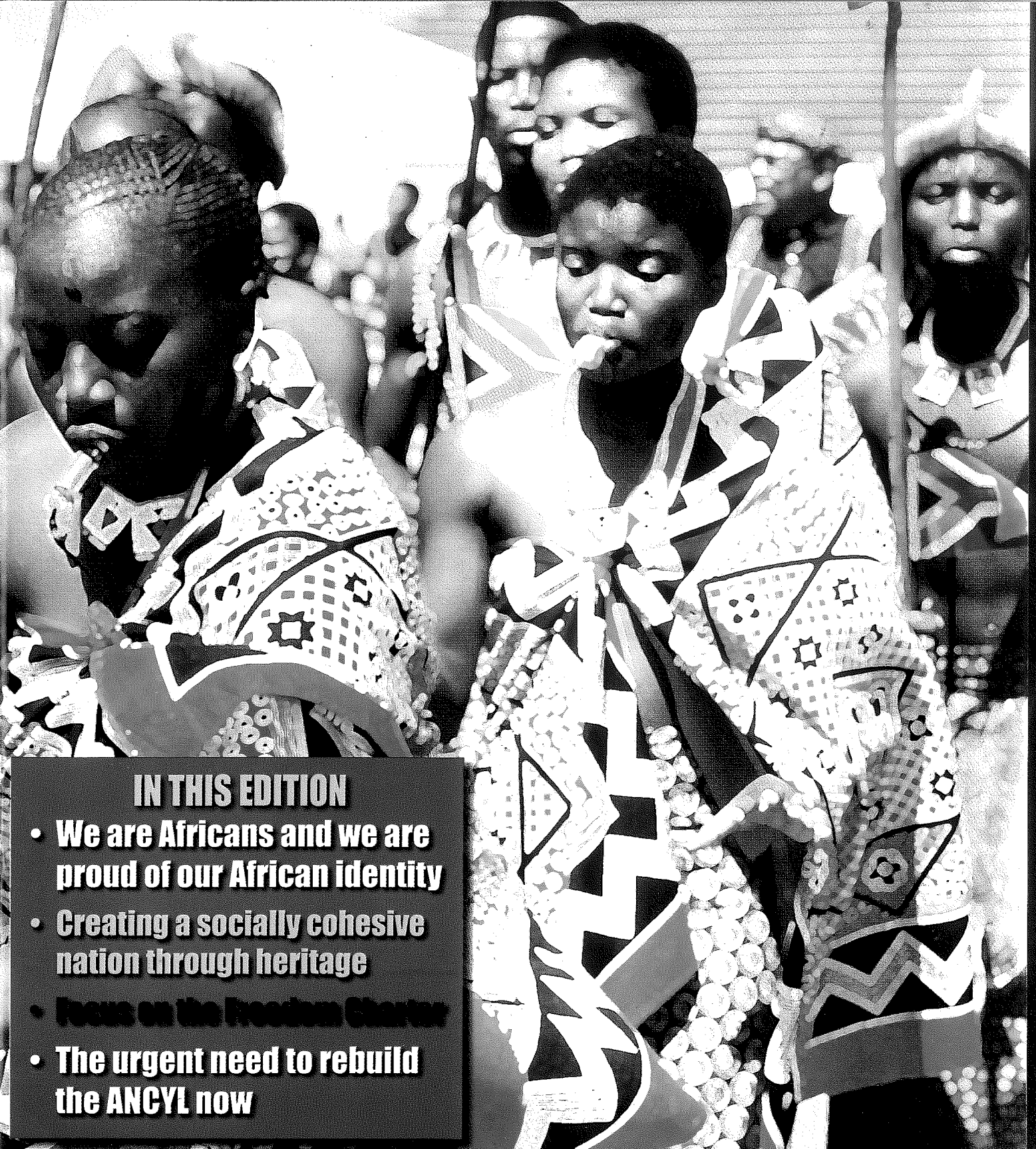




UMRABULO

LET'S TALK POLITICS



IN THIS EDITION

- We are Africans and we are proud of our African identity
- Creating a socially cohesive nation through heritage
- Focus on the Freedom Charter
- The urgent need to rebuild the ANCYL now

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

Call for contributions

Umrabulo welcomes contributions from readers. Contributions may be in response to previous articles or may raise new issues. Contributions may be sent to the address below.

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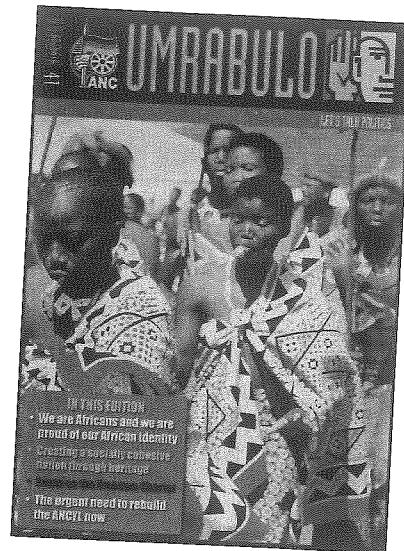
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NATHI MTHETHWA
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



IN THE MONTHS of May and June 2015, events of historical significance took place in our country. We hosted cultural events to mark the formation of the Organisation of African Unity which later became the African Union. In the month of August we would host the ANC Women's League Conference and in September we would host the ANC Youth League conference.

Our government took a conscious decision to host Africa Month for the whole month of May. Africans from the continent and the diaspora descended on our shores to join us in the festival of ideas. All forms of arts, culture and heritage had been in full display throughout the four corners of our country.

The democratic state is charged with a critical responsibility of creating material and cultural conditions to allow the abilities of women to flourish and enrich the life of the nation. For this to be realized, the ANC Women's League need to continue to be in the forefront as a leading agent. The coming conference of the Women's League is aimed at, amongst others, to cement that role.

A nation's success also depends on its ability to encourage, harness and incorporate into its endeavors the creativity, daring spirit and energy of youth. The stability and discipline of the ANC Youth League is fundamental to our nation's youth guiding our society towards this objective. The coming congress of the ANC Youth League in September is tasked with the responsibility of electing leadership and adopting policies that will restore the ANC Youth League to its rightful place. We dare fail.

On the 7th to the 16th of June 2015 we had the honour of hosting the 25th AU Summit and the Heads of State meeting. The overall objectives of these two events was to advance the agenda of the renewal of Africa.

In moments like these we should perhaps go back to the source. It was in 1897, when the great African composer Enoch Sontonga composed the African Renaissance Anthem, "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika." This hymn was a stepping stone, a platform for embracing that larger identity of being African in the world.

It was in the same spirit, that great son of the soil, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme spoke about the Regeneration of Africa. "The African is not a proletarian in the world of science and art. He has precious creations of his own, of ivory, of copper and of gold, fine, plated willow-ware and weapons of superior workmanship..."

What we cannot ignore is that in the last 20 years

all the Presidents of the democratic South Africa have pointed in the direction of Africa's renaissance. Tata Nelson Mandela, in his seminal speech in Tunis in 1994 at a meeting of the OAU, thanked the continent for its role in liberating South Africa and declared:

"Where South Africa appears on the agenda again, let it be because we want to discuss what its contribution shall be to the making

of the new African renaissance."

Also, former President Thabo Mbeki with his "I am an African" speech in 1996, reiterated the point made by Pixley Ka Isaka Seme 90 years earlier and the current President of the Republic, Jacob Zuma was central in the crafting of Agenda 2063. All of them walked on the footsteps of their predecessors.

The time has come for Africa's renewal to be taken up by the continent's creatives: poets, writers, intellectuals, musicians, chefs and artists of all genres. Through their crafts, Artists must be at the forefront of continuously developing our self-knowledge, redefining our vision and promoting ubuntu and unity among Africans.

This will help us to transcend the legacy of colonialism and apartheid, and to reflect on who we are to ourselves and the world. The Africa of today is still confronted by challenges of prejudice and stereotypes, including racism, poverty, inequality, unemployment, Afrophobia and sexism.

We need our cultural practitioners to remind us that none but ourselves can deal effectively with the challenges of the day for the sake of future generations. We must embrace, appreciate and promote our African identity, history and culture. This will make us to be true to ourselves.

We wish to urge all other countries to come with us in this journey of African Cultural Renaissance. Let us all be part of the regeneration of Africa. It is part of the efforts to create a better South Africa in a better Africa and thus 'give the world a human face.'

This platform will promote the unity of all our people, from Cape to Cairo, united in our diversity. Above all, it highlights the African cultural products and initiate a program of trade interaction and cultural exchange. Our artists are custodians of the continent's soul.

It is our creative intellectuals who must lead the regeneration of the continent. Thus we saw Africa Month as part of the programme to raise African consciousness in the post-colonial age, returning to the source.

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We are Africans and we are proud of our African identity

We need to do more to promote healing and tolerance amongst all our people. Linked to this, is the need to also continue efforts to fight racism which also continues to be a challenge in our country. Our nation building and healing efforts require more enthusiasm and the involvement of every sector of society, writes JACOB ZUMA.

ON 27 APRIL 1994, we held our first democratic elections, signaling the end of racist apartheid rule, our triumph over institutionalized racism, repression, state-sponsored violence and the enforced division of our people based on race or ethnicity.

Under the leadership of former President Nelson Mandela, we demonstrated to the world that a new nation could rise from the ashes of racial intolerance and ethnic polarization.

We recall the solidarity and friendship of many peace-loving nations and peoples from Africa and the world during the struggle for liberation. Pres-

ident Nelson Mandela emphasised African solidarity at the Organisation of African Unity Summit in Tunis on 13 June 1994, when he said:

"When the history of our struggle is written... It will tell a moving story of the sacrifices that the people of our continent made, to ensure that intolerable insult to human dignity, the apartheid crime against humanity, became a thing of the past".

We shall never forget the solidarity, sacrifice and selfless support we received from our brothers and sisters in Africa in particular and from freedom loving nations outside of Africa. We had a successful transition in 1994 and began

Editorial continued ...

The African Month Festival of ideas Program was a creative expression of the African Agenda 2063. It was a platform to promote the African Union programme towards the attainment of its vision: to build an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa.

The purpose was to use the sector as an instrument towards the continents' socio-economic development,

political solidarity and cultural integration. We were inspired to dedicate the month of May in 2015 an Africa Month. We wish the ANC Women's and Youth Leagues well in their congresses.

25th May, is Africa Day, May is Africa Month!
9th August, is Women's Day, August is Women's Day
One continent, common destiny, we are Africa.
Igama lamakhosikazi Malibongwe

building a new united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa.

We developed a model Constitution which includes a Bill of Rights. The Constitution also incorporates socio-economic rights to promote access to basic services such as water, quality education, health, housing, social security and others. It also enables the establishment institutions that promote democracy and the rights of citizens, the Chapter 9 institutions.

Our Constitution also establishes three arms of the state – the executive, judiciary and parliament – which function well together to strengthen the advance to a better life for all our people.

This year, we also celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, which underpins our country's democratic constitution. Like the Freedom Charter, the Constitution emphasizes that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, thereby promoting a common citizenship, a common future and a common destiny for all.

The Freedom Charter adds that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people. Our people go to the polls every five years to elect a government of their choice.

All reviews that have been undertaken, such as the 20 year review, Census 2011 and the reviews done by the private sector and some non-governmental institutions, point to the fact that South Africa is a much better place to live in than before April 1994.

Millions of people now have access to water, healthcare, education, housing and many other basic needs which they did not have before 1994. Work is continuing to reach more people each year.

We have launched programmes to improve health care provision such as Operation Phakisa for ideal clinics. We want people to be treated with dignity and compassion when they are ill or visiting relatives who are sick in health facilities.

We continue to explore ways of improving the quality of education. We conduct special annual national assessments of our learners and continue to build new schools and refurbish existing ones because we want the best education for our children.

We continue to implement programmes designed to achieve economic freedom, because political freedom alone is inadequate. With our massive industrialisation and infrastructure programmes, we consciously include black people, women, the youth and persons with disability to enable them to participate in the economy.

To further expand black economic empowerment, we are on course to grow a new crop of black industrialists. Working with business and labour, we keep looking for innovative ways of expanding the economy so that our people can get jobs.

Programmes such as Operation Phakisa for the Ocean Economy, the Industrial Policy Action Plan, or the renewed investment in agriculture are designed to explore opportunities of boosting employment creating growth.

We are also working harder to further promote trade and economic relations with nations within the African continent. Africa is crucial to our economic growth and development. It is trade with our continent among others that helped cushion South Africa's economy during the difficult times of recession from 2008.

Many South African companies have established themselves successfully in the continent and have been warmly received. We welcome their contribution to the economic development of our continent.

