientific domain in order to benefit from employment and entrepreneurship in medicine, engineering or business?”

mainland China has a proud 5,000 year history which has produced science and technology that has served it well and for benefit of other world civilisations. As the polymath and English Sinologist, Joseph Needham was to discover, a roll-call of Chinese inventions and discoveries is mind-boggling in its reach and influence. Of note also is the historical fact that our pre-colonial Mapungubwe ancestors traded with China a 1,000 years ago through indigenous engineering technology.

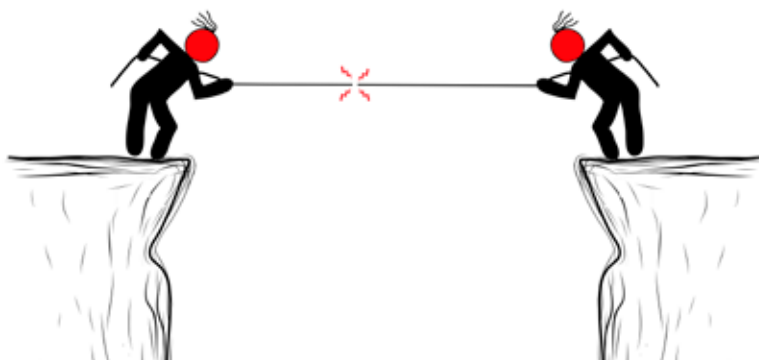
Furthermore, in 1998 China purposefully declared science and technology a vital component in efforts to develop its economy. So that by the 2000s, China has been able to achieve remarkable engineering feats like introducing the 2,298 kilometre-

railway line for its high-speed train in a record short space of time. Needless to say, China has similarly recognised the significance of the interplay between natural science and the humanities and social sciences (HSS). The president of Harvard university, Drew Faust, relates this story: “At lunch with a dozen or so Chinese university leaders in Shanghai I was surprised to find that what was foremost in their minds, what they most wanted to discuss, was the humanities – the need to expand and strengthen them, the need to address questions of meaning and value even within those institutions primarily focused on science”.

Nevertheless, the point remains that South Africa has to make hard decisions and be prepared to live with tough sacrifices if it is to live up to the 1994 promise. If it is to adequately reckon with the unforgiving international climate where only the best and brightest are accepted, the culture of mediocrity and cynicism we have been accustomed to will have to be restrained and ultimately abandoned. There are no easy routes to gaining a foothold in our ambitions to effectively deal with our crises of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Their persistence is not helped by structural incapacity witnessed in government levels as the Auditor-General’s Report reveals centred on a ‘Performance Audit of the Use of Consultants at Selected National Departments’. There can be no political gainsaying to overstate how much our municipalities require engineers, accountants, artisans, qualified management skills.

If we are to collectively prosper and progress as a country still largely dealing with the miscalculations of post-1994 and the inherited apartheid problems, the irreplaceable role of science and technology stands firm as key to drafting sustainable solutions and locating justifiable answers to crises. Way back in 1872 Karl Marx could recognise the responsibility of science in contributing to the mechanisation of the Industrial Revolution: “There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining the luminous summits”. ■

The status of Trade Unions in forms and methods of class struggle



The history of class struggle has so far not provided us with any concrete evidence of a trade union playing two roles, namely, being a political party on the one hand and or being a trade union on the other, at the same time.

By Jerry Semudi

Forms and methods of class struggle, domestically and internationally, are always different, depending upon a given concrete situation. Hence, the revolutionary movement recognises that economic struggle alone is not enough to do away with capitalist exploitation. The Movement also recognises that every class struggle is a political struggle at the same time. So, Alliance Partners are not the same; neither are their respective strategic goals nor their respective tactics the same! However, their respective strategies and their related tactics supplement one another's strategy and tactics.

From the above understanding, therefore, to transform a trade union into a political party is scientifically baseless. The history of class struggle has so far not provided us with any concrete evidence of a trade union

playing two roles, namely, being a political party on the one hand and or being a trade union on the other, at the same time. Such efforts are bound to weaken and or even destroy that union for the simple reason that the working class in general is not politico-ideologically monolithic. Not every worker belongs to the advanced section of the working class.

A trade union declares that it is 'unashamedly a Marxist-Leninist trade union', and calls for socialism to come now 'by order' under the current stage of development of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), specifically because of the current economic hardships the workers are facing and or in the name of trade union militancy and radicalism as against 'sweetheart' unions. In such a case, that union immediately and automatically ceases to be a trade

union; it becomes a political party because it has now moved away from its mandate, the economic terrain of the struggle, into a political terrain, which objectively speaking, is not its mandate as a trade union!

As Lenin said: "Under no circumstances must trade union members be required to subscribe to any specific political views; in this respect, as well as in respect of religion, the trade unions must be non-partisan. All that must be required of trade union members in the proletarian state is that they should understand comradely discipline and the necessity of uniting the workers' forces for the purpose of protecting the interests of the working people and of assisting the working people's government, i. e., the Soviet government. The proletarian state must encourage the workers to organise in trade unions both by juridical and material means; but the trade unions can have no rights without duties." (*The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Plan*; *Col. Works*, Vol. 42, 1971: 374-86)

Classes do exist under the NDR and as long as classes exist, the class struggle becomes inevitable. Capitalist property relations do exist under the current NDR. As such, trade unions cannot be expected to abandon strike struggles. Under conventional big monopoly private capitalist property relations, the ultimate objective of the strike struggle is to break up the capitalist state machine. But in a transition period, like the NDR, the ultimate objective of the strike struggle is, objectively speaking, not to dislocate but rather to fortify the revolutionary gains of the Developmental State, no matter how insignificant they are. The Developmental State is a transitional state of the workers and the poor masses of our country.

Under the transitional type of state, the ultimate objective of the strike struggle can only be to fortify the state by combating its bureaucratic distortions, mistakes and flaws, and by curbing the class appetites of the capitalists who try by all means to maximise their profits.

