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LET'S TALK POLITICS

ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL



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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 must be sent to the address below.

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The need for ANC's renewal has reached a must-do stage. This inescapable charge is best articulated through the movement's concerning electoral showing. Election outcomes which emerged with declining support for the ANC are a manifestation of a liberation movement which find itself at an increasing social distance from the people it seeks to serve.

The Diagnostic Report presented at the 5th Policy Conference affirms the fact that challenges which needs urgent attention to turn around this potentially demising trend is primarily about organisational functionality and effectiveness.

Correctly, the 54th National Conference's was themed *"Remember Tambo: Towards Unity, Renewal and Radical Socio-economic Transformation"*. This directs attention towards the need to repair an ailing organisation much as it focuses on a more determined need for better and improved livelihoods for all and sundry. At its centre renewal is about building the organisation's resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capability and its ability to adapt to changing situations. This it must do so that it can continue to serve, organise and lead the people.

In other words, the Renewal Agenda is a twinned connection about fixing the ANC as much as it is a concern about changing lives and building a democratic society free from all forms of discrimination. It is within this context and stark realities facing the African National Congress that this 47th edition of Umrabulo is themed **"Organisational Renewal"**.

Though not exhaustive in terms of areas for discussion, contributions made in this edition looks at this subject matter from a number of interesting angles.

Alvin Botes raises intriguing questions in **Integrity Commission's Means and Posture In The Renewal Agenda** on whether the ANC's Integrity Commissions

is satisfactorily capacitated and positioned to play its intended role in the organisational renewal process. Bobo Pemba's **Review, Restructure and Reorganise – Imperatives for Renewal** questions the revolutionary trademark of current leadership at all levels as well as the kind of individual making up the progressive movement. This point is firmly made in his view that *"the revolution is the business of revolutionaries - like teaching is the business of teachers. It cannot be advanced by just ordinary members who have no deeper theoretical understanding of the revolution."* He further proposes a Presidential-led elaborative consultative engagement process if truthful organisation renewal is to be realised.

In **Winner Takes All Slate – An ANC Renewal Impediment** Zahir Amien pleads for a solutions-orientated approach which could bring divisions and factionalism to a halt, or at least take out the negative sting they currently have on the ANC's fortunes. In light of current discourse about a district based service delivery model, Khulu Mbongo's focus is on local government in **The Renewal Agenda Across The Local Government Sphere**. A critical aspect he highlights is the role and readiness of ANC branches in the sought after service delivery model.

Litha Khwalo's **The Ideological Base Behind The Renewal Agenda** is a very interesting read on the ideological questions and tendencies related to organisational renewal. Amongst his concerns is the tendency of anti-intellectualism and populism. Particularly on how these have tended to misrepresent and redefine the South African revolution.

In **Issues of Renewal 50 Years Post-Morogoro** Advocate Sonwabile Mancotywa reflects on a range of consideration in organisational renewal. For example, he touches on the value of Ubuntu as well as the 4th Industrial Revolution as driving factors for organisational renewal. Informed by historical experience, Kutloano Rakoso's **Headline Youth In The ANC Renewal**

Discourse makes a case for the role and position of young people in the organisational renewal discourse.

Professor Muxe Nkondo's **Extract Neoliberal Inclinations Through Revolutionary Morality and Consciousness** points to how today's organisational decay is about neoliberal tendencies that's unquestionably allowed and embraced in the ANC, public sector and gender equality discourse.

Branches are encouraged to engage on the theme of organisational renewal – this can include presentation of articles published in this edition as a base from which to discuss. To support the organisation of such interactions across the organisation, a Political Education Forum with representation across all ANC provinces and regions have been established. This forum will support rollout of **Umrabulo Dialogues** and distribution of political education material. Please share with us through social media your experiences in the Umrabulo Dialogues held in your vicinity.

Your comments on published articles is highly encouraged. You are also welcome to make a contribution through e-mail to the Editor by writing to the e-mail address jplouw@thero.co.za. For consideration articles must be at least 2 000 words long (but not more than 3 000 words). Your own copy of **Umrabulo** Journal is available for download on www.anc1912.org.za as well as www.ortamboschool.org.za. Alternatively, you can also share specific articles of interest to you.

50TH Anniversary of the African National Congress Morogoro Consultative Conference

The 50th Anniversary of the Morogoro Conference is an opportunity to give new impetus to the process of unity and renewal. While there has been important progress in the renewal process within the ANC, the state and broader society, the task is far from complete.

Although there is much support and enthusiasm for the process of renewal, we recognise that ANC members and supporters – and broader society – have not been sufficiently mobilised to be part of the renewal process.



#Khawuleza
#BeTheRenewal



INTEGRITY COMMISSION'S MEANS AND POSTURE IN THE RENEWAL AGENDA

■ *It is often said that integrity leaves on horseback. But that is not all: integrity also arrives on foot. It may disappear quickly, but it arrives slowly and takes a long time to build up... When someone's integrity is in question or tarnished, the grounds for trust collapse. This brings about a trust deficit between the people who bestowed stewardship of their freedom in the ANC. Choices will have to be made between an integritous ANC cadre and one who stumbles occasionally.*

By **ALVIN BOTES**

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Political parties form a cornerstone of democratic society. They aggregate the interests of the public, articulate them in the form of policy options and provide structures for political participation (*Kelly & Ashiagbor, 2013*).