We congratulate ourselves as South Africans for the achievement we have scored, working together. As we enter the third decade of our freedom, we recommit ourselves to the vision of building a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

Blueprint for socio-economic development

The National Development Plan which is the country's socio-economic development blueprint which is being implemented by government, outlines the type of society we want to be in 2030.

The National Planning Commission which produced the National Development Plan, had diagnosed some of the following challenges in our country:

- ▼ Too few people work.
- ▼ The quality of school education for black people is poor.
- ▼ Infrastructure is poorly located, inadequate and under-maintained.
- ▼ The public health system could not meet the demand of our people or sustain quality.
- ▼ Public services were uneven and often of poor quality.
- ▼ Crime and corruption levels were high.
- ▼ South Africa remained a divided society.

Our country then produced the National Development Plan to help us reverse these challenges. Informed by this Plan, we are working to build a future where every citizen of our country lives in a community with proper infrastructure, be it

a road, school, clinic, recreational facilities, a community hall, electricity, water and sanitation.

We are building communities that have effective and responsive police stations and community policing forums, and where the people and the police work together to fight crime. We must also unite in building a public service and a private sector that are free of corruption which undermine the developmental goals of the country.

In the quest for economic freedom, the National Development Plan enjoins us to reduce the unemployment rate to six percent by 2030 which would create an additional 11 million jobs. This would help us tackle youth and women unemployment.

This is a difficult goal but it is achievable if we set our sights to it, and transform and de-racialise the economy to enable it to perform in a manner that will enable growth and job creation. The last Census of 2011 confirmed that South Africa is essentially a nation of young people. Just over a third of the population is under the age of 15.

Given this reality, we can and should make our economy receptive to employing young people and to enable the youth to create their own jobs through becoming entrepreneurs.

We urge the business sector and labour to work with government further, to implement the youth employment accord and to provide opportunities for our young people.

We want to end the feeling of hopelessness and frustration among the youth, particularly in the townships and rural villages. It is such frustration which makes some of our youth prone to being used by criminal elements for their ends or to end up abusing alcohol and drugs.

Our responsibility is to ensure that we do not disappoint them and millions of young people in our country. We recommit ourselves as government to ensure that all policies and plans that we develop and implement, build a better future for our children and the youth.

Peace and friendship

Seven people were killed during horrific attacks that were directed at foreign nationals in Durban and Johannesburg. The figure includes three South Africans.

The South Africans who died in the conflict in Durban are:

1. Ayanda Dlamini, 22 years old.
2. Thabo Mzobe, 14 years old and
3. Msawenkosi Dlamini, 29 years old.

Among the foreign nationals who died during the same week is the Mozambican citizen Manuel



Jossias, who was identified by the media as Emmanuel Sithole. He was killed during a callous robbery in Alexandra township. Reports indicate that he used a false name to avoid detection by authorities as he was an illegal immigrant. We extend our deepest condolences to all the families and compatriots of the deceased.

The police have been instructed to work tirelessly to bring the killers of all to book. We strongly condemn these attacks. They have no place in a democracy where people are free to express their unhappiness about any issue. We also urge our communities to isolate criminal elements who perpetuate such horrendous crimes against fellow human beings. They should be reported to the police.

We thank members of the public who have already provided information to the police about some of the incidents. We applaud South Africans for coming out in their thousands to register their condemnation of the violence directed at foreign nationals.

The marches demonstrated that we are peace loving people who believe in human dignity, human rights and Ubuntu, and that South Africans are opposed to xenophobia, racism and all related intolerances. We thank the United Nations, the African Union and all sister nations in the continent who expressed their support and encouragement during this challenging period.

The latest outbreak of violence necessitates more comprehensive action from all of us to ensure that there is no recurrence. We have to address the underlying causes of the violence and tensions, which is the legacy of poverty, unemployment and inequality in our country and our continent and the competition for limited resources.

▲ **United...**
South Africans from all walks of life expressed collective outrage at recent xenophobia attacks.

The Freedom Charter says there should be peace and friendship in our relations with other countries in the continent and beyond and especially with our brothers and sisters in the continent. We are called upon to find a constructive solution to the challenge of migration, working with representatives of the foreign nationals and governments of the countries from which they come and our communities.

We have noted the complaints raised by South Africans and these will be attended to. These include that the number of illegal and undocumented migrants is increasing, that they take their jobs as some employers prefer workers who are prepared to accept lower wages.

There are also complaints that foreign nationals benefit from free government services, and that they run businesses illegally. There is also an accusation that undocumented foreign nationals commit crimes in the country. We reiterate that none of these complaints can justify attacks on foreign nationals and the looting of their shops.

We condemn the violence strongly. It is also important to emphasise that not all foreign nationals are in the country illegally. Many live here legally and contribute to the socio-economic development of the country. It is also not true that all foreign nationals are involved in criminal activities.

The Inter-Ministerial Committee has been directed to deal with all issues, including ensuring the respect for the laws of the land by all and ensuring that no persons live in the country illegally or run businesses illegally. Government will also work with stakeholders such as business so that they can support the process and adhere to the laws that prohibit the employment of illegal immigrants. This will also protect foreign nationals from exploitation.

Government will also work with communities to ensure that support is provided to refugees and asylum seekers residing in our country, in accordance with international law and ubuntu. It has already announced measures to improve security at the border posts including deploying

the army in seven provinces recently to patrol border posts.

Members of the SANDF have been deployed as immigration officers to improve the capacity of the Department of Home Affairs at the border posts. In the long-term, the Department of Home Affairs is developing a new International Migration Green Paper, to be released for public comment in early 2016. The new policy will take into account the recent experiences.


It is our firm belief that the efforts of the African Union to promote peace, stability and democracy in every corner of the continent will in the long run reduce the need for people to migrate towards the South. The promotion of intra-Africa trade, regional integration, infrastructure and other economic interventions is also designed to improve the economic situation in sister countries.

The end result will be that brothers and sisters will eventually no longer need to leave their countries in search of a better life. We also need to come to terms with the fact that there is a lot of anger in our society and a propensity to use violence, which results from years of apartheid dehumanisation.

We need to do more to promote healing and tolerance amongst all our people. Linked to this, is the need to also continue efforts to fight racism which also continues to be a challenge in our country. Our nation building and healing efforts require more enthusiasm and the involvement of every sector of society.

Our country celebrated Africa month in May through various activities to promote our African identity and culture. We are Africans and we are proud of our African identity. We must continue to live in peace and harmony with our brothers and sisters from the continent.

Where problems arise, they must be resolved peacefully and constructively. Let us also continue to embrace unity among ourselves as South Africans, and work together to build a better South Africa, as we enter the third decade of freedom and democracy.



The WEALTH shall be restored to the people

The Freedom Charter provides a vision of an economy that is fundamentally different from what we inherited. Now, 60 years after its adoption, it is our responsibility to bring about the radical economic transformation that vision demands, writes CYRIL RAMAPHOSA.

FROM ITS FORMATION, the African National Congress has provided leadership at all critical moments in our country's history. As the Union of South Africa was established to the exclusion of the majority of our people, African leaders came together to form the South African Native National Congress.

As the Second World War drew to a close and the Atlantic Charter adopted by the Allies appeared to point the way to a new world order, the ANC produced the Africans' Claims in South Africa. This document, published in 1943, recognised the right of all people to self-determination and to the fundamental freedoms enjoyed by people across the world.

In keeping with this tradition, Professor ZK Matthews proposed that a Congress of the People be convened to draw up a Freedom Charter. In the town of Cradock, at a provincial conference of the ANC in 1953, he raised concern about the deepening crisis in race relations in South Africa.

He then said: "I wonder whether the time has not come for the ANC to consider the question of convening a National Convention, a Congress of the People, representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour to draw up a Freedom Charter for

the democratic South Africa of the future."

The Congress Alliance took up this proposal with enthusiasm. It called on all South Africans to speak of freedom. It called on them to draw up their demands for "the things that will make us free".

An annexure to the report of the ANC NEC to the 1954 Annual Conference said: "Never in South African history have the ordinary people of this country been enabled to take part in deciding their own fate and future... There is a need to hear the voice of the ordinary citizen of this land, proclaiming to the world his demands for freedom."

From across the country, people responded in their numbers, leading to the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown on 26 June 1955. The Congress of the People was the biggest single gathering of representatives of the people in South Africa.

The Freedom Charter campaign had a profound effect on the Congress movement and its organisational structures and capability. It cemented the non-racial character of the movement, both in terms of its content and its composition. It enabled the Congress movement to expand its organisational reach beyond the urban areas, transforming it in a fully-fledged national movement.

As Ismail Vadi notes in his 1995 history of the Freedom Charter campaign: *"The campaign for the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter introduced within the liberation movement a degree of ideological uniformity and cohesion that did not exist previously."*

The Freedom Charter provided a clear and concise set of policies, aims and objectives and principles. It served as a vision of a post-apartheid South Africa, which was to be used as a mobilising and organising weapon in the struggle for democracy.

It called for a fundamental restructuring of all aspects of South African society.

Today, 60 years later, we celebrate the Freedom Charter not as an historical artefact, but as an enduring vision of a free and democratic society that continues to inspire and guide our struggle.

It was the late Oliver Tambo, an alumni of this university, who said: *"The Freedom Charter was not just another political document, the Congress of the People was not just another conference. The Freedom Charter is the sum total of our aspirations, but more: it is the road to the new life."*

The demand of the Freedom Charter that *"The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth"* has been a consistent thread that runs through the policies and programmes of the ANC, defining its tactics and guiding its actions.

In the Strategy and Tactics document adopted at the Morogoro Conference in 1969, the ANC said: *"Our drive towards national emancipation is therefore in a very real way bound up with economic emancipation... Our people are deprived of their due in the country's wealth; their skills have been suppressed and poverty and starvation has been their life experience. The correction of these centuries-old economic injustices lies at the very core of our national aspirations."*

As we cement the political gains of the last two decades, the task of economic transformation has gained in prominence. At the ANC's 53rd National Conference in Mangaung in 2002, we spoke about a second phase of our transition, which should have at its core *"a concerted drive to eradicate poverty and to reduce inequality"*. This imperative is central also to the priorities outlined in the National Development Plan and the outcomes contained in government's Medium-

Term Strategic Framework.

As we grapple with this momentous task, we need to turn to the Freedom Charter for guidance and perspective. Among the most profound statements to come out of the Congress of the People was that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

That statement was far more than an assertion of the right of residence in this country or of a common citizenship. It was a declaration that all South Africans, regardless of race, have a right to an equal share of the country's natural resources. They must share in ownership of, and access to, the means of production. They must all have a fair share of national income and public resources.

The 'economic clause' of the Freedom Charter expands on this sentiment. It says: *"The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;*

"The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

"All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

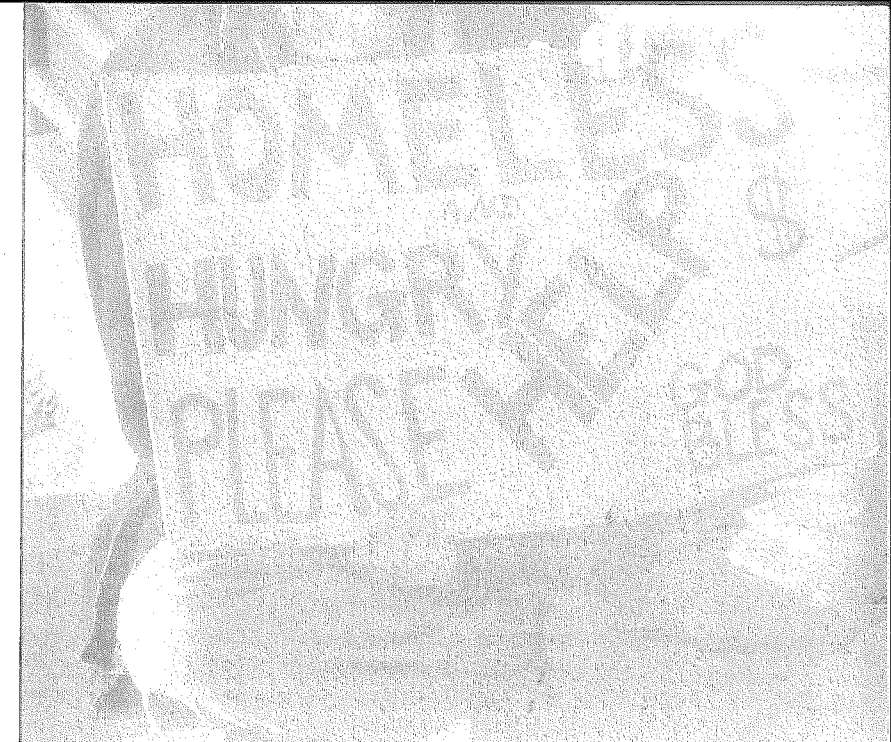
"All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions."