A revolution cannot come 'by order'. There is currently a socio-economic crisis situation in the

Eurozone and in the USA. The working class of those countries have not so far, through their political organisations, effectively taken advantage of this situation to bring about the socio-economic transformation that would benefit the working class and the poor masses of their respective countries. Indeed are the Eurozone countries in a revolutionary situation? The indicators of a revolutionary situation as defined by Lenin are:

“(1)....when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the ‘upper classes’, a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for ‘the lower classes not to want’ to live in the old way; it is also necessary that ‘the upper classes should be unable’ to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in ‘peace time’, but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the ‘upper classes’ themselves into independent historical action.

“Without these objective changes, which are independent of the will, not only of individual groups and parties but even of individual classes, a revolution, as a general rule is impossible”. (VI Lenin: *The Collapse of the Second International*, 1915)

At the same time the slogans: “No Compromise! No Retreat! Forward Ever!” are also without any scientific foundation for they are anarchistic and adventurous in character. The Revolutionary Movement, thus, has no room for entertainment of such slogans for they are bound to undermine the revolutionary gains in the final analysis. These are the slogans of the ‘Blanquist’ adventurers for in their application they are empty phrases.

It also does not help the forward-march of the Revolutionary Movement to adopt an isolationist tactical position

for fear of being compromised as a trade union by participation in the programmes and government of the NDR and its institutions.

The term compromise in politics implies the surrender of certain demands, the renunciation of part of one’s demands, by agreement with another party. Compromises are often unavoidably forced upon a fighting party by circumstances. The task of a truly revolutionary party is not to declare that it is impossible to renounce all compromises, but to be able, through all unavoidable compromises, to remain true to its principles, to its class, to its revolutionary purpose, to its task of paving the way for revolution and educating the masses of the people for the victory in the revolution.

If, in a given concrete situation the revolutionary forces find themselves in an advantageous class position during the class struggle and want to further consolidate that position, then they can always, if the situation so dictates, voluntarily offer compromises to their class enemies!

Political struggle takes many forms, ranging from participation in elections to parliament, local councils and other state organisations to mass demonstrations.

For the working class to become unconquerable and an irresistible force, especially in the sphere of social production, of course it must be ideologically armed with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. This scientific theory is not a dogma, but simply a guide for everyday working class actions. Knowledge and application of this scientific theory does not necessarily translate to transforming a trade union into a political party. For effective socio-economic transformation, it is important for the working class in their day-to-day struggle against capitalist exploitation, to skillfully combine all forms of peaceful class struggle within the NDR. The working class within the Revolutionary Movement must always keep in mind that the current NDR is our own collective creation. They must not, in the name of ‘militancy’ and or ‘radicalism’, unconsciously find themselves in the same politico-ideological trenches as our enemy class forces.

The trade unions’ role in the

formation and implementation of labour relations varies markedly under different socio-political systems. An important advantage gained by the working people is undoubtedly their right to combine into trade unions, a right which is internationally recognised. But the real status and functions of the trade union in the capitalist countries differ essentially from those in the socialist countries.

In the capitalist countries the trade unions have to defend their right to exist and to protect the working people’s interest in the struggle against the employers and their associations. There, the trade unions’ activities are regarded as an encroachment on the employers’ prerogatives. The capitalists are interested in weakening the trade union movement and are trying to reduce their influence and make them pursue a policy which is advantageous to the employer.

In this developmental democratic state, no classes or sections of the population ever will succeed in restricting the trade unions’ rights and activities. The overwhelming majority of factory, mines, office and other workers voluntarily join trade union organisations, which are the acknowledged representatives of their interest vis-à-vis economic, state and social organs. The conclusion of collective agreements is an important, but not the main, aspect of their activities.

The democratic and developmental state social system must enable the trade unions to perform new functions and exert far greater influence on the formation of labour relations and on economic development. The trade union movement must take a direct part in drawing up economic plans, in planning and regulating pay, in settling labour disputes and drafting regulations concerning production, labour, public amenities, recreation and culture. Moreover, they must see to it that these regulations are observed and they also manage the state social insurance. A very important function of the trade unions is to teach working people to manage economic, state and social affairs. ■

The Essence



We have fallen victim to being caged into the orders of prescribed orthodoxies.

By Mbasa Sigcau

Dreaming is easy; living the dream is a difficult task in a world where greed and ambition contaminate the march to the desired destination. Progress is inevitable if the essence of the dream is captured at all times, if one's actions are based on determination and discipline.

Our lives present us with fractured

fragments of a morally dismantled development process guided by broken dreams and the premonitions of ideologically frail visionaries who create hazy images from vivid dreams.

The essence of our democracy demands that we become more than a poor nation under self-inflicted oppression. We fail to conquer inequity

and inequality in the economic climate because we fail to become introspective pilgrims who search for the essence of our being. The depths of our hearts are the most sacred places as they remain pure through all the predicaments faced. This text is a written journey of my attempt to unravel the essence of our democracy as a direct descendant of the essence of our being.

“Let us make man in our own image,” God said at the threshold of our creation. The image from which we were created is a divine image that cannot be captured even by a camera lens of the clearest pixels. The ideology from which we were made should guide us as to the way in which we should conduct ourselves and treat each other: with a brotherhood, sisterhood that goes beyond pigmentation, ignoring the differences which have been used to excuse the injustices that plague humanity today. Human beings are superior to other species. We are more than mere inhabitants of Earth; our humanity should be the backbone of our thoughts as that sets us apart from other life-forms. The essence of our being is freedom found in the paradigm of brotherhood/sisterhood, which is the offspring of equality. Thus unity should be a torch bearer if we are to succeed as a nation.

The second half of the twentieth century was a historic period in which Africa got its independence from its Western colonisers. Africa is a continent that has the greatest economic potential in the world; yet it sadly remains that: potential. The dream of equality and economic advance remains just that, a dream. The former “Dark Continent” has been set alight by freedom; yet that light has been snatched away by wars, fraud and pure selfishness. Perpetrators are allowed roaming space by leaders who fail to keep things intact, and this is predominantly because of a failure to stay rooted in the initial dream. Equality is the prize of a collective that has selfless individuals. Yet today our individuals sell themselves short because there is no price worth more than the fulfilment of democracy, equality and equity.