Most people (and comrades) are moral. They are not criminals advocating unethical behaviour (*ANC Ethical Transformation document, 1998*). However, it will be naïve not to spell out the dangers which proximity to power present to capitalist greed. There are two inter-related dimensions to gatekeeper politics: spoils consumption (the use of control over public resources for private ends); and crony capitalism (the use of connections to public authority to facilitate private capital accumulation). The importance of securing access to public authority through ANC channels provokes intense factional struggles for positions of influence and power within the party. However, this extends well be-



yond the predatory struggles of a few powerful elites (*Beresford, 2015*).

The challenges facing Africa's foremost liberation movement is no different to those faced by other organizations of people's power. For example, Mao Tse-tung in 1951 started a campaign known as the 'Three-Antis' directing towards embezzlement, waste and bureaucracy. The rudimentary objective was to 'frighten' all public officials with access to government money from pocketing it. This campaign was augmented in 1952 by the 'Five-Antis' focusing on private business people (with patrimonial state relations), and targeted crimes such as bribery, tax evasion, pilfering state property, cheating and stealing economic information (*Chang & Halliday, 2005*). Today the People's Republic of China still has an integrity programme which seeks to undermine both the 'tiger and the fly' in its anti-corruption efforts.

Our integrity is not only determined by our own perspective, but more importantly, also by that of others. And these two perspectives are not necessarily the same; they may be at odds. How people see their own integrity therefore tells us nothing about how others see it.

I. Background

The introductory titular deliberation whether the Congress Party or Indian National Congress could be revered to as the Creator, Preserver and (potential) Destroyer of the Indian State shall hint at a possible viewpoint from which this party can be examined (Dohrmann, 2017). It is an objective reality that the ANC, as the steward of the National Liberation Movement is both the architect and master-builder in the construct of the democratic state. The state is the sum aggregate of the people's grievance. And is a microcosm of the National Democratic Society, which we seek to build. Our organisation has witnessed the 'ebbs and flows'. More pertinently, it has been prone to many pitfalls ordinarily besieged a liberation movement. The debate on the best instrument through which to mitigate these numerous challenges, and to self-correct, must be appreciated.

The ANC's own document entitled *"Organisational Renewal – Building the ANC as a movement for transformation and a strategic centre of power"*, requires a substantive appreciation of the centrality of revolutionary morality, simply defined as integrity.

ANC's interlocutor to integrity preservation

It is often said that integrity leaves on horseback. But that is not all: integrity also arrives on foot. It may disappear quickly, but it arrives slowly and takes a long time to build up.

The ANC is confronted with an objective reality that it cannot continue. Some amongst us may even ask 'Et alors? – so what?'

The National Integrity Committee (hereafter referred to as the IC) of the ANC has its genesis from the call at the ANC's National General Council (NGC) meeting held in 2010. This call was part of the broader call for organisational renewal and modernisation of the movement. At the time the movement was already experiencing some dangerous emerging tendencies such as factionalism, corruption, complacency and numerous other sins of incumbency that was causing serious reputational damage to Brand-ANC.

Thus the IC was established as one of the important interlocutors for organisational renewal. The purpose of the IC must therefore be seen within the broader

context of organisational renewal and one of a myriad of tools to assist in addressing the dangerous trends facing the organisation.

Following the NGC's 2010 call, the ANC's 53rd National Conference passed a resolution that laid the policy basis for the establishment of the IC. It was agreed that the IC would consist of veterans of the movement. The spirit of this decision was that it was assumed that veterans were the least prone to factional and or business interests because of their historical revolutionary morality, ethics and organisational discipline. Thus, in March 2013 the NEC established the IC and appointed its members. The NEC was also mandated to develop the IC terms of reference. These should with hindsight have included sufficient detailed on the IC's policies, regulations and standard operating procedures, but did not.

At the 54th National Conference the IC's role was augmented when it was included as a constitutional structure in terms of rule 24.1 and 24.2 read together with rule 25.17.4 of the ANC Constitution. Rule 25.17.4 broadens the powers of the ANC to take disciplinary steps against members where the alleged misconduct is not specifically defined in the constitution but is deemed by the IC to be immoral and/unethical and which *"brings or could bring the ANC into disrepute"*. Thus this rule grants the IC the power to define what constitutes unethical and or immoral conduct.