Over the last six decades, there has been much debate about the ideological intent of the Freedom Charter. Even today, there are several political formations that – although they have quite different political programmes – claim allegiance to the Freedom Charter.

What we do know is that the Freedom Charter envisages a mixed economy with both public and private ownership. It envisages a developmental state that plays a leading role in ensuring economic access to those previously denied economic opportunity. This is a state with sufficient legal authority and economic means to ensure decent working conditions and to take steps to improve the lives of the poor and marginalised. It envisages a national democratic society.

The Freedom Charter should indeed be debated. It needs to be interpreted. Where necessary, it needs to be critiqued. We must understand that

“...despite the progress made, we still have a long way to go. Too many of our people still live in poverty.”



Freedom Charter is not a set of policy instruments. It is a vision of a new society, to which we must give effect.

This is an appropriate time to ask ourselves what progress we have made in the last two decades in giving effect to the demand that the people shall share in the country's wealth.

In 1994, we inherited an economy that had severe structural flaws and that was floundering. Economic growth had slowed over many years. Between 1980 and 1994, the economy grew at only 1.2% a year. During this period, per capita GDP had declined and investment had fallen significantly. Public debt had reached unsustainable levels and the budget deficit was growing. Foreign exchange reserves were low.

Employment had been in decline for many years. In the late 1970s, around 60% of the working age population was employed – about the same as the international norm. By the early 1990s, that figure had fallen to less than 40%.

Since then, we have managed to turn around an economy in decline and establish a foundation for growth and development. We have achieved and maintained macroeconomic stability. We have managed public finances prudently, brought down public debt and reduced inflation.

From 1998 until the onset of the global financial crisis in 2008, South Africa had the longest recorded period of uninterrupted economic growth in its history. In the first sixteen years of ANC government, the economy grew twice as fast as it had over the last 16 years of apartheid. There has been an increase in fixed investment, by both the state and private sector. From less than 15% in 1993, investment as a percentage of

GDP had grown to nearly 27% by 2008.

We have undertaken unprecedented investments in social infrastructure and services, bringing houses, electricity, water and sanitation to millions of poor South Africans. The middle class has grown as more black South Africans have been lifted out of poverty and gained access to new opportunities.

There has been a reduction in both absolute and relative poverty since 1994. This has largely been due to social grants, better access to education and health services, and increased economic participation.

Our progress in addressing unemployment has been mixed. While the absolute number of people employed has increased – from 9.5 million in 1994 to 15.2 million in 2013 – the proportion of the working age population employed has improved only slightly. Our unemployment rate has remained stubbornly high, because, while the number of jobs created has been increasing, the number of people looking for work has increased even faster. More young people have been entering the labour market each year. More women are entering the workplace and urbanisation is bringing more people into the cash economy.

So, despite the progress made, we still have a long way to go. Too many of our people still live in poverty. Levels of inequality have remained among the highest in the world, with the richest 10% of households receiving over half the national income. Household savings have been declining steadily since the 1990s. South African consumers are highly indebted.

There has been slow growth in those sectors of

the economy – like manufacturing and agriculture – that provide the greatest opportunity for job creation and improved export earnings. Mining production has declined since 1994 and the industry has lost around 80,000 jobs. Although we have improved access to schools, universities and other educational institutions, our educational outcomes do not meet the requirements of a dynamic modern economy.

We must use the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter to reflect on our gains and shortcomings. We must then mobilise all South Africans not only to speak of freedom, but to work together to achieve that freedom.

These economic indicators are important because they provide a measure of the extent to which we have been able to restore the wealth of our country to the people. They also provide a sense of the constraints we must contend with and the opportunities we must exploit to advance this effort.

We must use the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter to reflect on our gains and shortcomings. We must then mobilise all South Africans not only to speak of freedom, but to work together to achieve that freedom.

If we are to realise the vision of the Freedom Charter, we need an unrelenting focus on the economy. It must be placed at the centre of all our efforts.

For the people to share in the country's wealth, we need faster growth. The National Development Plan (NDP) maintains that we need to achieve over 5% annual GDP growth to reach our economic and social objectives. By 2030, our GDP per capita needs to have doubled.

This means we need to produce more. Specifically, the productive sectors of the economy – like manufacturing, agriculture and mining – need to account for a greater share of economic output and employment. We need to add more value to the mineral resources we extract through greater beneficiation, reducing our dependence on the export of unprocessed commodities, boosting domestic manufacturing and

creating jobs. Through the Industrial Policy Action Plan and the New Growth Path, we are implementing measures to reconfigure the industrial landscape.

We need to reduce the cost of production. This includes the work currently underway to ensure a more efficient regulatory framework and lower the prices of key inputs like electricity, telecommunications, education and health.

We are innovating. We are working to improve productivity and become more competitive. Among other things, government and business will be working more closely to incentivise research, development, innovation and the more effective application of technology.

We are developing new markets for our products especially on the African continent which has just become our biggest trading zone. Although there has been strong growth in the domestic consumer market, South Africa is a relatively small market, particularly when compared to its partners in BRICS. Africa has a billion people and is one of the fastest growing regions in the world. We are working to achieve greater economic integration and diversify the range of goods and services that we export.

Faster growth is essential if we are to realise the vision of the Freedom Charter. But it is not sufficient. We need to ensure that growth is also inclusive. The benefits of growth need to be more equitably shared.

The most important instrument to achieve this is faster job creation. But we face a significant challenge. We are confronting the reality that our economy does not have the skills to compete with countries with skills intensive industries, and our cost structure is too high to be competitive in labour intensive sectors. While we would like all of our workers to get jobs in globally competitive sectors that pay high wages and provide comprehensive benefits, this will not be immediately possible. Because we need to create

work for the millions of unemployed that we have today, some of the jobs initially created will be relatively low-skilled and relatively low-paying.

In our situation, where some sectors of the economy already provide decent jobs, we need to combine mass absorption into the labour market with a determination to protect and expand access to these decent jobs. We have to promote and grow industries that are labour absorbing, such as mining, agriculture, construction, hospitality and small businesses. We also have to grow the more advanced sectors of the economy, such as manufacturing, financial services, telecommunications and businesses services.

More effective provision of a broader social wage will enable even the poorest of people to have a decent standard of living, to build the capabilities to get better jobs, higher incomes and a broader range of benefits.

Skills development is critical to the achievement of economic emancipation. Since 1994, the democratic government led by the ANC has significantly increased enrolment in schools, universities and colleges. More than 7 million learners attend no-fee schools today. South Africa spends about 5% of its GDP on basic education. In the next few years, much of this will go to improving school infrastructure, ensuring all learners receive suitable learning materials, and improving teacher training.

Priority is being given to the expansion of Technical and Vocational Education and Training

colleges, while improving their relevance, efficiency and quality. The university education system will also continue to expand. Enrolment is expected to grow from 950,000 students in 2012 to approximately 1.1 million students in 2019, and to 1.6 million students by 2030. The amount disbursed annually by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme has grown by approximately 270% since 2008, and is expected to grow even further in the next few years.

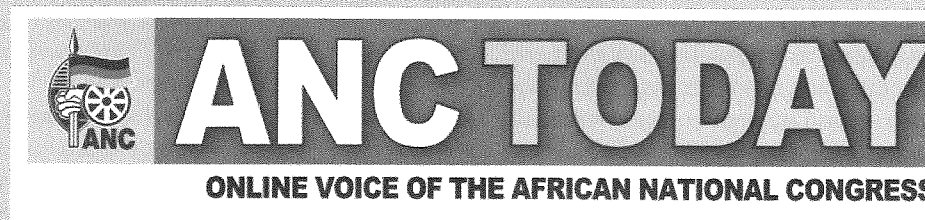
As we improve our educational outcomes, our immediate priority is to get unemployed people, particularly the youth, into jobs. Our public employment programmes can assist in facilitating this. Over 5 million work opportunities have been created since the establishment of the Expanded Public Works Programme, and we are determined to meet our target of creating another 6 million during the term of this government. Not only does this programme provide income for poor households. It also provides training and experience that can assist participants in making the transition to permanent employment.

As we pursue faster, inclusive growth, we will move faster to change patterns of ownership and control. We have recently refined our broad-based black economic empowerment policies to broaden their reach and deepen their impact. The codes of good practice have been revised to be more effective in promoting enterprise development, supplier development and skills acquisition.

President Jacob Zuma recently launched the

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“

We need...
to be more
determined in
pursuing
employment
equity.

”

The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!

black industrialist programme, which seeks to unlock the potential of black entrepreneurs in a way that contributes to the re-industrialisation of our economy. Government has committed R1 billion to this programme, which will support black-owned manufacturing companies with access to finance, access to markets, skills development, and quality and productivity improvement.

We have done much to advance the participation of black South Africans and women in the management of the economy. Most progress has been made in public enterprises; progress in the private sector has been much slower. We need therefore to be more determined in pursuing employment equity, and be more proactive in developing managerial skills and capabilities.

As cadres of the broad democratic movement, as students, as academics, as progressive citizens, we need to use this 60th anniversary to reflect, think, organise, mobilise and conscientise. We need to debate the Freedom Charter, in our institutions, in our clubs, in our media and in our communities. Like the amavolontiya of the 1950s, we need to reach out to our people to

discuss the Freedom Charter. Like them, we need to be disciplined, we need to be earnest, we need listen to the people and work together to address their concerns.

The anniversary of the Freedom Charter gives us an opportunity to broaden and deepen political consciousness. In an article written on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the revolutionary intellectual Mzala said: *“We defend, fight and die for, the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter, not because it is an all-time document, but because it is a revolutionary guide to a life free of misery and oppression. It is the demands of the people that have yet to be won. These are the kind of ideals which most nations achieve, ideals for which men and women stubbornly and heroically resist torture in detention and gruelling lives in exile, ideals for which our martyred dead stood firm and unflinching to the last minute of their lives. Such ideals cannot be taken lightly.”*

The Freedom Charter provides a vision of an economy that is fundamentally different from what we inherited. It calls for radical economic transformation. It is our responsibility to effect this change.

Widening access to education has been one of the key policy thrusts of education reform since 1994. However, we have some way to go in truly achieving gender equity in terms of eradicating those factors that continue to impede the advancement of women, writes NALEDI PANDOR.

The Freedom Charter declared: *“The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!*

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace.

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowance and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers all have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished”.

Those doors had been closed to blacks but also to girls and women.

The Freedom Charter declared, *“Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit”.*

But school education is to be free, compulsory and universal, and other levels of education were to be expanded to allow access for all on the basis of merit. Widening access to education has been one of the key policy thrusts of education reform since 1994 and we have widened access and opportunity to young women whose parents were excluded by decades of racial and gender discrimination.

However, we have some way to go in truly achieving gender equity in terms of eradicating those factors that continue to impede the advancement of women, and to address the educational needs of the generations of women who have been excluded.

We have broken decisively with the exclusive education system of the past and created an inclusive education system for the future. We did not prioritise school education over university education as other newly independent African countries did or were forced to do. We transformed both sectors. Our leaders were wise to continue investing in higher education to develop the skills needed for the future.

Today, new opportunities are available to girls and women. In fact, we have achieved a general level of gender equality that has only been accomplished in other countries after many decades of democracy. Our success in this aspect of social change has been supported by a progressive Constitution and a strong and visible advocacy for gender equality.

ANC 2014 manifesto for education

Schools: make two years of pre-school education compulsory; eradicate adult illiteracy; attend to teacher development; and further improve the quality of basic education up to the senior grade.

Higher education: open two new universities, expand the FET college sector, with greater support and adequate funding for students and introduce compulsory community service for all graduates.

Schools

In 2009 we not only made education *'an apex priority'* but also introduced an inter-sectoral approach focused on target-setting, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of activities to enable the achievement of goals and targets.

We want to improve child nutrition, the management of the system, the capacity of school principals to run the system, and teacher performance.

We are looking at providing two years of pre-school education.

We are looking at negotiating new processes for the appointment of principals and putting in place performance agreements for principals and other school managers.

We are looking at ways to strengthen accountability and professionalism among teachers by expanding the Funza Lushaka bursary scheme so as to attract new generations of motivated teachers.

We are looking at mobilising technical professional capacity to support school improvement in 20 000 of the poorest performing schools.

We have stopped school principals and teachers from serving as public representatives while holding a teaching job.

Now the challenge is to focus on new ways of keeping teachers in class and covering the curriculum for longer.

We will also focus on how to improve the allocation and distribution of teachers, a critical issue that emerged forcefully in the Eastern Cape, but also in Limpopo.