The essence of our democracy is to have a nation that is symbolic of all the multiple dimensions of democracy, and the way we are educated will help deeply in achieving that goal.

Education

Educators have the task to manufacture men and women who will also be productive citizens and members of the nation, since a smile does not put food on the table. I am not an economic specialist yet this sub-text

will touch on the economic effect that a good approach to education will have on the nation.

Remember, education is the backbone of all success, yet the posture of the body is determined by the individual.

It has become general knowledge that what you put in determines what you get out. The question then is: do we put in enough for what we expect to get out in the education system? There was a time when the African was educated by an educator who had a Standard 2 as his/her highest qualification and what we got were unskilled labourers; “garden boys”; “kitchen servants”; people with nothing but broken dreams and wisdom from the harsh school of life. Those generations of black workers were not intellectually inferior, yet what had been put into their education was directly proportional to what they got out: they got domestic jobs. They got

**“Remember,
education is the
backbone of all success,
yet the posture of the
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the individual.”**

jobs, not careers. Times have changed and teachers are far better equipped to produce well-educated people. The seed that does not respond to the watering of the gardener damages not the gardener but its own chances of productivity. This is the case when educators face disrespect, which for some reason other professionals do not face.

The serf that is maltreated by his farm owner is bound to build up a whole lot of anger and work the ground carelessly or decide to stand up for his/her rights. Today there are educators who are merely educators by certificate and show no care in their work, and you have those that are willing to fight for what they think they deserve as they feel that they do put in more than enough. We all acknowledge that beyond the absence of adequate buildings and resources there is a problem in the education system. Even

though the problem is often seen as a problem that faces the education department only, yet it contributes significantly to the economy of the land. A single pimple affects the whole face, and consequently how it will be judged by the eyes that touch it. It is with that knowledge that we should approach the education department and its problems. The education system is the trunk from which the branches of democracy and a good economy are fed, thus a good education system leads to a better democracy and economy.

Many have been vocal about their disappointments when it comes to education in the country, and even though I am not proud of the status quo and think it is unacceptable, I do not attribute all the blame to the teachers at ground level. The collapse of a building is not a problem that is necessarily caused by the inhabitants of the building, but more likely to be a shortcoming in architecture or construction. The elevation of education in this country must begin by dignifying our education system. This may seem like the expected “cry of a teacher’s son” yet an increase in teachers’ salaries is the first step towards dignifying the system. The accountants, doctors, lawyers and scientists of the world would not be respected if they only earned enough to live like upper-class peasants. The dignifying of a teacher’s pay slip is an essential step as it will attract more people to the “honourable” profession of shaping the nation to be world-class leaders. Respect and dignity do not lie solely in the pocket yet a financial change could cause a shift in the image of democracy in the country towards one that is willing to invest in its dreams. Making the teaching profession a decent profession that young, charismatic and intelligent people want to be a part of is of paramount importance in the empowerment of our youth and establishment of a solid image in the education front. The importance of a teacher’s work goes beyond the measurement of any vocabulary. Furthermore, the status quo does not provide us with the quality of mind of the country’s visionaries such as the late Steve Biko, Tsietsi Mashinini and the living Thabo Mbeki, who

wished for an African Renaissance. The failure of the education system to produce such a generation is not really a failure as such, if predictions were to be made on the principle of expecting what you put in. Today we have teachers who are well equipped to produce the people that are produced. This is by no means a way of disrespecting the teachers who are in the classroom today; yet the reason we are plagued by mediocrity and failure is because a mediocre amount of skill cannot produce excellence. It is an unreasonable expectation. Most teachers are themselves people who had received mediocre or average results as scholars. This also explains why the teaching profession was labelled a career suitable for the indigenous African during the Apartheid era, as the goals of 'Bantu education' required little intellectual engagement.

The challenge now is to re-establish the education system by giving it a new image, so it should be elevated to a degree higher than that of a second-class profession. An important step would be to add more value to the academic requirements needed to become a teacher, thus attracting skilled intellectuals to the most honourable profession, serving the country at the highest level. This should not be a meaningless addition of university entry points, but relevant skills should be taught to the teacher trainees, skills that will allow them to produce the excellence that should bless our democracy.

The importance of creativity

The differences that have been used as a reason for war and instability within the human network are an indication of the vulnerability of the human race. Furthermore and more importantly, our differences are an indication of variety. It is proper to change the way we perceive things in order to enhance the true sense, the essence of the creativity thread in the human network. It is essential to perceive things in a different light for progression, optimism is an emotional state yet perception rationalises rather than forcing you to accept even in the absence of any good. Thus it

is important to view things from a perspective that is aligned with our visions of fast, fruitful progress and it is such a method of viewing things that will enable us to act in alliance with the essence.

It is important to stress the importance of creativity as the human race is an embodiment of creativity. One of the greatest set-backs to progress is a normal solution to paranormal challenges. The people of Africa and the people of the world at large suffer partly because of fear, fear of change. We have become trapped in a cage of "knowing and succumbing." Why do we conform when we can

“The education system is the trunk from which the branches of democracy and a good economy are fed, thus a good education system leads to a better democracy and economy.”

form? Creatively designed by the Most High to be architects of our survival and success, our fear of tapping into the unknown has tricked us into being the orchestrators of our own failure and destruction. "Better the demon you know than the angel you don't," are the intelligent words used to equip us to find refuge in our suffering, rather than seeking salvation as that would pose the risk of a greater legion of demons.

We have fallen victim to being caged into the orders of prescribed orthodoxies. The premeditated prescription may be the most vile and potent substance in the system regardless of the saintly intentions of the apothecary. This is bound to occur when the dosages are in the hands of sadists who believe in individualism over humanity and nationhood. Systematically moulded by the ones that orchestrated the monotonous rhythms of our poverty into being, the nation

regurgitates melodies of pain, ignorance, reluctance and infinite dependence. The reason why the arts have thrived through centuries and remained relevant is because they have been re-invented and found accommodation in fresh, relevant re-incarnations while keeping in mind the purpose of their existence, the essence. Pop music has changed drastically when compared to the first pop record yet it has kept its purpose of entertaining the pop music fans out there, hence its success today.