2. IC Challenges, Weaknesses & Threats

Despite the noble intentions since its establishment, the IC has experienced numerous challenges at a conceptual, legislative, policy, resource, systems and process level. These challenges have negatively affected the operationalisation of the IC and in turn it has negatively affected perceptions about the IC. These includes, but is not limited to:

- The IC mandate was very broad with insufficient detail in respect of its constitutional mandate read together with its terms of reference;
- The IC has disregarded the rules of natural justice in some cases. The IC recommendations in most cases have legal implications for the ANC as it impacts on possible future disciplinary processes. The IC is part of a quasi-investigative and quasi-judicial process since it deals with complaints that may amount to misconduct;
- The IC does not have subpoena powers to summon witnesses and the accused as its dependent on voluntary disclosure;
- There seems to be policy duplication, policy confusion and an operational overlap between the IC process and that of the National Disciplinary Committee (NDC), with particular reference to the NDC

Initiator or Presenter in the disciplinary process (DC). In practise the IC seems to have the same investigative or enquiry function to that of the DC presenter. Since the IC's establishment, when matters are referred by the NEC to the IC, the NEC waits on the IC findings and recommendations before deciding to refer it to the DC presenter to prosecute.

Theoretically this should not be a problem. However, the roles, responsibilities and delegation of functions should be clearly defined in the constitution. Consideration should be given to the IC assuming the investigative arm of the DC and the presenter the prosecutorial arm; and

- The IC did not necessarily interview witnesses that could have exonerated and or substantiated the version of the 'comrade in-conflict with morality', indicating an adversarial case building approach rather than one that seeks to establish the truth on a balance of probabilities.

Eighteen months after NASREC, most of the challenges referred to above came again to the fore when the IC investigated and recommended that 23 ANC members on the list of Parliament not be deployed. The body of evidence indicates a dangerous pattern emerging of the investigative processes and evidentiary collection processes upon which its findings are made are still fraught with procedural and substantive weaknesses. This includes amongst others allegations of taking the media into confidence on "*comrades in-conflict with morality*".

Not adhering to the basics of enquiring from the affected comrades (Audi Alterim Partem rule) allowing the "*accused*" to state put their side of the issue. The case of our Deputy President (DP) is a widely publicised example which set the cat amongst the pigeons'. The DP's insistence that he would not be sworn in as a Member of Parliament until he had an opportunity to be interviewed by the IC and explain himself created a serious political crisis for the ANC. The IC then reversed its recommendation against the DP and others.

3. An International Best Practise – The Chinese Communist Party (CPC)

The Report of the 18th CPC National Congress asserted that fighting corruption and promoting political integrity – an issue of great concern to the people – is a clear-cut and long-term political commitment of the party. If it fails to handle this issue appropriately, it could prove fatal. Possibly even leading to its collapse and fall of the state (*Jianyong, 2013*).

The CPC provides us with a best practice. The highest internal control institution of the CPC is the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (CCDI). The

primary duty of this party organ is to enforce internal rules and regulations in combatting corruption and malfeasance in the Party. There is seemingly no separation between integrity and party discipline.

Although the commission is theoretically independent of the Party's executive institutions such as the Central Committee and its Politburo, historically the work of the CCDI has been directed by the Party's top leaders. However, under Xi Jinping, the CCDI has undergone significant reforms to make it more independent from party operations below the Central Committee.

Approximately 1000 people work for the CCDI and it is divided into the central and local levels. Beginning in 2014, CDI chiefs across the country began to shed concurrent executive positions which could create conflicts of interest. These changes were intended to free CDI resources to "*solely focus on the work of enforcing discipline*".

At a local level, the main duties and responsibilities of local CDIs are to educate party members on their duties and rights, preserve party discipline, uphold party decisions, see that party members exercise their duties in accordance with the party constitution, examine cases and investigate corruption.

The jurisdiction of the party discipline inspection system mirrors that of the MOS (Ministry of Supervision – for the State), with the CCDI responsible for cases involving breaches of party discipline by party members. Like the MOS, the CCDI authority is limited to investigating allegations of corruption and breaches of party discipline. Thus, the CPC have in essence created a separation of powers between the investigator from that of the presenter or initiator and the presiding officer.

Patronage politics is not only a serious problem; it is also persistent (*Ndletyana, Makhalemele & Mathekga, 2013*). It is to prevent re-currency of patrimonial politics within bodies such as the IC, that lady justice is blindfolded; with the instruction note that decisions must apply to all, notwithstanding the seniority of one's position in the organisation. A common set of rules should be applicable to all ANC members and the terms of reference and methodology of the IC should be authoritative in orientation.

We should consider the CPC option as it relates to the investigative mandate of the IC. That the IC becomes the investigative arm of the NDC. This will address the inherent tensions, policy and mandate anomalies between the NDC presenter and the IC and furthermore create a proper separation of powers between the investigative, prosecutorial and presiding arms of our disciplinary process.

The IC mandate should be strengthened to include prevention and detection as part of the broader organisational renewal mandate and to work closely with the political education, legal and monitoring and policy sub-committees in this regard.

4. Code of Ethics for ANC members

Importantly, the ANC should first appreciate the fact that it cannot continue to hold itself to the minimum threshold which is applicable to ordinary South Africans. The mantra of presumption of innocence is quite an essential tool in our repository when assessing conformity to societal standards. However, when positioning the organisation as *Leader of Society*, the posture to be assumed should be of pro-actively engaging on a set of actions when accused either through the fourth estate, or identified to be in conflict with the law by any of the numerous statutory or judicial agencies.