We want teachers to test themselves in online diagnostic tests. We have no interest in shaming and blaming teachers. The process has to be educative.

There are already university-based projects that are helping teachers identify their subject weaknesses and improve them in this way.

We want to take our education system forward so that parents can be proud of their children and we can all be proud of an inclusive and prosperous society that a good education system makes possible.

There are three key actions that we need to take.

First, schools must become supportive learning communities with education committees focused on teaching and learning to ensure there is a real opportunity for success. A learning community draws on the entire school's human and material resources, throws off the shackles of victim hood and sets itself on a path of whole school achievement.

Second, success must be the concern of the entire community including religious leaders, professionals, local government structures and all district officials. The hands-off attitude prevalent in many communities needs to be changed into an attitude and practice of community care and attention. Communities, especially parent communities must take a deeper interest in the progress of the school. Local communities should know the state of schooling in their area and encourage SGBs, parents and teachers to invest in education. A caring community keen on progress has to be a companion for successful schools. Communities in which criminality, abuse, and intolerance abound, can never build successful learning communities.

Third, the family must be restored to education. Families should take a much more active interest in school meetings and in the progress reports of their children. Parents and caregivers must inculcate manners and positive values in learners.



“*Widening access to education has been one of the key policy thrusts of education reform since 1994...*

However, we have some way to go in truly achieving gender equity in terms of eradicating those factors that continue to impede the advancement of women, and to address the educational needs of the generations of women who have been excluded.”

Higher education

We have increased and expanded participation in higher education.

There has been a huge expansion in the number of women studying in higher education.

And there has been a welcome internationalization of the student body, with over 80,000 international students at our universities.

We have established a national quality assurance framework and infrastructure and each university is now subject to a quality audit, which has significantly raised quality issues across the sector.

We have begun the process of transforming our universities from insular institutions to open institutions for all.

The aim of the merger process - mandated in 2002 - was to break up the division between black and white institutions, to improve quality through economies of scale, and to improve staff-student ratios.

Yet transformation is an ongoing process and we need to plan ahead.

A strong case must be made for more diverse higher education institutional types that are able to meet appropriate quality benchmarks and satisfy particular labour markets.

If we are to continue to support research-intensive universities, we must look towards new and innovative partnerships to realise our vision.

Science and technology

It is government's role to invest in, to promote, and to catalyse science and technological innovation in South Africa.

Government acts as a catalyst for innovation in national priority areas. We chose in 2008 five specific areas (we called them "grand challenge" areas) in which we aimed to catalyse leading-edge innovation: global change, renewable energy, space science, the bio-economy, and the human sciences.

These are not simply grand challenges. They are global challenges that need global collaboration and cooperation to solve Government's role is to catalyse investment in key multi-disciplinary areas that will drive innovation in all sciences.

Nano-technology is a key example, as its impact is felt in widely disparate fields, from medicine to electronics to IT.

South Africa, in partnership with several other African countries, recently made history when they secured the right to co-host the Square Kilometre Array (SKA) global radio telescope. The bid, supported by South Africa's construction of the exciting MeerKAT telescope, a precursor for the SKA, and several human capital development programmes, has contributed immensely to raising interest in science, technology and engineering across Africa.

As a result of our focus on astronomy, partnerships with multinational companies related to information and communication technology engineering required for radio astronomy are thriving, with African expertise becoming a sought-after source of innovation for these companies.

Government is committed to increasing African expertise in science and technology.

Funding for students has increased substantially over the last six years, but we still need to do more. Bursaries for university and college students have increased allowing for opening access as demanded by the Freedom Charter.

Significant investment is required in both human development and research infrastructure at universities both to improve the productivity of the

system and to support the development of research capacity at formerly black universities and universities of technology.

Continued investment has also been aimed at attracting and retaining the best minds to undertake cutting-edge research in such areas as astronomy (SALT and SKA) and paleosciences, while also helping to solve some of the country's problems such as the pursuit of clean energy or reducing the burden of disease (HIV or TB).

Conclusion

Let me remind you once more of the manifesto commitments on which we fought and won the last election.

At the heart of the ANC's last election manifesto is a commitment to create decent work and sustainable livelihoods.

The manifesto commits an ANC government to use all means at its disposal to create jobs and livelihoods.

It commits the government to targeting labour-intensive production sectors, to the strengthening of sectors – like mining, clothing, and automobiles – vulnerable during the global economic crisis, and to promoting beneficiation programmes to ensure that the natural wealth of the country is shared and developed locally.

It commits the government to expanding investment in public infrastructure, to broad-based economic empowerment and affirmative action, and to focussed job interventions for young people among whom unemployment is particularly high.

And the manifesto specifically commits the government to create large numbers of 'green jobs' in industries and facilities that are designed to mitigate the effects of climate change.

We committed ourselves to making the ANC government more caring, responsive and interactive.

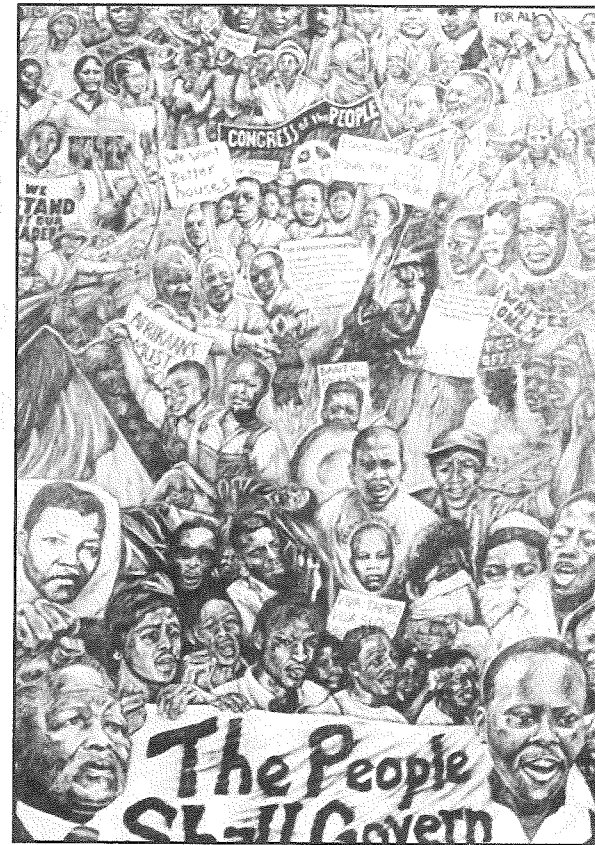
As we focus on the Freedom Charter this year, we must strive to ensure we act decisively on its promise, that we the ANC and the people of South Africa shall standing side by side achieve the objectives set out in the Freedom Charter.

The Congress of the People: Reflections of an activist

By **EBRAHIM EBRAHIM**

ON THE weekend of June 25-26, 1955 the "New Age", the Progressive Liberation Movement weekly paper, headlined "All Roads Lead to Kliptown". Kliptown was the venue chosen to launch the Freedom Charter. 26 June was specifically chosen to coincide with the 26 June Stay Away strike of 1950 which had been called 5 years earlier by the ANC Alliance to protest the killing of workers during the May Day demonstrations and strikes by the Communist Party of South Africa to protest the suppression of Communism Act.

But the road to Kliptown began long before June 1955. It began with the adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949 by the ANC at its annual conference. This was a critical moment since it sought to change the method of struggle of the ANC and transform the organization into a mass based militant movement. The ANC tested its strength in the successful strike of 1950. This enabled it to



launch the Defiance Campaign in 1952, together with the South African Indian Congress.

The Defiance Campaign tested the popularity and militancy of the masses, and their support for the ANC. Over 8000 volunteers defied unjust laws and were sent to prison. The success of the campaign opened up a new and more militant phase in our struggle for liberation. This phase of the struggle required the movement to clearly outline the type of society it wished to create when taking power. Taking power

er meant the creation of a new democratic order which needed to be carefully defined in the context of the changing world. This was the era of anti-colonial struggles and the decolonization of Asia and later Africa. It is for this reason that Professor Z. K. Matthews called for the drafting of the Freedom Charter to define our new democratic society.



In the tradition of the Congress Movement and its increased reliance on popular mobilization, it was decided that the process leading to the Freedom Charter should be people-driven. This resulted in the establishment of an organ called the Congress of the People (COP). The COP sought to involve the broadest section of our society in the campaign for the Freedom Charter. For example, in the beginning the Liberal Party of Alan Paton attended a meeting of the COP but later withdrew because they were uncomfortable with the mass-based character of the campaign.

During that time I was an activist in the Greyville area of Durban and belonged to a branch of the Natal Indian Congress. We formed a COP committee in our area and we were tasked to canvass the people in the area so that they could express their views about the new South Africa. We were supplied with questionnaires and went from house to house asking questions and filling the forms with the people's views. We were able to practically cover the whole Greyville area particularly what was called the Magazine Barracks where Indian municipal workers were housed. The people's reaction was very encouraging and they could see that a free country was on the horizon. All the questionnaires and the views and demands expressed by the people were sent to the provincial office for processing and then to the head office in Johannesburg.

I was fortunate to be elected by my branch to be a delegate to the Congress of the People in Kliptown where the final draft of the Freedom Charter was to be adopted. As a person of Indian origin, I could not travel to the then Transvaal without acquiring a six weeks permit. Of course as an activist there was no way that I

would have been able to get a permit. The Chairperson of our branch, Comrade Ismail Gangat was also driving to the COP. He was planning on travelling with a Coloured comrade called Middleton. Ismail suggested that I travel with him in the car and if we were stopped at the border, Comrade Middleton would say that I was his nephew, because Coloureds did not require a permit for inter-provincial travel. Fortunately for us we were not stopped at the border.

Kliptown was buzzing with excitement and expectation. Delegates poured in to an open ground which was fenced to accommodate over 3000 people. We sang freedom songs and danced at the conference. The occasion was also marked by awarding the Order of Isandlwala to Chief Albert Luthuli, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Father Huddleston.

The clauses of the Freedom Charter were read out and people commented on them. On the second day the police raided the conference and circled the venue. Names and documents of each delegate were taken by the police and put into a large envelope with their name on it. Since I had no permit, a comrade gave me a false address in the Indian area of Johannesburg. The police kept asking me for a Transvaal document to prove that I was a Transvaaler. I told him that I did not bring my documents with me. Fortunately I was allowed to leave, and I travelled safely back to Durban.

The Congress Alliance featured prominently in the campaign and at the Congress of the People. The symbol of the Congress of the People was a wheel with four spokes which symbolizes the four members of the alliance - i.e. the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. The centre of the wheel represented the ANC which symbolizes the leader of the Congress Alliance. Even at the Congress of the People in Kliptown, the chairpersons were from different components of the alliance.

The Freedom Charter was subsequently adopted by all the organizations that constituted the Congress Alliance at their respective conferences. A year later we were officially informed that the Congress of the People has been disbanded. On making inquiries we were told that they did not want a repetition of what happened at the All-African Convention in the 1930s, which transformed itself into a political organization.