The system fails to produce people that perhaps want to make medication, however it produces people that want to sell medication. We were programmed to regurgitate, produce finance and survival techniques within the boundaries of what has already been created, tested and proven. Yet we fail to use what we have to push the limits of our knowledge for innovative reasons. The Mbeki approach to the HIV/AIDs/ARVs situation may have been controversial yet the principle is of phenomenal significance, it is essential that we think out of the box and be strategists. It is important to know what we consume before we consume it. We have to use all the information possible to come up with solutions that are best for the context.

In conclusion, it is important to be creative, as long as your creative thoughts are in alignment with the essence of the mission. Pop music is blossoming and pop musicians are making fortunes through music yet the opposite is true for rappers and rap music. There was the Golden Era with Tupac Shakur and many other socially conscious writers where rappers became very rich and influential because their creativity was aligned with the essence of the genre in which they were creating music. Today rap music is still as popular yet it has been subjected to a high level of piracy. In contrast, South African traditional music is steadily growing because it is grounded to its essence.

The importance of creativity is unparalleled and has to be stressed to produce productive citizens of Africa who will materialise the potential Africa has. ■

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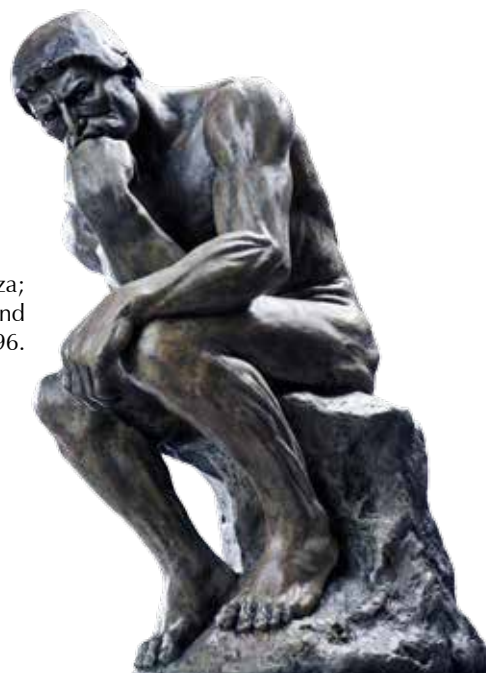
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Strong growth for SAB in competitive market



South African Breweries

Despite challenges in the operating environment, including intensified competition and volatile consumer demand, South African Breweries made strong gains in its financial performance for the year to end March 2012. The company now holds close

to 90% of the market share. SAB is made up of the beer business, soft drinks division, ABI, Appletiser and a 29% stake in Distell.

The company reported strong increases in group revenue, operating profit and margins, achievements it credits to the on-going execution of its

business strategy, launched in 2009. This strategy has seen SAB achieving cost savings and efficiencies which have been re-invested into market-facing activities to drive profitable growth.

The strong performance enabled SAB to declare a full year dividend up

23% to R116 million under its black economic empowerment scheme, SAB Zenzele, as the initiative continued to deliver excellent value for shareholders. This is the fourth dividend declared since the programme was launched in 2010, bringing the total dividends declared to date to R210 million. The dividend will be shared by the SAB Foundation, SAB Zenzele Employee Trust and SAB Zenzele Holdings Limited. The SAB Foundation, which supports community-based projects, received a full year dividend of R20.4 million against a previous R17.19 million. SAB Zenzele Holdings Ltd, which holds shares for the benefit of retailers, received a dividend of R50.7 million from R39.3 million previously. Employee beneficiaries of the SAB Zenzele Employee Trust received a dividend of R44.9 million, up from R37.87 million. "We have again seen excellent growth in dividends for our Zenzele shareholders as we continue to deliver on our goal of ensuring that SAB Zenzele is a truly broad-based, innovative and value-adding transaction," said Norman Adami, SAB Chairman and MD.

SAB group revenue grew 4% to US\$5.815 billion (or 8.7% on a constant currency basis) in the review period from US\$5.598 billion previously. EBITA grew by 9% to US\$1.168 million from US\$1.067 million (or 14.4% on a constant currency basis) and EBITA margins showed a 100 basis point improvement to 20.1% from 19.1% previously.

We have improved our commercial strength through significant targeted investments which have been largely funded by our on-going ability to achieve cost savings. This is driving steady, profitable and sustainable growth. We are very pleased with the results which were achieved in a highly competitive market and a challenging economic environment," said Adami.

SAB beer business

Some key achievement during the review period:

- Castle Lite has been established as the largest and fastest growing premium brand in the country, achieving a moving annual growth

of 24%. Over the past three years, the brand has grown a cumulative 68%;

- SAB's share of the draught market has grown strongly following the roll-out of more than 2 500 new taps over the past year;
- More than R1.6 billion has been saved through cost reduction and an incremental R2 billion has been invested in market facing activities over the past three years;
- Mainstream power brands – Castle, Carling Black Label and Hansa Pilsner – are collectively growing;
- SAB's three global brands – Peroni, Grolsch and Millers – have been

“We have again seen excellent growth in dividends for our Zenzele shareholders as we continue to deliver on our goal of ensuring that SAB Zenzele is a truly broad-based, innovative and value-adding transaction.”

repositioned for growth;

- Significant product and packaging innovation across all brands, particularly with cans which is a focus area;
- A step-change in retail execution and customer service has been achieved, with SAB's reach and intensity improved with the four key classes of trade;
- Two ground-breaking initiatives aimed at combating alcohol abuse were launched:
 - o Responsible Trader Programme (RTP) – the first programme of its kind in the country, aimed at educating and promoting responsible trading amongst retailers. More than 16 500 traders participated in the programme in 2012;
 - o You Decide Underage Drinking Programme – SAB partnered with government and

a youth agency to implement a multi-faceted intervention designed to change behaviour of underage drinkers. The programme was rolled out to more than 185 000 learners in 288 schools in 2012.

Soft drinks business

Soft drinks volumes grew by 12% to 17.98 million hl from 17.57 million previously, following particularly strong growth in the second half of the year. This was achieved through the continued delivery of the growth strategy outlined in 2009 focusing on improving customer service, investing in market-facing operating infrastructure and improving productivity throughout the supply chain.