The ANC Ethical Transformation document (1998) was instructive that *“many respectable people (comrades) became deeply immoral, but cocooned in comfort and did not recognize their depravity.”* It is highly unlikely that a comrade will subject themselves to voluntarily introspection, and as a consequent therefore self-correct.

Thus, the necessity of an ethical framework, through which all leaders should ascribed to is paramount. Some of its outline could include amongst others:

Common principles and values which guide our actions

- Politicians must be independent and incorruptible;
- Those who exercise power must be bound by a higher moral standard;
- Politicians must respect the democratic principles of the rule of law;
- Politicians should be able to balance and weigh competing interests;
- Politicians need to be level-headed and not be consumed by extremism or populist simplicity;
- Politicians are there to serve the community; they should never forget that they are there at the service of the people and must have the common good in mind;
- Politicians need the courage to take unpopular decisions if these are in the interest of the people; they must be able to take long-term decisions if our democracies are to advance; and
- Compromise and consensus are an integral part of politics; personal attacks on internal opponents are not, however, and should have no place in political discourse;

Avoidance of conflict of interest

- There should be no waste of public funds;
- Donations and political support from private indi-

viduals and institutions are legitimate, if these are directed and sanctioned by the organisation;

- We take decisions based on our political convictions; they may not be influenced by a gift or favour; it is important to avoid conflicts of interest which could arise from financial or non-financial gifts or benefits; and
- Those who hold public office should orient themselves in their actions solely towards the benefit of the common good; one's position as an elected official must never be used for private purposes;

Agreed Action when Integrity in Question

- On occasion of members being aware of any conduct which may call their integrity in question, the members should voluntary present themselves to the IC;
- On occasion of members being publicly labelled and accused by public enquiries of wrong-doing, such members, if not voluntarily, shall be obligated to account to the IC;
- On occasion of members being formally charged for a crime, such members will immediately create a social distance between themselves and the area of public office deployment (step-aside from all executive responsibilities); and
- On occasion of members being found guilty of any crime by a criminal court of law, they shall voluntary tender resignation of ANC membership;

The *Correspondent Inference Theory*, as developed by psychologists Edward Jones and Keith Davis, reveals different ways in which people interpret the behaviour of others. For instance, the greater the consequences of the behaviour for others, the greater the tendency to attribute the behaviour to a person's intentions. In summation, negative conduct of one ANC member, negates from how society perceives all ANC members, thus having a negative multiplier effect on the Brand-ANC.

5. Conclusion

When someone's integrity is in question or tarnished, the grounds for trust collapse. This brings about a trust deficit between the people who bestowed stewardship of their freedom in the ANC. Choices will have to be made, between an integritous ANC cadre and one who stumbles occasionally.

Equally so, if decisions are not taken with integrity, then the decision-making process itself lacks integrity. In this regard, the ANC's Integrity Committee should be above reproached. ■

Review, Restructure and Reorganise — **IMPERATIVES FOR RENEWAL**

- *The revolution is the business of revolutionaries — like teaching is the business of teachers. It cannot be advanced by just ordinary members who have no deeper theoretical understanding of the revolution. The revolution is both a science and an art and therefore requires a revolutionary who has the precision of a scientist and the creativity of an artist.*

9

By **BOBO PEMBA**

Over the past few years the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies, SACP, COSATU and SANCO, has been confronted with many challenges. We have witnessed new phenomena alien to the democratic movement and which are too many to enumerate.



The Morogoro Conference, Kabwe, 1st Consultative Conference inside the country and various other fora have all necessitated changes within the Movement at different historical moments. These have contributed to ensuring that the Movement emerges more united than ever before and better resolved to confront the enemy and the challenges history places on its path to people's power.

As revolutionaries we should not be alarmed by the turn of events in our Movement because it is in the nature of revolutions to take different turns at particular historical moments and there are many such examples in history. Given its own long history, the ANC has confronted similar if not worse challenges as a revolutionary Movement. It has always been able to deal with those challenges and emerge as a united force, ready to organise and mobilise our people to continue the struggle against Apartheid. The ANC always comes out better poised to deal with the challenges which on many occasions have necessitated certain changes to happen organisationally.

Tambo visits Vietnam

One of the most interesting of these moments was in October 1978 when President Oliver Tambo led a delegation to Vietnam to draw lessons from the Vietnamese leadership on how they had vanquished one of the most sophisticated military establishments in the world, namely, the United States of America. And also to creatively apply these to our conditions in South Africa, as we confronted an enemy that was the most sophisticated militarily on the African continent.

The ANC's operational strategy had from the '60s to the '70s been centered on the development of a popular armed struggle that would arouse the masses for seizure of state power in South Africa. This approach continuously undermined the ANC's strategic objectives and it was only between October 1978 and August 1979 that the ANC tried to unravel the paradox in the course of a formal strategic review.

The report of the Vietnam visit was tabled in a meeting of the NEC in Luanda on 27 December 1978 and 1 January 1979. The meeting amongst other things decided to set up the Politico Military Strategic Commission whose mandate was to consolidate the report from the Vietnam delegation and make recommendations to the NEC and the Revolutionary Council (RC).