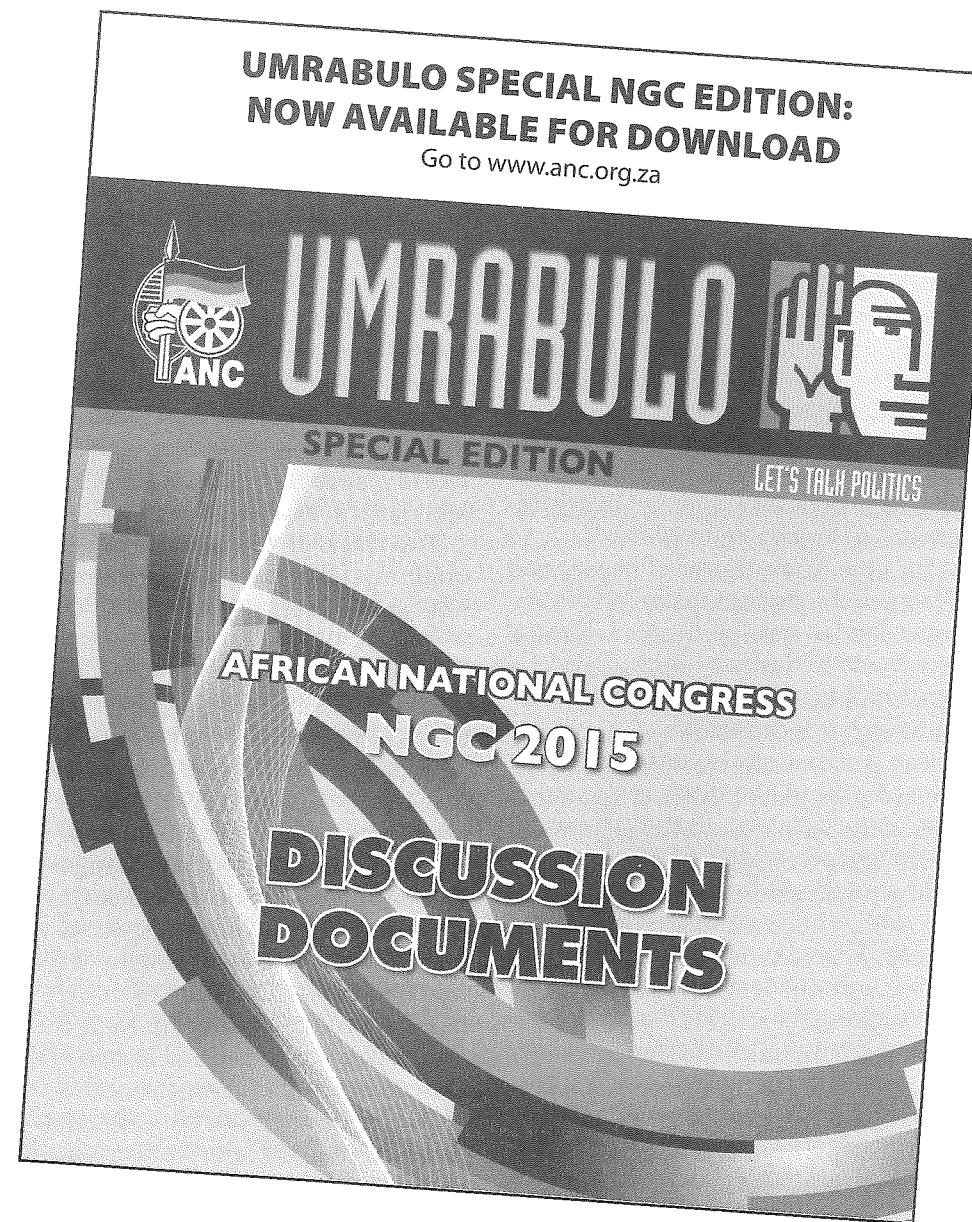
The Congress of the People and the adoption of the Freedom Charter was a historic event be-

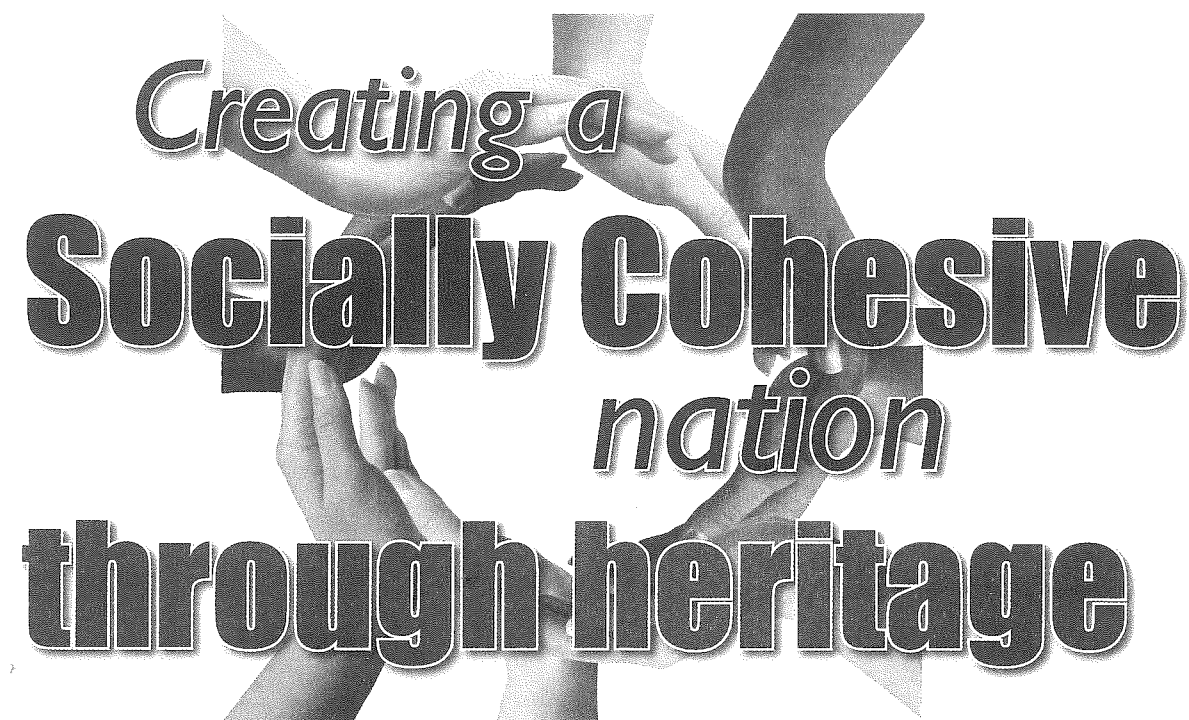
cause for the first time in South African history, people of all national groups and all classes expressed their views on what a free democratic South Africa should look like. The word 'people' in the Charter also reflected the wide section of our countrymen and women who were consulted. These included workers and peasants, traders and housewives, intellectuals and students, mineworkers to factory labourers to domestic workers, people of all religious groups, women, youth, the elderly - all made their demands known to the Congress of the People.

The people rejected all forms of racism and said that South Africa belonged to all those who lived in it. Freedom and democratic values expressed in 1955 shaped the strategic outlook and

vision of the ANC and defined its non-racial struggle. It was this commitment by the ANC that made our movement recognized and supported by people - both in the country and all over the world. Our new democracy and our current Constitution reflect the views of the delegates of the 1955 Congress of the People and the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

The Charter ends with these words: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY". These words are relevant today as they were 60 years ago. The struggle to create a better life for all our people, as envisioned in the Freedom Charter, still continues to this day.





Creating a Socially Cohesive nation through heritage

By DR MATHOLE MOTSHKGA

THE POST-COLONIAL challenges of political and economic reconstruction of African states delayed the realisation of the right of cultural self-determination. The achievement of this right was also impeded by the inherited streams of history and culture.

South Africa has three streams of history and culture. They are the African, Asian and European streams. Under apartheid colonialism all efforts were made to destroy in particular the African stream of history and culture and replace it with the European stream.

The African stream was also undermined by the conquest of African kingdoms at the end of the nineteenth-century and the division of African nations into independent tribes or ethnic groups as part of the strategy of divide and rule. These new tribes and ethnic groups, which were named after leaders who only emerged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were also used as building blocks for the black local authorities and territorial authorities who later formed the basis of the homeland policy.

The homelands or Bantustans were dismantled by the democratic breakthrough of 1994. But the recognition of our cultural unity in diversity under the new constitution seems to resurrect

tribal and ethnic nationalism, which inhibits the creation of a socially cohesive nation. It appears that as Africans, in particular, we have not yet found a sustainable basis for African identity and unity in diversity.

The object of this article is to reflect on some unifying elements in the African stream of history and culture.

Background

The desire for building a new and cohesive South African nation dates back to 1892 when John Langalibalele Dube delivered a public lecture titled *"Upon my Native Land"*. Dube aspired for a new, spiritual, humane and caring Africa. In the same year, Mangena Mokane founded the Ethiopian movement that espoused African unity cutting across tribal and ethnic lines. Both Dube and Mokone were self-confessed Ethiopian Christians who were profoundly influenced by Arthur McNeal Turner a pioneer of pan Africanism and Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Ame church.

Bishop Turner is one of the prominent leaders of African descent who was consulted by Henry Sylvester Williams before the formation of the Pan African Association in 1897. In 1898, Bishop



Turner visited South Africa and converted many South African clergy to Ethiopianism and pan Africanism.

In 1900, Henry Sylvester Williams convened the first pan African Congress which was opened by WEB Du Bois another pioneer pan Africanist. In his opening address, Du Bois foretold that racism would be the problem of the 20th century. After the congress, Sir Henry Sylvester Williams and a Ghanaian journalist came to Cape Town where they joined officials of the Ame church who were also advocates of pan Africanism.

The political activism of the pan African pioneers led to the African people's organisation by Abdularahm and Sol Plaatjie in 1902. The APO was preceded by the Indian National Congress (1892) and the Natal Native Congress in 1900.

The year 1900 marked the beginning of the pan African movement. The formation of the Natal African Congress was followed by Cape Orange Free State and Transvaal Native Congress which later came together to form the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) which was renamed the African National Congress in 1923. Pixley Isaka ka Seme, one of the founders of the African National Congress (the "ANC"), factored in the critical role of heritage into nation building project, envisaged by the ANC in his 1905 oration titled the *"Regeneration of Africa."*

For the first time in the history of the continent Seme asserted his African identity in the phrase *"I am an African"*. He also provided a unique content to African identity when he reclaimed the Ethiopian and Egyptian heritage as

the product of the African genius. In particular he claimed the pyramids of ancient Ethiopia and Egypt as the work of African genius. Inspired by these past African glories Seme called for a new and unique civilisation for Africa and Africans. He also embraced the values of a caring society espoused by John Langalibalele Dube in 1892.

Seme and three other lawyers, Richard Montshioa, Alfred Mangena and Richard Msimang convened the founding conference of the ANC. Seme delivered the opening address of the conference. In his address Seme called for African unity and the burial of the demons of racism and tribalism. When agreement was reached to form the ANC Seme pronounced the political philosophy of African Redemption contained in Psalm 68:31 which found expression in the phrase *"Ethiopia shall stretch her hands towards God"*.

The ANC was so profoundly influenced by the spirit of Pan Africanism that its 1919 Constitution described the ANC as a Pan African organisation. The President of the ANC at the time, Sefako Mapogo Makgatho, called for the creation of a non-racial society. It is therefore evident that the Pan Africanism of the founders of our organisation was an inclusive philosophy. This inclusive Pan African philosophy became even more evident in Rev Richard Mahabane, the third President of the ANC.

In his public lecture titled *"we are not political children."* President Mahabane maintained that African people have been degraded and dehumanised by the loss of land and votes which resulted in homeless and hopelessness. He opined that the recovery of the African human-

▲ Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa addressing Heritage Day celebration last year in KZN.

ity (*Ubuntu/Vuthu*) was a prerequisite for the recovery of the unity of all the people of South Africa, both black and white. This was the clearest support of Makgatho's philosophy of non-racialism.

In its 1923 National Conference the ANC adopted a Bill of Rights inspired by Ubuntu values and principles. In its opening paragraph the Bill reclaimed African identity and called for the participation of African people in the economic life. In 1930 Charlotte Makgomo Many, founder of the Bantu Women's League, maintained that women's rights are also human rights.

The African Redemption or Regeneration movement was reinforced by the rise of radical Pan Africanism of Marcus Garvey who catalysed the birth of the Harlem (or Negro Renaissance.) This renascent movement restored the quest for African identity, the values of self-worth and self-esteem, culture of self-help and self-reliance and the will for development and progress. The renascent spirit in the USA catalysed the rebirth of literature, arts and sciences amongst African-American people.

Our icon, Nelson Mandela said that he and his contemporaries, Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) and Mnandi Azikiwe (Nigeria) were profoundly influenced by the Harlem Renaissance. Nkrumah in particular also acknowledged the Seme concept of the African Renaissance.

The Congress Movement, led by the ANC, foregrounded education and culture in the Freedom Charter of 1955. The struggle of the African people, as the stalwart Walter Sisulu called it, did not neglect education and culture.

In 1969 African leaders adopted the Algiers Declaration on Culture which was followed by the 1976 charter on the African Cultural Renaissance which was amplified and adopted in 2006. South African is one of the few African countries which is a co-signatory of this charter. This charter has fully recognised the African heritage and Indigenous Knowledge Systems as a prerequisite for African identity and cultural life essential for building cohesive African nations.

History

The recovery of the African stream of history and culture was and still is inhibited by the false hypothesis that African people originated in the Cameroon and they migrated into the area of the Great Lakes land further down into Southern Africa. This false hypothesis was constructed to dissociate African people, especially the Bantu speaking people from the Khemetic (including ancient Ethiopian) civilisations. Hence, Cheikh

Anta Diop said that the history of Africa will never be complete until it is connected with that of ancient Egypt.

Western scholars used all intellectual tools at the disposal to disprove the African origins of Khemetic and, in particular, Egyptian civilisation; and to establish a Hamitic hypothesis which says the Hamites (i.e. white people in black skins) created Egyptian civilisation which later spilled over into other parts of Africa to produce the western and Southern African civilisations.

There is abundant literature claiming that the Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe civilisations were created by Phoenicians, Arabs or King Solomon. These claims are buttressed by the racist ideology which says that indigenous African peoples are people of obscure origins who have no history and have not made any contribution to human civilisation. It is therefore necessary to set the record straight as part of our national efforts to combat racism and racial prejudices which inhibit social cohesion and nation building.