Some key successes included:

- Strong improvement in customer service levels, resulting in, amongst others, increased frequency of deliveries and reduced out-of-stocks;
- More than 18 000 new customer outlets added;
- Independent distributors established to service smaller and traditional markets – local market logistics partners (MPLs), improving reach and flexibility. The current 42 MPLs are expected to increase to more than 80 by 2014;
- Initiatives to reduce costs producing benefits, focusing on packing cost savings and streamlining warehousing and improved primary and secondary distribution;
- PET lines upgraded for greater capacity and more efficiency;
- Revenue growth management and cost competitiveness strengthened.

Appletiser, which is 100% owned by SAB, posted improved volumes and grew revenues, benefiting from the introduction of a new line-up of packaging options, delivering strong growth in the marketplace. ■



THROUGH A CREATIVE LENS



Thenjiwe Nkosi, *Hani*, (Oil on Canvas) 2013

The assassination of Chris Hani on 10 April 1993 shattered the nation and threatened our peaceful transition to democracy. He is still greatly loved and sorely missed in the country for which he gave all his strength, intellect, compassion and fortitude – and finally, his life. This portrait and the three poems are dedicated to his memory.

Chris Hani

By Chris Mann

You know the high-speed photo of a raindrop hitting a stream?
Splat! The energy pushes up and outwards in a circular wave,
Leaving a crater, a hollow where it plopped down into the water.
That's what it looked like, the place where the bullet went in,
Except it was flesh and hair that got shoved up behind an ear,
And the hollow wasn't hollow but a hole in somebody's brain.

That's how they got him, Chris Hani, early one Saturday at home,
Running shoes, jeans, that raised-brow expression on his face,
Getting into his car between the prefab wall and the house,
The kids popping up their heads in a bedroom window saying,
'Whose car is that? What's Dad doing face down on the drive?'

And the car reversing out the driveway with a squeal of tyres,
Accelerating down a street of veiled windows and home videos,
A woman who saw it happen reaching for the phone in her room,
The driver adjusting his sun-glasses, a hand smelling of cordite,
The barrel and the silencer still warm inside his jacket pocket.

And friends, family, police and reporters rushing there in cars,
The body soon covered by a flag, its feet and ankles protruding,
The news spreading quickly in shock waves across the country,
Rearing up rage in the feelings of people gathered round radios,
A tidal wave of energy storming from a bullet-hole in Boksburg,
To Evaton, Soweto, Mamelodi, Gugulethu, Umlazi and beyond,
That Chris Hani, beloved of the poor and the youth, was dead.

Chris Mann's poems have appeared in a wide range of journals and anthologies in South Africa and abroad. He performs his work at various festivals, schools, churches, universities and conferences around the country as part of a life-long passion to promote poetry in the public domain. Chris has worked in rural development, poverty alleviation, teacher development and job creation projects. Able to converse in Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans, he was a founder and song-writer of Zabalaza, a cross-culture band performing in English and Zulu. He is now based at the Institute for the Study of English in Africa at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, and is the founder and convenor of Wordfest, a national multilingual festival of South African languages and literatures with a developmental emphasis.

The Chris Hani poem is from *South Africans: A Set of Portrait Poems* University of Natal Press

For Comrade Chris Hani (1942 – 1993)

By Afzal Moolla

mowed down
by hot lead
your blood flowed
into our African soil
murdered you, yes, they did
silence you, they never will
for your voice
your spirit
speaks to us still

Afzal Moolla was born in exile in Delhi, at the time when his father was Chief Representative of the ANC in India. Afzal travelled wherever his parent's anti-Apartheid work took them, spending time in Egypt and Finland. He returned to South Africa in 1990 following the unbanning of the ANC and other liberation organisations. Afzal lives and works in Johannesburg, and writes poetry regularly. He particularly appreciates good literature, be it prose or verse. For more of his work, check the internet, eg. poetrymagazine.com. and *The Thinker*, Volume 50.

Chris Hani

By Don Mattera

The white winter's end
is nigh
and brave autumn leaves
that fall to earth
for freedom
though dead, they do not die
but resurrect in beauty
bold, bright beams
bringing new buds
to adorn our dreams

Don Mattera is a celebrated writer, poet and journalist. To quote the introduction to his poetry collection *The Moon is Asleep*: Writing was certainly not an obvious conclusion to his youth, which was characterised by gangs, violence and jail. Partly under the influence of Father Trevor Huddleston, Mattera began wielding a pen rather than a knife, yet with equal facility; using the struggle as his subject, he went on to produce a series of poems, stories and plays of force and originality. The authorities responded by raiding his house, imprisoning, torturing and banning him for ten years. His books are available in the bookshop on Constitution Hill. The Chris Hani poem is from *They passed this way and touched our lives*.

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

NCHABELENG REMEMBERED

A combatant for life, a patriot to the end

A veteran congress activist and a charismatic political dynamo, he died on 11 April 1986 at the Schoonoordt police station, 13 hours after he was detained by the Lebowa Police.

By Kgoputjo Morewane

Thursday 11 April 2013, marked the 27th anniversary of the death in police custody of the then United Democratic Front (UDF) Northern Transvaal president, Peter Nchabeleng.

He was born Peter Mampogoane Nchabeleng on March 3, 1928 at Apel in Sekhukhuneland in the then Northern Transvaal.

In the 1950s Nchabeleng was the Pretoria regional secretary of the African National Congress (ANC) and an executive member of the office

workers union – an affiliate of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and *Sebatakgomo*, a peasant resistance movement which resisted the imposition of Bantu Authorities in Sekhukhuneland. He also worked as an interpreter for the late Joe Slovo, who defended many accused in the Sekhukhuneland revolts that followed.

In 1951, the National Party government which won the 1948 general elections on an apartheid ticket, introduced the Bantu Authorities in the reserves, with the

aim of enforcing stricter controls over the rural people through chiefs. Many people rejected the Bantu Authorities in areas like Sekhukhuneland, Zeerust, Witzieshoek and Pondoland.