Interesting to note about this exercise was the amount of time it took and the fact that the report became known as the Green Book – which for me is the bible of our Movement that led our path to power. Members are encouraged to read the Green Book, which is today a public ANC document on the website of our organisation. I am confident that once comrades have read the document they will agree that the principles of *"Review, Restructure and Reorganise"* are the basis of the strategic review contained in the Green Book.

The point is that the process proposed may take as much time but it has to be seen within the context of the Green Book and its impact to the broader objectives of the National Democratic Revolution and our people's victory over the forces of Apartheid and colonialism (of a special type). This strategic review led to mass mobilisation for people's war and the establishment of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), Release Mandela Campaign (RMC), United Democratic Front (UDF), Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and many other progressive organisations that united our people to mobilise against the destruction of apartheid.

The ANC and its allies led the process of the establishment of these democratic formations and through united and organised masses of our people in action we defeated Apartheid with the ANC as the vanguard of the heroic struggles of the people.

Fundamental question in the ANC today

Over the years, our Movement has developed scientific and correct policy positions, which were well-articulated by our leaders whether in prison, underground or in exile. This was a direct result of tried and tested quality leadership that was democratically elected in conferences of the ANC and its allies throughout the history of struggle.

The leadership collective understood the importance of abiding by the basic and fundamental principles that held our Movement together throughout the period of the conduct of the struggle against Apartheid.

I will not attempt to infer that there were no mistakes and excesses conducted by some of our leaders. Some of these were very serious and impacted our Movement negatively. In some instances, the Movement took drastic measures like expelling some of those leaders. Because of the kind of leadership we had, the Movement was able to emerge better poised and resolved to engage the enemy. The strategic review that led to the Green Book is one of those moments.

There are many new members who have found themselves as leaders in our organisations without necessary revolutionary theory, discipline, morality, etc. that should constitute the basis or basics for all ANC cadres. As is well-known to many, the last decade has been a difficult period for our organisation and that is when some of these members found themselves in leadership of the ANC. Some of our long-standing leaders were also not innocent and in fact were at the forefront of some of these processes that facilitated the degeneration of our Movement and the betrayal of our revolution.

The fundamental question in the ANC today is not its policies. It is the leadership that is tasked with the responsibility of implementing correct policies of the ANC at all levels of the organisation. Many leaders are not cadres of the revolution. They are not cadres of a special type. They cannot advance the cause of our people. They have no interest and ability to provide basic services to our people. They are self-serving individuals of no consequence.

The revolution is the business of revolutionaries - like teaching is the business of teachers. It cannot be advanced by just ordinary members who have no deeper theoretical understanding of the revolution. The revolution is both a science and an art and therefore requires a revolutionary who has the precision of a scientist and the creativity of an artist.

These members have to undergo basic political training and development to understand the complex history of our country, ANC, enemy, various forces progressive and otherwise, economy, political economy, class struggle, balance of forces, global politics, international relations, diplomacy, UN Systems etc.

The Movement has hundreds of highly trained political commanders and commissars. Particularly former MK commanders who are more than willing to make time available to train our new members – particularly those who are in leadership positions.

Individuals and history

It is necessary to look at the role of individual(s) in terms of how recent historical events unfolded and how the individual single-handedly reversed the revolutionary gains of the South African revolutionary process.

There is no question about the role of the masses as the makers of history in Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. However, the role of the individual in history cannot be underestimated.

The general view theoretically is that the emergence of the individual is an *"accident"* and not a *"necessity"*. The relationship between these phenomena of *"accident"* and *"necessity"* is a dialectical relationship. Engels asserts that in his *"Dialectics of Nature"* that the emergence of a particular *"Great individual is accidental"* whilst the emergence of a Great Leader or visionary in general (at key moments in history) may be *"necessary"*.

Revolutionary theory does not negate the emergence of *"Great Individuals"* but that their emergence is normally dictated by historical conditions. In other words, certain historical moments and conditions may need and require individuals with certain qualities and characteristics as dictated by the natural laws of history that have a major impact on the evolution of the revolutionary process in a given country.

History has witnessed a number of such *"Great Individuals"* that were a direct result of conditions prevalent in their countries at different historical moments.

These great men (and women) have played different roles in their various countries. Some of these are our own namely, Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Madikizela Mandela, Helen Joseph, etc. Recently, our conditions produced Thabo Mbeki, Kgalema Motlante, Jacob Zuma, Cyril Ramaphosa, etc.

Other conditions produced Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, Charles 1 of England, Caesar, Louis XVI of France, Bonaparte, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Mao, Hitler, etc.

Important to observe in this regard is that each of these individuals possess certain personality features and characteristics that are unique and which are a direct result of their own environment and socialisation. These personality and hereditary traits as well as revolutionary characteristics of the individual are what determine the role of the individual in history.

Bourgeois historians and social commentators always attribute the developments of history to the individual's

personality only. In contrast, Marxist theoreticians attribute the role of these individuals not only to their personality, but to the sum-total of the historical conditions and processes obtaining in that historical space and time.

What is to be done?