The Hamites or Khemites were not white people in black skins. They were indigenous African people (including ancient Ethiopians and Egyptians) who originated in the womb of Africa (Engonini or Enkhabeni) of Africa. Ancient Ethiopians and Egyptians recalled that this womb of Africa was structured at the source of the Nile (Kumara or Tamera). They also called this African cradle of humanity Punt, Kantu, Afura or Tantara.

The root Nt(u) in Punt (and Bunnty i.e. embryo) and Ntu in Kantu and Tantara is the root of the name Abantu with its variations Vanhu (Tsonga and Batho). Thus the name Bantu or Batho has no racial connotations. The name Afura is the root of the name Afura Ka (gr Africa). The name Afura means the Land (A) of the King, or the Sun (Fura/Faro) conceived as God. The monosyllabic work KA means My. Thus Afuraka (gr. Africa) means:

- ▼ *The Land of my Sun*
- ▼ *The Land of my King*
- ▼ *The land of my God*

Thus an African properly so-called is an indigenous person who sprung up from the soil of this continent. The term Africa, like Bantu, has no racial connotations. Hence, racism was alien to indigenous African people.

The African cradle of humanity at the source of the Nile (Kumara or Tamera) the matriarchal character of African society. The names Kuma-

ra and Tamera means: the Land (Ku/Kwa?ta) of the Universal Virgin Mother (Mata/mera). These names have the following variations:

- ▼ Mari
- ▼ Mwarinkuru Nkuru
- ▼ Mwalinkulu Nkulu
- ▼ Mwali Muhulu
- ▼ Mohale Moholo
- ▼ Mogale Mogale

Hence Africa was (and still is) known as Mother Africa.

The African belief in the female creator (Mara/Mari) is reflected in names like Magaliessberg (Thaba Mohale i.e. mountain of the virgin mother), Magalakwena, Mohaleshoek and Tanpye or Mohale (Toutsureamagala.)

The Virgin Mother (Mwali Nkulu Nkulu and Mohale Moholo) was the mother of Lundi (or Luti). The memory of this son of the Virgin Mother (Mwali) Mohaley, was preserved in the names:

- ▼ Lundi River
- ▼ Burundi
- ▼ Urundi
- ▼ Ulundi
- ▼ Malundi town (KZN)
- ▼ Maluti Mountain (Lesotho/Free State)
- ▼ Undi/Odi (now Limpopo River).

Thus Mwali/Mohale and Lundi/Luti represents the Virgin Mother (Mari) and child mostly taught in the Christian faith. This Black Madonna (i.e. divine mother) and child are said to be reflected on a full moon.

In Lake Victoria (Nolubaale) we find three islands, among others, called Mara and Ukara. The name Marta, as shown above, means the Virgin Mother. The name Ukara means: the Land (U) of the Spirit (Ka) of the Sun or, simply the Land of the Spiritual Sun or Divine Light. The Virgin is the mother of the Divine Light or Spiritual Sun (Kara). Here again we find the concept of the Black Madonna and child.

The area of the Great Lakes was also called Ukara, Uranga, Sakara/Sagara and Ulanga and Phalaka. All these names mean: the Land (U/pha) of the Sun (Langa/Laka etc). The people who originated in the area of the Great Lakes came to be known the people or children of the Sun:

- ▼ Bakara
- ▼ Va Karanga
- ▼ Va Kalanga
- ▼ Velanga
- ▼ Makalaka

▼ **Bakhalaka.**

The people of Southern Africa, including Nguni, Sotho, Venda Lovedi and Tsonga, etc trace back the cradleland to the land of the Sun (Vukaranga or Bokhalaka) and are described as the people or children of the Locust of the Land of the Sun (Bana Ba Tsie Khalaka).

It follows from the foregoing linguistic analysis that in pre-colonial times the ethnic classifications of Shona, Ndebele, Zulu, Pedi, Venda, Tsonga etc did not exist. Most of this tribal or ethnic names refer to African rulers, e.g. Shaka Zulu and Mopedi who only rose to power during the nineteenth century and led people who were not called Zulu or Pedi at the time.

The names Shona, Venda, Tsonga and Lovedu do not refer to tribal or ethnic group. The Ndebele called the Kalanga people who lived in the West Vaseshona Langa. Thus these people came to be known as Mashona. The first Karanga people who entered the Shashi valley were called foreigners or immigrants (Vhazhezha or Vha-enda (now Vhavenda) by the early Sotho/Tswana inhabitants of the area.

The ruling sections of the Karanga/Kalanga people who entered and settled in the Limpopo/Shashie Valley in about 850 – 900)AD were great magicians (Vakozwi or Valoswi). The names derived from Kurozwa or Ku Loya i.e. to create or destroy by magical powers. The Vakozwi (or Volozwi) founded the empires of the people of the Sun (Vukaranga/Bokhalaka) and its capital cities of Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe, Khami and Danangombe. This Empire is popularly known as the Monomotapa (Mwonamutapa) Empire.

A section of the Varozwi (or Valoxwi) of Mwanamautapa Empire founded the Thobela Kingdoms of Venda under Tohoyandou and Vulovedu under the Modjadji dynasty. The Varozwi (or Valozwi) of Mudjadji the Rain Queens came to be known as Valovedu (i.e. recipients of tributes) because they were popularly known as rain makers who attracted tributes to other kings such as Shaka, Moshoeshow, Ngungungane Mswati and Makhado.

My historical, linguistic and religious research reveals that the current identities that divide us are secondary creations largely dating back to colonial times. These multiple identities were deepened and entrenched by apartheid colonialism as they served their divide and rule strategy and formed the building blocks of the Homeland or Bantustan policy.

There is emerging evidence of tribal and eth-

ic Nationalism in South Africa which hide behind provincialism and cultural diversity. Tribal and Ethnic nationalism and mobilisation has fragmented and destabilised many African countries. In South Africa it manifests itself in regionalism and xenophobia. The current efforts to create a socially cohesive nation will only succeed if we nip racism, tribalism, ethnicity and regional nationalism in the bud. This cannot be achieved through political slogans.

4. Conclusion

We need a Cultural Reconstruction and Development (CRD) programme which includes:

- ▼ The recovery of African identity, history and culture
- ▼ The recognition of African religion and its elevation to the same status as imported religions
- ▼ Making the African heritage and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (including languages and religion) compulsory subjects to enable all South African children to understand Africa and African people.

South Africa needs "Know Africa" Campaign which includes compulsory language courses for all professions especially law, medicine and humanities (e.g. criminology, psychology and social work)

A great injustice is perpetrated on African people by professionals who misinterpret them and therefore apply wrong remedies to African problems.

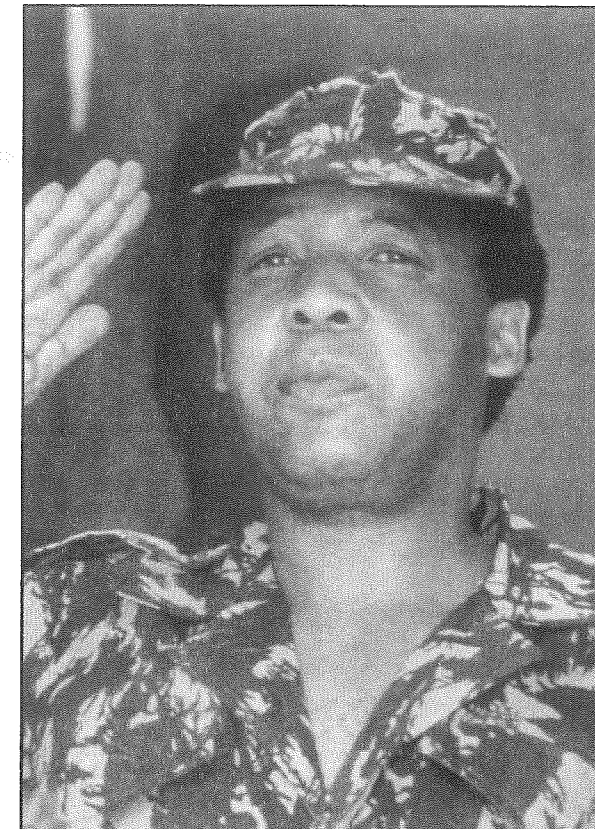
The successful celebration of Africa Month and Day 2015 has reawakened our spirit of Africaness and, in particular, the need to recover the African Heritage and Indigenous Knowledge Systems and to harness them for social cohesion and nation building.

“

The current efforts to create a socially cohesive nation will only succeed if we nip racism, tribalism, ethnicity and regional nationalism in the bud.

This cannot be achieved through political slogans.

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REMEMBERING COMRADE CHRIS HANI

The Man and the Idea

| By GUGILE NKWINTI

The 10th of April, 1993, will be forever etched on the minds and souls of South Africans. On that day, one of our greatest and most beloved heroes; one of our brightest lights in the struggle for freedom, democracy and social emancipation, was brutally silenced!

Chris Hani: The Man.

In Nelson Mandela's words, Chris Hani was, "a fighter for peace, freedom and justice. Above all, he was a lover of the poor, the workers and the rural masses. He was a true son of the soil".

In their book, *Hani – A life too short*, Janet Smith and Beauregard Tromp describe Comrade Chris Hani as follows:

Quite simply, Hani believed that liberation should free the poor from hunger and landlessness. He cherished non-racialism. He rejected personal power.

Chris Hani was a militant, but disciplined freedom fighter; a guerilla; a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary; and, an avowed Communist and Internationalist. He was neither a coward nor a populist. He cherished internal organisational democracy; and, did not shy away from pointing out what he thought was not in the best interest of the ANC and the South African revolution.

Chris Hani is a complex and difficult act to follow!

Chris Hani: The Idea.

Chris Hani was an avowed Communist!

How does the communist formation arise and develop? Founders of Marxism, on answering this question, reflect that the communist formation passes through two main phases: first, socialism; then, communism.

The first phase, socialism, arises and takes shape as a result of a socialist revolution. This phase passes through various stages of development, which are determined by specific historical circumstances and conditions; the alignment of class forces within and outside of a country; and, by national and cultural traditions. Lenin pointed out that there is no single road and form of building socialism in every region and in different countries.

Besides these features and individual characteristics, continues Lenin, there are some general patterns of this process (of communist formation). These include:

- ▼ the establishment of the power of the working people with a leading role for the working class;
- ▼ the leading role of Communist and Workers' Parties in the development of society;
- ▼ the establishment of social ownership of the main means of production and development of the economy in the interest of the people;
- ▼ the realization of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work";

- ▼ the development of socialist democracy, equality and friendship of nations and nationalities; and,

- ▼ defence of the socialist homeland from class enemies.

During the building of socialism, asserts Lenin further, the role of the subjective factor, that is, socialist consciousness, Marxist ideology and educational work rises sharply; and, the guiding, leading, organising and the mobilising role of the Communist and Workers' Parties increases. Anatoly Rakitov, a Marxist-Leninist teacher and author, summaries a socialist society as one where:

- ▼ the means of production belong to the people, and an end is put to economic and social oppression and inequality;

- ▼ scope for rapid development of the productive forces is opened up, and scientific and technical advance ensures continuous raising of the well-being of all the people;

- ▼ an equal right to work and just remuneration for it are ensured, a close alliance of the working class, the working peasantry and the intelligentsia is established;

- ▼ equality of all nations and peoples, and of men and women is ensured;

- ▼ the young generation is guaranteed a reliable, hopeful future, while the veterans of labour are guaranteed social security;

- ▼ real democracy is developed, broad participation of citizens in the management and administration of industrial, social and public affairs is assured;

- ▼ human rights are fully realized, each and every one abides by one and the same laws and standards of morality and discipline;

- ▼ a truly humanist, Marxist ideology predominates, an advanced and progressive culture and science are created and developed; and,

- ▼ a socialist way of life, based on social justice, collectivism and comradely mutual help and assistance is formed.

The second phase of the communist formation arises only if, and, or, when the material and technical foundation of communism has been laid, and forms of organisation of social life (and consciousness) appropriate to it have been created.

Communism will be a classless social system with a single national people's ownership of the means of production, and full social equality of the members of society. It will be a highly organized society of free, conscious workers in which social self-government will be established, and

work for the good of society will become a prime vital necessity for everyone. It presupposes the creation of productive forces that will provide opportunities for full satisfaction of the rational needs of both society and the individual.

All production activity will be built on the use of high-efficiency technique and technology, and will ensure a harmonious interaction of man and nature.