Sebatakgomo was launched in 1954 at Jeppe hostel in Johannesburg by migrants from Sekhukhuneland in the then Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal (PWV) area – the industrial heartland of South Africa. Its aim was to oppose the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act and subsequently the establishment of Lebowa as a bantustan. It was led by

people like Flag Marutle Boshielo, who disappeared during the 1967/8 Wankie – Sipolilo campaign of the ANC's Luthuli Detachment of uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu)'s military wing, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (Zipra) against the Rhodesian army of Ian Smith.

Other leaders of *Sebatakomo* were Elias Mathope Motsoaledi, a Rivonia trialist and former Robben Island prisoner, John Kgoana Nkadimeng - a leader of SACTU and the ANC, John Mahwidi Phala, Lucas Nthepeng Kgaphola, Godfrey Mogaramedi Sekhukhune, Lot Kgagudi Maredi and Uriah Rakgwane Ratsoma - whose son, Modikwane France Ratsoma, fell during the Wankie/Sipolilo campaign.

Sekhukhuneland was divided into Marentjere (Rangers) - supporters of the Bantu Authorities - and the majority, Makhuduthamaga, who were opponents of the Bantu Authorities. More than 50 chiefs in Sekhukhuneland were divided into two camps - the majority, who were opposed to the mooted bantustan system and the few who succumbed to apartheid government blandishments.

About 11 leaders of *Sebatakomo*, mostly traditional leaders, were charged and sentenced to death by the Pretoria Supreme Court. Those who were sentenced to death were Chieftainess Madinoge Morwamoche, John Makopole Kgolane, Jack Mogase Mariri, Johannes Machele Ngwako, Klaas Marweshe Mabinane, James Kgoloko Mahlagaume, James Monampane Motubatse, Frans Morewane Tswaledi, Jim Kgoro Makgoleng, Jim Makelepeng Morewane and Sebilo Mahlako.

The death sentences were later commuted to life imprisonment after a delegation was sent to Queen Elizabeth of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury to plead with them to influence the apartheid government to grant the accused amnesty. Later, uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) named one of its detachments the Madinoge Detachment in honour of the Sekhukhuneland chieftainess.

Other leaders of *Sebatakomo* were banished to different parts of

the country to quell resistance to Bantu Authorities in Sekhukhuneland. Arthur Phethedi Thulare, secretary to the Bapedi Paramount Chief, Morwamoche Sekhukhune II, and Mogaramedi Godfrey Sekhukhune were banished to Mtubatuba and Mthunzini in Natal respectively. In 1957, the government went further by banishing Lot Kgagudi Maredi and Kgagudi "Panto" Moruthanyane. In March 1958, Chief Sekhukhune II was deposed and banished to Cala in the Transkei, Eastern Cape. A detailed account of the *Sebatakomo* resistance movement is given by Kgolane Alfred Phala in *The Thinker* March 2012/ volume 37.

Sebatakomo - a Sepedi war cry - was changed to *Fetakomo* in 1957 after it was alleged that the organisation

“More than 50 chiefs in Sekhukhuneland were divided into two camps - the majority, who were opposed to the mooted bantustan system and the few who succumbed to apartheid government blandishments.”

aimed to kill white people. This name was derived from a Sepedi proverb *Fetakomo o sware motho, mafetakomo ke moriri o a hloga*, which in essence means that people must value life and people and forget about material possessions because they can be replaced. In 1958, the rejection of Bantu authorities culminated in what become known as the Sekhukhuneland Revolts or commonly called Motshabo (to run away). People in villages such as Mohlaletse, Apel, Manganeng, Mphanama and Madibong in Sekhukhuneland openly revolted and rejected the state blandishments.

Fetakomo High School at Mohlaletse in Sekhukhuneland - where the writer matriculated

in 1986 - was named in honour of this resistance movement. Fetakomo Local Municipality in the Sekhukhune district of Limpopo was also named after this organisation. Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality at Jane Furse, Sekhukhuneland is also named in honour of the opponents of Bantu Authorities and bantustans in Sekhukhuneland in the 1950s.

In 1962, Nchabeleng was charged for furthering the aims of a banned organisation (the ANC) and for sabotage. He was sentenced to eight years imprisonment on Robben Island.

After his imprisonment, his family was deported from Atteridgeville in Pretoria to Apel in Sekhukhuneland. On his release from Robben Island, he was also banished to Sekhukhuneland and banned. According to his daughter Pinky, when he was brought to Apel from Robben Island, the security police told him "here (Apel) nobody will listen to you" - referring to his political views and activities.

He was arrested again in 1974 and given a three year suspended sentence by the Pretoria Supreme Court for contravening his banning order. In 1977, he was charged with harbouring and recruiting people for military training, along with Joe Gqabi. He stood trial in the famous Pretoria 12 terrorism trial with the current Minister of Human Settlements, Tokyo Sexwale, Bafana Mohlamonyane, Naledi Tsiki, Nelson Diale, Martin Ramokgadi and his son, Elleck. In 1978, he was acquitted together with Gqabi but Elleck was found guilty and sentenced to six years imprisonment on Robben Island. Gqabi was later killed by Apartheid Security agents while an ANC chief representative in Zimbabwe in 1981.

Elleck, who started as courier for the then banned ANC in 1975, was instructed by his co-accused to recruit local youths for military training under the pretext that they would learn karate. He saved the trialists from the gallows by refusing to testify against them.

After being acquitted in 1978, Nchabeleng's banning order was renewed for five years. In 1982, an attempt on his life aborted when he detected a letter bomb addressed

to him at his Apel home. After this incident, he indicated to the leadership of the then banned ANC that his life was in danger and it was now time for him to go into exile. He was advised against this move as the ANC saw him playing an important role inside the country at the time. In 1983, his other son, Luthuli, went into exile to join the ANC.

After his banning order expired in 1984, he became a member of the UDF Northern Transvaal Co-ordinating Committee and in February 1986 he was elected the first president of the Northern Transvaal region of the UDF.

In 1984 and subsequent years, when we (the youth) were organising ourselves as the Sekhukhuneland Youth Organisation (Seyo) under the banner of the UDF, many people, especially parents, took us seriously because of the presence of a parent like Nchabeleng. Unlike in other areas in the country, we were not dismissed as just a boys' and girls' club.