This question is always an important question in the International Revolutionary Movement (IRM). It is always posed during the most difficult historical moments in the revolution. The answer to the question requires deep thought because the consequences of the answer will have a major effect on our country and will affect the future of millions of South Africans, Southern Africa, Africa and the rest of the developing world.

The 54th Conference of the ANC has amongst other resolutions called for the renewal of our organisation and the following proposal seeks to set out practical steps to implement the resolution.

- **REVIEW POLICIES OF THE ANC**
Constitution, Membership, Branches, Conference, Delegates, Political Education, etc.
- **RESTRUCTURE ANC STRUCTURES**
National Executive Committee, Presidency, Leagues, MK
- **REORGANOISE INNER ORGANISATIONAL DEMOCRACY**
Organisational Democracy, Democratic Centralism, Inner Party Life, Intra Party Life etc.

At a national level this process will include the current and former Presidents as Chief Conveners. It might be prudent to include former Presidents. The current President will become the Chief Convenor and the former Presidents who will be Co-convenors of relevant Committees. This will consequently report to the Chief Convenor.

At a Provincial level the NEC will deploy an NEC member to be the Chief Convener and current and former Chairpersons and Secretaries as Co- Conveners of various Committees. At a regional level the PEC will deploy a PEC member as Chief Convener and current and former Chairpersons and Secretaries as Conveners of various Committees.

The various committees will be populated by veterans, members of the current NEC, leadership of alliance partners. The committees should be allowed to co-opt progressive experts who will cross the t's and dot the i's once the work is complete. This process should be allocated a timeframe by which the work should be complete.

Once the work is complete, there should be a special sitting within the NGC focusing specifically on finalising the work of the Committee. It should deliberate on new policies and resolve to have them adopted by the next elective Conference, which will adopt new policies and other changes recommended to Conference.

This work must include the issue of the delegates because we have to be careful not to send voting fodder to Conference. That, in my view, would lay a firm foundation for the renewal and revival of the ANC. It would again be the organization we all knew and loved as the authentic representative of the majority of South Africans.

Important to note about this is that throughout this period the committees should inform the public about developments in the work they are doing. This approach may give a sense that the ANC is serious about the future of our country and about its own future. This could lead to the broader populace embracing the ANC as their only authentic representative once again.

Our revolutionary alliance

It is also important that we remain conscious of the dialectical relationship between the national content of our class struggle and the class content of our national struggle. Failure to understand this dialectic poses the danger of never understanding the organic nature of the relationship between our pursuit of the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. This is the basis for the historic imperative of the revolutionary alliance between the ANC, SACP, COSATU and later SANCO. It was dictated by concrete conditions confronting the toiling masses of our people that were oppressed as a nation and exploited as a class.

The revolutionary alliance was tested in the last decade or so. Many of our leaders in both the ANC, SACP, COSATU and SANCO failed to grasp the contradictions of the last decade. This period represented the betrayal of our revolution by the very organisations that were meant to be leaders of the current phase of the NDR and the pursuit of a Socialist Revolution. It represented the reversal of the gains of our revolution. It was a moment of retrogression for the South African revolutionary movement. It was apolitical, ahistorical and “untheorised” and indeed a betrayal of the cause of the people of South Africa, our continent, developing world and the broader global progressive humankind. It marked a particularly difficult time that witnessed the degeneration of a glorious Movement - one of the old-

est liberation movements in the world.

The saddest moment of all was the decision of COSATU to expel NUMSA and other 9 trade unions for reasons that had nothing to do with COSATU’s constitutional principles. This was nothing but a purge which left COSATU poorer. Sadly, the SACP was not innocent in this process. Basic arithmetic tells you that two COSATUs are less than one because the South African workers have been divided.

It may be in the interest of the SACP to seriously consider the possibility of once again working diligently to unite the South African working class as its vanguard. The Party must reclaim and regain its rightful place in the history of our country by assuming its historical position as the leader of the working class.

Conclusion

It is critical for us to appreciate that the revolution is never a straight line. It will, at different historical moments, be confronted by challenges similar or worse than those that confront the South African revolution. The responsibility for the revolutionary movement is to find and utilise the best tools to treat the ailing revolution. It is for the revolutionary leadership to find the finest amongst its cadres to deploy in the appropriate tasks so that they achieve the best results. Revolutionary cadres must employ correct tactics to ensure that tasks at hand are performed timeously and with high levels of discipline and without fail.

One of the fundamental mistakes committed by our organisation in this current phase of our struggle was to invest in many of its cadres but not deploy them in strategic and key positions at all levels of government and its agencies. Many of these comrades were ready to pay the supreme sacrifice for the South African revolution and its people during the most difficult phase of our struggle. They were in the trenches when it was not fashionable to do so. Many are tried and tested veterans of our liberation struggle.