The principle of activity and of the production and distribution of material wealth will, then, be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

The transition to communism, asserts Rakitov, is a complex, lengthy process during which a much higher productivity of labour must be achieved than under capitalism; a socially unified society created; deep changes effected in the social structure of society and in the moral and cultural image of each person and of society as a whole.

This is Chris Hani, The Idea!

Chris Hani: The Man And The Idea.

Chris Hani was a Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary and Internationalist!

In 1968, the Central Committee of the SACP adopted a special document on 'The Duty of a Communist in the National Liberation Army - Umkhonto weSizwe.' This Document unequivocally states: 'It is the duty of Communists in Umkhonto weSizwe to be an example of devotion and loyalty to the military command of Umkhonto weSizwe and to the political leadership of the African National Congress.' (Vladimir Shubin. ANC: **A view from Moscow**).

It is this iron discipline, as ANC President, Cde Jacob Zuma, would emphasise, which shaped Chris Hani's revolutionary outlook.

Chris Hani said, "Make freedom and democracy worthwhile to ordinary South Africans"!

He lived his life to the full, in the service of ordinary South African people. It was a life of a professional revolutionary. It was spent in the frontline trenches against the forces of Apartheid and imperialist colonialism.

On the 31st March 1993, ten days before his life was brutally taken on the 10th of April, he outlined what the new enemy was and what we would fight against, after attaining our national freedom and democracy. This was at the height of the CODESA negotiations between ANC-led forces for national freedom and democracy; and, forces led by Apartheid. He said:

The ANC will have to fight a new enemy. That enemy would be another struggle to

make freedom and democracy worthwhile to ordinary South Africans. Our biggest enemy would be what we do in the field of socio-economic restructuring. Creation of jobs; building of houses, schools and medical facilities; overhauling our education (system); eliminating illiteracy; building a society which cares; and, fighting corruption and moving into the gravy train of using (state) power (and) government position to enrich individuals. We must build a different culture in this country, different from the Nationalist Party... And, that culture should be one of service to people. We must allow the formation of many democratic formations in this country: organs of civil society, like the civics, independent trade unions, students' organisations, teachers' organisations, organisations of housewives, women, gays and everybody else, so that it (the ANC) is kept reminded of the needs of the people on the ground.

The above quotations echo two important things that were said by Amilcar Cabral. The first is that we should always remember that:

People are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children.

The second is the emphasis on the importance of building the broadest national democratic front of all social forces to defend the gains of national freedom, democracy, reconstruction and development. He said that:

In the neo-colonial situation, the more or less vertical structure of the native society and the existence of a political power composed of native elements, (the) national state, already worsen the contradictions within that society and make it difficult, if not impossible, the creation of as wide a front as in the colonial situation. On the one hand, the material effects (mainly the nationalization of cadres and the increased economic initiative of the native elements, particularly in the commercial field) and the psychological effects (pride in the belief of being ruled by one's own compatriots, exploitation of religious or tribal solidarity between some leaders and a fraction of the masses) together demobilize a considerable part of the nationalist forces. But, on the other hand, the necessarily repressive nature of the neo-colonial state against the national liberation forces, the sharpening of contradictions between classes, the objective perma-

nence of signs and agents of foreign domination (settlers who retain their privileges, armed forces, racial discrimination), the growing poverty of the peasantry and the more or less notorious influence of external factors, all contribute towards keeping the flame of nationalism alive, towards progressively raising the consciousness of wide popular sectors and towards re-uniting the majority of the population, on the very basis of awareness of neo-colonialist frustration, around the ideal of national liberation. In addition, while the native ruling class becomes progressively more bourgeois, the development of a working class composed of urban workers and agricultural proletarians, all exploited by the indirect domination of imperialism, opens up new perspectives for the evolution of national liberation. This working class, whatever the level of its political consciousness (given a certain minimum, namely, the awareness of its own needs), seems to constitute the true popular vanguard of the national liberation struggle in the neo-colonial case. However, it will not be able to completely fulfil its mission in this struggle (which does not end with the gaining of independence), unless it firmly unites with the other exploited strata: the peasants in general (hired men, sharecroppers, tenants and small farmers) and the nationalist petty bourgeoisie. The creation of this alliance demands the mobilization and organisation of the nationalist forces within the framework (or, by the action) of a strong and well-structured political organisation.

In order to appropriately commemorate the revolutionary life of Chris Hani and his legacy, nothing will be more fitting for us, than to practice his revolutionary ideas every where in our daily lives. In other words, we have to be the living testimony of the ideas, values and practices of Chris Hani today, and all the time. More practically, who are these ordinary South Africans that Chris Hani so passionately speaks of? Where could we find them? What is it that we should do? How should we do it? And, what are the risks of not doing what we should do as the ANC?

Who are these ordinary South Africans?

Chris Hani says the ordinary South Africans he is talking about include those that are without a job to feed themselves and their families; the

homeless; the landless; the ones laden with disease; the ones with no education, skills and capacity; the ones with tenure insecurity; the ones with hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition. We further know that the majority of them come from the youth, women, children, the old and the vulnerable.

Where could we find them?

We know that these ordinary South Africans are to be found largely among the black population of our country, especially among African people. We also know, that the majority of these ordinary South Africans live in the former homeland areas, commercial farms as farm dwellers and workers, black townships, informal settlements, inner cities in the towns and metropolitan areas.

What is it that we should do?

Chris Hani says that we, the ANC inside and outside parliament and government, must "struggle to make freedom and democracy worthwhile to ordinary South Africans; we must build a different culture in this country; and, that culture should be one of service to people".

How should we do it?

According to him, serving the people simply means:

Creation of jobs; building of houses, schools and medical facilities; overhauling our education (system); eliminating illiteracy; building a society which cares; fighting (fraud and) corruption; and, moving into the gravy train of using (state) power (and) government position to enrich individuals. We must build a different culture in this country, different... from the Nationalist Party... And, that culture should be one of service to people. We... must allow the formation of many democratic formations in this country: organs of civil society, like the civics, independent trade unions, students' organisations, teacher's organisations, organisations of housewives, women, gays and everybody else.

What are the likely consequences of our failure to serve our people as the ANC?

Chris Hani says if the ANC fails to serve the people, then freedom and democracy will not be worthwhile for ordinary South Africans. Ordinary people will be without their leader. They will be without hope. They will do desperate things. They will follow false prophets that may arise and lead them astray. Most importantly, the ANC will forget about the people on the

ground; and, in the process, lose its historical status as the spear and shield of the people for over a century, advancing and defending their national and social interests. Finally, a victorious enemy of the people will bring the ordinary people under a new form of subjugation and exploitation.

It is for the above reasons that, in memory of Comrade Chris Hani, the ANC should never fail to serve the ordinary people, now that it has attained national liberation, freedom and democracy.

Conclusion

Che Guevara once asked the question: "Why does the guerilla fight?" His answer may as well have included the life and thoughts of Comrade Hani:

The guerilla is a social reformer. The guerilla takes up arms in angry protest against a social system that keeps all his unarmed brothers in opprobrium and misery. He strikes against the special conditions of the established order at a given moment; and, dedicates himself to breaking the moulds of that order, with all the vigour that the circumstances permit.

He went on to say:

To fight, the guerilla has certain tactical needs, places where he could maneuver, hide, escape, and also count on the people's support. This means the rural areas where, co-incidentally, the main social problem is general land tenure... The guerilla is, fundamentally, and before anything else, an agrarian revolutionary. He interprets the desires of the great peasant masses to be owners of land, owners of their own means of production, of their livestock, of all that for which they have fought for years; for that which constitutes their life; and, will also be their cemetery.

Chris Hani was such a guerilla and a man who closely and fundamentally embodied the needs and aspirations of the peasants, the workers and the down-trodden.

Finally, Chris Hani would have cautioned the ANC today by an apt reference to what MASTER SUN (TZU) says in his book, The ART of WAR:

When your forces are dulled, your edge is blunted, your strength is exhausted, and your supplies are gone, then others will take advantage of your debility and rise up. Then even if you have wise advisers you cannot make things turn out well in the end.

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...In memory of Comrade Chris Hani, the ANC should never fail to serve the ordinary people, now that it has attained national liberation, freedom and democracy

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FOCUS ON THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

The urgent need to rebuild the ANCYL now

| By MALUSI GIGABA

REBUILDING THE ANCYL must be about repositioning it at the very centre of youth struggles, sharpening its ideological and political orientation and strengthening and remoulding its organisational machinery as a potent force for revolutionary change and repository for the best youth in society. Accordingly, the rebuilding of the ANCYL is an urgent political and organisational priority for the ANC as a whole, and not only the youth of the ANC.

It must continue in its role as a perennial political and organisational reservoir for ever newer recruits and cadres for the pursuit of the national democratic revolution. It acts as a nursery for the revolutionary upbringing of those who come into the movement and provides the material requirements for the fulfilment of a cadre policy designed to meet all the demands of our struggle, particularly as the struggle traverses through newer dynamics. Its existence ensures that the ANC's vision of the future is both transmitted to and translated for the newer generations of the youth so that it remains permanently relevant to them.

To do so requires that the ANCYL be strong and sharpened ideologically, politically and organisationally to be able to confront the struggles of today and the future. It must continue to ground itself among the youth, placing itself at

the centre of youth struggles, and particularly at the very helm of the progressive youth movement.

Political, ideological and organisational renewal

The ANC's Decade of the Cadre must be about the youth – that is, about nurturing and preparing young activists to become better cadres for the movement and, indeed, the deepen the level of political consciousness of the youth and raise the caliber of their leadership on all fronts. The ANCYL must accordingly claim this decade as its own. Focus must be on intensive political education and extensive mass political work in order to blend theory and practice, and help the youth learn the dialectics between the two.

ANCYL members must singularly focus on the ANCYL itself, on its (political, ideological and organizational) renewal, and stop the rush to lead the ANC and/or to occupy public office. A balance must be struck in this regard. Amongst other things, the strength of the ANCYL has always been to have large numbers of cadres whose total focus is its building and functioning, who seek neither political office in the ANC nor public office at local, provincial or national levels. This practice must be restored as it is the



only way, among others, to teach the scores of young cadres about humility and imbue them with the culture of selfless service. After all, it helps the ANC a great deal to have young activists and cadres that address youth issues, particularly bearing in mind the age demographics of our society and the fact that the ANCYL is itself first and foremost a youth organization that must be composed of and led by the youth.

The question must, accordingly, arise whether there is a need to drop the organisation's age-limit at this particular juncture. The answer to this question must not be determined by technical or emotional and opportunistic considerations. Two contrary arguments arise in this regard, that is:

- ▼ Reducing the age limit may work in a social organization, but not in a political organization where cadre and leadership development cannot be rushed but requires a painstaking effort which could take long. By the time someone is ripe for leadership, their exit may be nigh. We must take into consideration that the times have changed and conditions for nurturing and grooming the youth are no longer the same as in the past. It might be politically and organizationally suicidal to fast-track leadership in a political organization, even of youth; and
- ▼ On the other hand, reducing the age limit may help the ANCYL given that as a result of the new dispensation, many young people

above 30 develop new interests, at a career and family levels, which accord with the period of transition at which the nation is and at which they, as individuals and growing young women and men, are.

ANCYL members must be encouraged to undertake formal education and acquire formal qualifications. Whilst the movement can do so much to educate and develop its cadres through its political education programmes, all cadres must also undertake programmes to empower themselves both through informal reading and political study as well as through formal education in order to deepen their intellectual insight and empower themselves for the benefit of the movement, the revolution and people.

Central to this task is the mobilisation and organisation of the different sectors of the youth – that is, the students, workers, professionals and the unemployed – the combination of which will broaden the mass political and progressive character of the ANCYL, deepen its ideological orientation and make it the most representative mass political youth organ in South Africa.

It goes without saying, accordingly, that the ANCYL assumes the same broad character amongst the youth that the ANC assumes in society as a whole. It represents the broadest section of the South African youth, and this must consciously include immigrant youth that have been naturalised. Consequently, both in its char-



As an integral part of the revolutionary movement, the ANCYL ... must rally all the sectors of the youth to participate in the struggle for fundamental social change and champion their political and socio-economic interests.



acter and leadership, the ANCYL must develop the political and organisational capacity to manage these different sectors and mediate their interests.

Furthermore, the leadership layer of the ANCYL must be built from branches upward. In this regard, the ANCYL does need to develop its own leadership principles, its own customised variant of *"Through the Eye of the Needle"*, outlining who can and should lead the ANCYL, what are their characteristics and why the youth must be the most idealistic in this regard. A youth organisation conscious and jealous of, and which cherishes its, role as the guardians of our future, a breeding ground for the future leadership of the ANC and our society, must be very vigilant in terms of its leadership structures and the qualities of its leaders. The ANCYL leadership, especially its full-time cadres, should be free of the ambitions to be ANC leaders and public representatives whilst still leading the ANCYL. Nothing distracts a youth organisation more than having its leading layers stretched between many responsibilities. This does not mean the ANCYL should not aspire to have youth represented in the ANC or holding public office; however, the priority and focus of the ANCYL should be the ANCYL. This, again, brings the age question into focus!