Nchabeleng was also a member of the Sekhukhuneland Parents' Crisis Committee, which spearheaded a campaign for Lebowa MPs from the area to resign from the bantustan Legislative Assembly as the apartheid regime's quislings. Three MPs from the area resigned. He was also a member of the village committee. Here, he played a role of the people's counsellor and many people always approached him for help and advice - to such an extent that some locals had a misconception that he was trying to usurp the chieftainship in the village. His home was always a hive of activity for many activists who came for advice and political education.

After his election as the UDF Northern Transvaal president, he was tasked with the formation of different community and youth structures in the region - working closely with youth leaders in the area such as Peter Mokaba, France Mohlala, Ephraim Mogale (the first president of the Congress of South African Students) and his own son, Elleck.

On April 11, 1986 while on his way home from a UDF meeting in Mankweng, Turfloop, Nchabeleng was told that police were looking for him. He continued his journey arguing that

if police were looking for him, they will find him at home. When he arrived, the Lebowa police detained him.

A veteran congress activist and a charismatic political dynamo, he died on 11 April 1986 at the Schoonoordt police station, 13 hours after he was detained by the Lebowa Police. The UDF gave him this epitaph: "A Combatant for Life, a Patriot to the End."

His death sparked protests and condemnation throughout the country and abroad. In the country, organisations such as the UDF, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) condemned his death. His death also sparked a consumer boycott of white towns in the Northern Transvaal, which was announced at his funeral on May 3, 1986.

“When the National Heritage Council’s (NHC) Liberation Heritage Route come to Limpopo they must not forget the role played by the people of Sekhukhuneland”

After his death, his body was hidden from his family by the police until it was found in a government morgue in Groblersdal.

Nine members of the Lebowa Police's Mankweng riot squad were found by the inquest magistrate to be responsible for his death. The post-mortem stated that his body was covered with bruises from being beaten. Massive bleeding under the skin caused shock and he became unconscious. A year and a half after his death, an inquest found that Nchabeleng had died from injuries inflicted by the Lebowa Police. Lawyers for his family said at the time that the police top brass attempted to conceal how he died.

An inquest heard that an investigating officer only started investigations three months after the death. This was

despite postmortem results which clearly showed that Nchabeleng had been seriously assaulted. None of the statements taken from the riot police mentioned any assaults or interrogation. The officer knew some of the statements were false, but he still handed them in as evidence.

Accolades were heaped on Nchabeleng posthumously. The ANC formed the Nchabeleng unit of MK as part of Operation Vula - with the aim of infiltrating senior leaders of the movement into the country which would culminate in a mass insurrection against the apartheid regime. Some of the people involved in the unit are the former North West premier and Minister of Water Affairs, Edna Bomo Molewa and chief of the South African Navy, Vice-Admiral Refiloe Mudimo.

An ANC branch in Mamelodi in the Tshwane region of Gauteng is named after him. A high school in Seshego Zone Three in Polokwane is also named after him. A hall in Modimolle (formerly Nylstroom), a village at Moletji in the Capricorn district of Limpopo, a residence in Polokwane and a sports complex at Schoonoordt in the Makhuduthamaga municipality were all named after him.

On September 19, 2009, the ANC Fetakgomo sub-region bestowed on him (and his late wife Gertrude Matjatji Nchabeleng), the Honour of Fetakgomo “in honour of the sacrifices and outstanding contribution you made in the struggle against apartheid”. On 11 December 2009, he was bestowed with the Order of Luthuli in Gold for “making the ultimate sacrifice in his quest for justice and his struggle against the apartheid system in South Africa” by state president Jacob Zuma. He was the sole recipient of a national order from Limpopo province at the time.

When the National Heritage Council's (NHC) Liberation Heritage Route come to Limpopo they must not forget the role played by the people of Sekhukhuneland in the struggle for liberation and Nchabeleng's household in particular. The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) should look into the possibility of declaring Nchabeleng's household, and even his graveside, heritage sites. ■

A Twenty-one gun Salute for Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, Oliver Reginald Tambo and Steven Bantu Biko

By Benzi Ka-Soko

This is my humble and heartfelt tribute to these intellectual giants, great sons of Mother Africa. I would like to seize this opportunity and implore the government of the day to bestow the highest order of this country upon these 'IZITHWALANDWE' especially Robert Sobukwe and Bantu Biko as we all know that the great O.R has been honoured on several occasions. However, personally, I still declare O.R together with Biko and Sobukwe as co-Presidents of a liberated SA/AZANIA.

Please allow me to make mention of the fact that these leaders played a critical role in ensuring that the liberation that we are enjoying today was prepared during those years despite the fact that the Apartheid monster was rearing its ugly 'GROOTKOP'.

The subsequent banning of the liberation movements after the Sharpeville Massacre robbed us of charismatic and fearless leadership in general and Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe in particular. It is my considered view that the Apartheid ideologues knew very well that in Sobukwe, the African people had a Political Jesus Christ who was not prepared to surrender and betray the vision of a truly liberated country where the HUMAN RACE will be the only race recognised.

I would also like to beseech the powers that-be that we should now begin to deconstruct our narrow party-political selfishness and write our history as truly and correctly as possible. It is my unapologetic view that the three

political saints of the liberation struggle should also be declared posthumously, as co-recipients of the world-acclaimed NOBEL PEACE AWARDS for they preached peace in its purest form in the face of beast-like violence unleashed by the Apartheid Military.

Quick mention should be made of the fact that this letter is by no means suggesting that the past and current incumbents of these prestigious offices are not genuine and legitimate, but I am saying in order to keep these leaders in our national memory, we need to immortalise them by embroidering and engraving their names in critical symbols of national significance like airports, harbours, schools, universities, parliamentary offices, roads, monuments, buildings of economic power etc.

It is my humble submission that in re-writing the history of this country, we should not repeat the foolish mistakes committed by Apartheid intellectuals who deliberately distorted the true facts of our history for HISTORY will judge us very harshly as it did the Apartheid historians. We need to do this in order for the truth to triumph over myth and fiction for it is true that AZAPO, ANC and PAC collectively obliterated and defeated the stubborn Apartheid system using different strategies.