If our organisation was to consider the possibility of a total overhaul it may be necessary to do a “roll-call” of all our cadres and develop a human resource policy framework to ensure that the Movement deliberately trains and develops these cadres for specific roles and deployment both in government and in the Movement. Many comrades are still waiting for the “*next order*” to carry out tasks of the revolution. ■

WINNER TAKES ALL SLATE

— *An ANC Renewal Impediment*

- *Historical evidence...has shown that if the ANC wants to maintain and strengthen its unity and cohesion in a modern democracy whilst ensuring internal party democracy, it needs an electoral process which ensures an outcome that is inclusive of all factions/caucuses. Equally though, the system must not kill the democratic ethos and processes of the ANC. The ANC must find a way to strike a balance between its democratic right to choose leaders vis-à-vis its ability to maintain unity and cohesion of the organization after the leaders are elected.*

By **ZAHIR AMIEN**

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The concept of organisational renewal covers a myriad of areas including how we address sins of incumbency such as corruption, organisational discipline as well revolutionary and ethical morality. This article is confined to the key issue of “Winner Takes All” Slate (hereafter referred to as the WTA) Slate approach.



It is trite that the ANC is at its strongest when unified. This was evident in the struggle against Apartheid and since the advent of democracy. All case studies indicate that when the ANC is united, its electoral fortunes increased and when divided, it has impacted negatively. Furthermore, there is sufficient body of evidence that indicates that when the ANC went a WTA slate route at regional, provincial or national conference, a pattern of negative consequences follows. It ultimately divides the movement causing cadres who supported the losing slate to withdraw or continue with an internal fight back factional war or it leads to splits which ultimately results in a drop in electoral support at the next election.

There seems to be a direct correlation between the WTA slate outcome and the ANC's decline in electoral support nationally and provincially.

However, this article is not arguing for an idealistic approach of doing away with lobby groups and caucuses that usually merge into slates in run ups to conference to elect leadership. Rather, it accepts the reality of “*realpolitik*” that caucuses and lobby groups (that eventually merge into slates) are an inherent feature of political parties. It accepts that it is part of the democratic contestation process in respect of both leadership and policy. However, the greater evil is the phenomena of a WTA slate and its negative unintended consequences.

Over the past decade the consequences of a WTA slate have included negative campaigning against individuals, law fare, triumphalism, purging, corruption, use of state and private sector resources including intelligence, parliament, think tanks, academia, authors, the judiciary, civil society, the media (both traditional and modern)

amongst others as mediums for fights. The result has been splits in the ANC and a downward spiral in electoral support

Historical Context of the “Winner Takes All” Slate & Lessons Learnt

An objective analysis of the ANC’s history indicates that the practice of a WTA slate approach is a recent phenomenon and contrary to the ANC’s historical inclusive and accommodating culture at elective conferences. Prior to this negative tendency, the ANC always ensured that its leadership was inclusive of all groups and caucuses. Including the losing caucuses and its leaders. This was done throughout its history at a national level and post-1994 at a provincial one.

The negative tendency of the “WTA” became a pre-dominant culture in the mid-2000s. Its outcome has resulted in the ANC splitting at a national level in 2009 and 2014. These splits and breakaway parties emerged from losing factions who felt purged. More importantly, the subsequent impact that these splits had on the ANC and its drastic decline of ANC electoral support in the 2009 and 2014 national elections (NE) as well as the 2011 and 2016 local government elections (LGE) was damaging.

Emergence of Factions and Slates

Before and after 1994, factions of ideology existed within the exiled movement as well as within the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) structures. After 1994, these factions later morphed into spoil factions/factions of patronage as the ANC took over government. In the mid-90s these factions became much more pronounced across many provinces. Historically, the leadership acknowledged that as the ANC developed into a political party, caucuses were a natural consequence of political parties that has a democratic ethos culture and a broad mass base. Leadership realized that they could never completely get rid of caucuses. Particularly as the ANC neared elective conferences as it would inhibit party democracy and the right to choose leadership.

Instead it developed informal practices to manage the negative unintended consequences of factions and slates to avoid “WTA” zero-sum approach. Leaders of caucuses normally merged into 2/3 slate lists in the run up to conferences and try reach a consensus compromise. This approach was thus characterized as one of contestation and co-operation and became informally known by some as the “Zebra” approach as it incorporated and accommodated some leadership of all caucuses and slate lists. This was done nationally and provincially including in the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, and Gauteng Province, to mention but a few. At

the time, ANC debates centered on what mattered i.e. the organization’s growth, affirming the notion in practice that “no individual is bigger than the organization”.

Case Studies of an Inclusive “Zebra” Approach National Elective Conferences 1991-2017

During exile days the ANC was able to ensure its elected leadership included representatives of all factions of ideologies. By 1985 it ensured demographic inclusivity as it related to the national question (race, gender, ethnicity, etc.).

At the first national conference after its unbanning in 1991, i.e. the 48th national conference, the ANC leadership continued with its inclusive and accommodating approach. It increased the numbers of the National Executive Committee to reflect the changing dynamics of a recently unbanned organization. One that was preparing to govern to ensure maximum unity and inclusivity in respect of the national question, (race, ethnicity, gender), the “in-ziles” and “exiles”, “the islanders”, the underground, Umkhonto We Sizwe, the leagues, the alliance, the Mass Democratic Movement, rural, urban, generational, provincial and regional divides.