Mobilising, organising and educating the youth

As an integral part of the revolutionary movement, the ANCYL is charged with the task of fulfilling the strategic objectives of the movement with the greater involvement of the youth. It must rally all the sectors of the youth to participate in the struggle for fundamental social change and champion their political and socio-economic interests. It has the responsibility of organising, mobilising and guiding all our youth into participation in the revolutionary struggle of our people.

It must bring the youth into progressive politics, the struggle and the ANC and must also bring progressive politics, the struggle and the ANC to the youth. Accordingly, it bridges the gap between the different generations of the youth and ensures that there is healthy tension between the various generations in such a way as to help imbue the youth with the experience and wisdom of the older and yet fire the older with the enthusiasm, the fearlessness and revolutionary zeal of the new.

The grooming of those who have to ensure that the genuine aspirations of the people are fully realised demands a conscious effort on the part of the movement and, therefore, our ability to educate them in a genuine revolutionary spirit is pivotal. To be clearer on this point: the successful pursuit of the creation of the National Democratic Society and the successful execution of the tasks of the second phase of the transition cannot happen without the strong leadership of the ANC as well as the active and central participation of the ANCYL as the political home of the youth, the custodians of our future.

Nothing develops political consciousness and deepens political and ideological education than mass political work wherein the members are involved and can both develop, in practice, the theory of organisation and understand other basic theoretical frameworks of the struggle. In the course of this, activists develop the culture of mass political work, the discipline of working in a collective and of leading and being led, as well as the discipline of Mass political work does not only involve

The ANC must invest in the ANCYL and the progressive students' movement. This requires engagement, presence and visibility on an ongoing basis rather than intermittently. We must begin to take SRC elections in tertiary institutions serious. Whilst it must continue to establish its branches and exist in tertiary institutions, the

ANCYL and SASCO must enter into a pact that the former will no longer, from now henceforth, contest SRC elections except under the banner of SASCO. However, this does impose an enormous responsibility on the latter to conduct itself wherever it leads an SRC in a manner conscious of the ANC's leading role in society, the aspirations of the students for inspirational, transformative, servant and ethical leadership as well as the imperative for young leaders to develop out of this experience so that they become competent leaders of the movement, country and people in the future.

Re-establishing the ANCYL's political and organisational influence

Rebuilding the ANCYL is not about taking it to its next national congress, or about electing one leader or group of leaders or another, but it is fundamentally about rebuilding it to position it as the natural and only correct political home of all youth, male and female, black and white, drawn from all the sectors – working, students, professional and rural youth. This process must result in the restoration of the ANCYL's essential quality and glory on the basis of which it was founded in 1944.

As a youth organisation, the ANCYL must continue to espouse the twin tasks; that is, rallying the youth into the struggle under the banner of the ANC as well as championing the political and socio-economic interests of the youth. This means that, as well as being a political youth organisation with a broader political focus, the ANCYL must pay urgent attention to youth issues particularly such as youth unemployment, education and skills development and youth entrepreneurship, as well as others. Youth issues are the primary objective of the ANCYL.

At the same time, as a political youth formation, the ANCYL must not be confined but must engage with broader political issues that affect the movement and the nation. These include taking on other political organisations on behalf of the movement – indeed, to amplify the ANC voice and lend it a youthful spirit and militancy – as well as issues of the economy, poverty and inequality, land and others.

Defining the role of the youth during the second phase of the transition

In so far as the second phase of the transition, nobody can or will question and doubt the central role of the ANCYL. The successful accom-

plishment of the tasks of the second phase of the transition depends precisely on the successful mobilisation of the youth as a potent force for revolutionary change, indeed, as the catalysts, the foot-soldiers and the cutting edge of the struggle during that phase.

The second phase of the transition must be characterised by radical socio-economic change; but what is *"radical socio-economic change"*? Answering this question would give shape, content and direction to the current conjuncture and assist the movement as a whole to avoid adventurist pitfalls. At the same time, it would ensure that we do not merely change the language and nothing else beyond that.

However, drawing from a general understanding of what were the essential features of the previous twenty years, we can safely conclude that they consisted in

- ▼ The transfer of political power from the white minority clique to the non-racial majority;
- ▼ The drafting of the new democratic Constitution which would set the new South Africa apart from apartheid South Africa as a 'South Africa for all', based on social inclusion and where racial bigotry would finally be banished from official state policy;
- ▼ The establishment of democratic systems of governance throughout the length and breadth of our society based on the new Constitution, voted for and by all on the basis of the universal franchise of one-person-one-vote; and
- ▼ The establishment of a democratic state that plays an active and confident role in socio-economic change particularly in favour of those hitherto socially-excluded, leading the process of the reconstruction and development of our society, a state that would break down the monopolies, redistribute wealth and property and discipline capital if needs be to force it to invest in the productive sectors of the economy.

As the ANC Strategy and Tactics states it, this was about ridding the country of the vestiges of apartheid colonialism and launching the process of constructing a National Democratic Society, which formed the basis of our Programme of National Democratic Transformation during this period.

Accordingly and whilst bearing in mind the limitations imposed on our transition by the bal-

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The ANCYL must elaborate a radical industrialisation programme, linked with youth employment, skills development and entrepreneurship opportunities – as the key focus theme of “Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime” – rather than be locked into a “nationalisation” abyss...

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ance of forces at the moment of the advent of our transition, which compelled us to enter into certain compromises, it would be safe to conclude that our revolution has accomplished the political tasks which had to do with its first phase of the transition, and that therefore the shift towards next phase characterised by radical socio-economic change is now urgent and is the imperative of this conjuncture.

However, “radical socio-economic transformation” means different things to different people within the movement. To others it means implementing new economic programmes in the infrastructure sector, albeit within the confines of the current production system – more of the same, and yet to others it means a fundamental shift in the current structure of production and moving towards a more radical, equitable system and job-creating framework – a more heterodox approach.

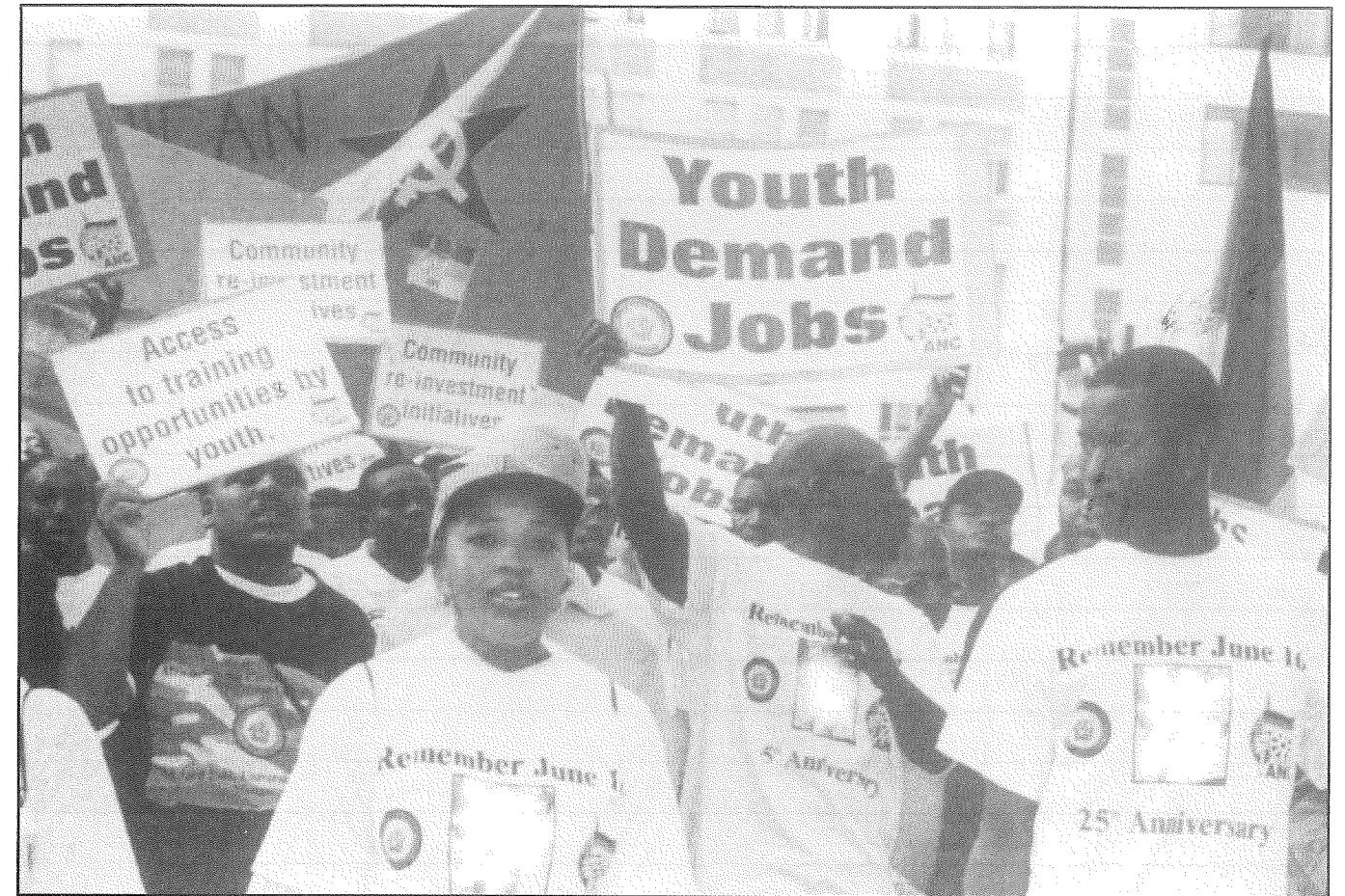
The question is, can the current structure of production support job creation, skills development and create equality? Can it lead to social justice? The answer is, NO! And this is not because it remains in the hands of a white male minority, but because it has reached its zenith; it can no longer support any new advancement

in the productive forces and cannot hence lead to wide-scale production as we seek in South Africa or change the fundamental colonial structure of relations between South Africa and Africa, as well as between South Africa and the world. In reality, since decolonisation, Africa as a whole has remained the producer and exporter of primary commodities, which it produces not for her own consumption, but for the consumption, gratification and enrichment of the hitherto colonial-masters.

The old colonial economy predicated as it was on the minerals-energy complex remains intact in Africa, as well as South Africa, with stubborn resistance from the mining owners and entrenched economic and political interests to changing it. This still defines Africa’s relations with the world and retards the further development of the forces of production which played so vital a role in the past development of the South African economy. Only those countries that have transcended to the productive economy – manufacturing – have become the engines of growth. Unless industrialisation is the ultimate objective of our infrastructure programme, even this programme will end up reinforcing the current production and social relations and will entrench racial, class and gender disparities.

Accordingly, the second phase of the transition must be characterised by the fundamental change in the structure of the economy. Anything else will fall short and will not address the fundamental yearning of our people for social justice which must constitute the programme for economic and social change – the social revolution! We need to identify the areas in the economy, such as mining, the automotive sector, the oil and gas, fleet locomotives and the oceans economy which are going to be the drivers of our industrialisation programme and align our economic policies – which are often contradictory to one another – to pursue the same objective. Only this can create jobs, develop the skills and open entrepreneurship opportunities for the youth on a sustainable basis, and create sustainable decent jobs in general.

The ANCYL must elaborate a radical industrialisation programme, linked with youth employment, skills development and entrepreneurship opportunities – as the key focus theme of “Economic Freedom in our Lifetime” – rather than be locked into a “nationalisation” abyss as if nationalisation on its own is a panacea for the problems of our society, or as if it could on its own characterise an entire change in the production system.



Conclusion

Rebuilding the ANCYL is an urgent strategic priority for the ANC itself. Success in this regard ensures not only the resonance of ANC views among the youth, but, above everything else, it guarantees the ANC its future.

Two decades after the advent of democracy in our country, the ANCYL must question the reasons for its existence, the role and place of the youth in struggle as well as the environment in which it must carry out its historic tasks. As it does so, it must locate its own role within the ANC, in society and among the youth. It must re-establish itself as the authentic voice of the youth, the harbinger of changes in the revolutionary process as well as the microcosm of the future.

Towards this end, it must pay attention to the tasks outlined above, conscious of its role as an organisation of young revolutionary-democrats of the movement and confident of the continued support of the South African youth for the national democratic revolution.