The Troika demolished Apartheid by employing what I would refer to as Divergent Parallelism – meaning that they fought the system using diverse strategies but having an identical aim of creating a society based on non-racism,

non-sexism, democracy and most of the freedoms enshrined in the constitution.

As a matter of fact, Tambo, Sobukwe and Biko visualised a free Azania/SA that would be totally free of all negative *isms* such as racism, herrenvolkism, gestapoism, biological and intellectual chauvinism, tribalism, xenophobia etc. It should be loudly mentioned by the foundations I've suggested earlier that Sobukwe was no anti-white as his detractors purported he was, but on the contrary, that he was the chief advocate and proponent of the Human Race Ideology – a high powered concept that rejects the multiplicity of so-called races.

We should loudly shout that Biko loved black people so much that he individually managed to analyse their political psychology and diagnosed a solution for their emancipation from mental slavery and that Tambo intellectually debased the Boers into capitulation until it dawned on them that they must negotiate a political settlement. And these soldiers of peace and democracy loved this country so much that they were prepared to lay down their precious lives - *the highest price of all*.

We are really blessed in this country to have had leaders of this calibre marshalling the direction of our struggle. I detest the moronic Boer leadership that outlawed the liberation movements and forced our beloved O.R into exile. I hate the lunatic murderers that massacred a lonely defenseless Steven Bantu Biko. I abhor the notorious inhuman Apartheid legislation infamously called the Sobukwe Clause – a law particularly promulgated to illegitimately incarcerate Sobukwe until AMEN.

I imagine a free Azania/SA with these three giants as octogenarians and intellectual fountains where we always seek and solicit advice on a plethora of issues ranging from service delivery, administration/management, political economy, medicine, law to moral regeneration, corporate governance, strategic thinking, mentoring, coaching, tactics, techniques to name but these few.

A 21 gun salute for these CO-PRESIDENTS OF A FREE AZANIA/SA!!! ■

An Afrikaner lawyer and his wife in the struggle for emancipation from national oppression and economic exploitation

By Tembile Ndabeni

Bram Fischer was a complete human being, in every sense.

It is amazing how an Afrikaner of Bram's background became a revolutionary and a communist. He was a lawyer who forsook his Afrikaner identity and elitism for the oppressed and exploited. Just like many, if not all Afrikaners, he played rugby and supported the Nationalist Party but later followed a new cause of justice. Quoting Fischer, Meredith (2002:157) writes "I can no longer serve justice in the way I have attempted to do during the past 30 years. I can only do it in the way I have now chosen".

He was the founder of the Transvaal Congress of Democrats which amalgamated with other progressive White formations to form the South African Congress of Democrats.

He joined the Communist Party of South Africa and felt that Marxism-Leninism as a science provided an explanation and a solution for the world's conflicts. To him Communism was a cause he had long searched for and one from which his commitment was never to waver.

He contributed in the formulation and shaping of SACP, ANC and MK policies. Bram could have been rich but instead sacrificed for all the people of South Africa. Meredith (2002:61) writes "His talents as a lawyer capable of mastering the most abstruse legal and financial cases were still sought by large corporations. In secret he was the head of a revolutionary communist movement and a leading conspirator in a plot to launch armed rebellion against the government".

Bram was a brilliant lawyer from an aristocratic Afrikaner family. His grandfather was the Prime Minister of the old Orange Free State Republic and his father a Free State Judge President. If Bram had followed in the footsteps

of his grandfather and father at the very least he would have become a Minister of Justice.

But Bram chose to break with the past and dedicate his life to the struggle for freedom, national liberation and socialism in South Africa. He was one of the leading persons in the defence teams of ANC and other Congress leaders in both the Treason Trial and the Rivonia Trial. Due to the work of the defence teams and the political maturity and dignity of the accused the state failed in its attempt to convince the court to impose the death penalty on the accused in both cases.

Mary Benson wrote (1989): "I sensed how profoundly he missed Molly. Yet he was a perfect host - the fire deftly made, the chops well grilled, the drinks iced."

"We talked of his children, who were never far from his thoughts. Ruth and her husband were in London and, before going underground, Bram had sent his teenage son Paul to join them. Ilse was in Johannesburg. He worried about her having to cope with letting their old home."

Molly Fischer was an outstanding freedom fighter and communist is her own right. She was in the trenches of the struggle and still managed to keep the family together.

In honour of Bram, Bloemfontein International airport was renamed Bram Fischer International Airport. On the day of the occasion President Zuma said:

"On this centenary year of the organisation he loved so much, the ANC, we are honoured to name the entry point by air to Mangaung after this national hero. Current and future generations will draw lessons from the life of Bram Fischer and his selfless contribution to this country. By naming this Airport after this great son

of Mangaung and South Africa, we are advancing our programme of building monuments and creating new symbols that are reflective of our shared heritage and destiny as South Africans" (13 December 2012).

Bram reminds me of what was said of people like him from a well-off background or well-educated joining the struggle. It was said they commit class suicide. With Bram there was another suicide he committed, colour suicide. To the government of that time, he was a thorn in the flesh. As a result it took his ashes after his death (would not release even these to his family) as if he would wake up and haunt them. This is why Bloemfontein international airport, (as well as other places), is named after him, while the names and symbols representing those who tortured and maimed our liberation fighters are removed from the public eye and put in the museums.

Mangaung, whose airport is named after Bram Fischer, is where the ruling party was born 101 years ago.

Giving an account of how Bram was honoured, Bizos (2007:321) writes: "The Legal Resource Centre has arranged a Bram Fischer lecture, which over the years has been delivered by President Mandela, Chief Justice Ismail Mohammed, Chief Justice Arthur Chaskalson and Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke. A building overlooking Gandhi Square in the centre of Johannesburg is known as Bram Fischer House. His legacy is acknowledged. He contributed to establishing a non-racial democracy in South Africa."

This is the confirmation of what Justice Rumpff, who presided over the Treason Trial, told Issy Maisels who led the Treason Trial defence team: "You know he'll be remembered long after you and I are forgotten"(Clingham, 1998:440). ■

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

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