It further created the position of National Chairperson for the outgoing President Oliver Tambo in order to avoid a potential fall out between those supporting the late President Mandela and the late President Tambo. The ANC then had the foresight and flexibility to amend its constitution to adapt to the changing material conditions of a once banned organization returning from exile to prepare to contest elections and govern. Proving that constitutions are living documents

In addition, at the 48th National Conference another potential fight emerged between factions supporting Comrade Thabo Mbeki and the late Comrade Chris Hani for the position of Deputy President (DP) which threatened to divide the ANC. The leadership intervened and a compromise was reached that the late Comrade Walter Sisulu be elected DP. He was elected uncontested and both Comrades Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani acceded to the wise counsel of the elders “that no individual is bigger than the organisation” by stepping aside. The outcome of these politically mature interventions resulted in the ANC receiving an overwhelming majority in the 1994 Elections.

During the 50th National Conference, whilst there was broad consensus as regards the positions of President, DP and Secretary General (SG), numerous slates emerged contesting the positions of Chairperson, Deputy Secretary General and Treasurer General. In order to avoid a “WTA” approach, the outcome included leaders that did not necessarily support the dominant

slate. A similar consensus approach was used at the Stellenbosch National Elective Conference in 2001. As a result of this inclusive approach the ANC emerged more united and was able to increase its majority nationally at the 1999 and 2004 Elections respectively.

However, the Polokwane Conference in 2007 was a culmination of a negative WTA culture that emerged in the mid 2000's at branch, regional and provincial level. It went the "WTA" slate route and was an aberration of the ANC's proud history. It resulted in a split in the ANC and the formation of COPE. Whilst the ANC still won the elections with an overwhelming majority in 2009, it lost significant support in 7 of the 9 provinces. The breakaway political party Congress of the People (COPE) took approximately 7% from the ANC national support directly and possibly another 3 to 5 % through potential voters that did not vote and became disillusioned and or disgruntled by infightings. Thus, began the downward electoral spiral.

The same applied "*mutatis mutandis*" at the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung in 2012 which further entrenched the culture of a "WTA" as it resulted in another split in the ANC and a further decline in its support in the 2014 National Elections and 2016 Local Government Elections.

The 54th National Conference (also referred to as NASREC) in December 2017 was also expected to go the route of a WTA slate approach. The intensity of the campaign and all the negative unintended consequences of a WTA slate were evident in the run up to NASREC reaching newer and higher levels of depravity.

Given the ANC electoral trends since 2009 and the outcomes of the 2016 Local Government Elections, the organization was treading on dangerous water. Should the outcome have been a WTA slate approach there were real threats of all the negative unintended consequences of a WTA after conference including another split by whichever slate lost. All the trends as well as the polls had put the ANC at between 48-52% prior to NASREC.

Had the ANC ended with a WTA slate and the movement further divided almost equally with another split, there was a very high probability that the ANC was going to go below 50% in the 2019 national elections.

Some delegates recognized that this would be a pyrrhic victory for the winning slate. The National Office Bearers (NOB) as well as additional members were consequently broadly inclusive of both slates and all the pre NASREC caucuses. Those candidates who lost as NOBs and or who withdrew their candidacy were elected as additional members. Whilst there remained some

disgruntlement and anger on all sides, the tensions were manageable because all caucuses and slates were part of the leadership collective. There were no official splits and the ANC was able to focus on rebuilding its brand and the elections rather than the usual consequences of the WTA such as mourning, splits and law fare. Few individuals who tried to create breakaway parties or join other parties were unsuccessful.

The outcome of the elections confirmed that whilst the ANC had lost support from 2014, it had neutralized its drastic downward spiral and in fact increased its support since the 2016 Local Government Elections to 57%. Which was much more than the projected 48-52% hovering just prior to NASREC.

It is thus trite that when ANC has ensured an inclusive and accommodatory outcome that includes all/or most of the leadership of the various caucuses that merge into slates. This creates conditions for unity after conference which in turn ensures an increase in electoral support.

However, the outcome of NASREC did not end the tendency and culture of a WTA. The vast majority of delegates at NASREC wanted a WTA but 200+ delegates decided differently and ensured a more "mixed masala" inclusive outcome. That they were successful in achieving this outcome was a miracle and very dangerous gamble. Thus, it begs the question whether the ANC should, going forward, leave the outcome of conference to such chance. There is no guarantee that the ANC will be able to ensure such an outcome again and there remains real danger that it may revert back to politics of WTA slates in future conferences.

Conclusion and Way Forward

Historical evidence during exile years, the 1990's and early 2000's as well as the 54th conference outcomes has shown that if the ANC wants to maintain and strengthen its unity and cohesion in a modern democracy, whilst at the same time ensuring internal party democracy, it needs an electoral process which ensures an outcome that is inclusive of all factions/caucuses. Equally though, the system must not kill the democratic ethos and processes of the ANC. The ANC must find a way to strike a balance between its democratic right to choose leaders vis-n-vis its ability to maintain unity and cohesion of the organization after the leaders are elected.

The ANC cannot continue to maintain a particular democratic process/principle that allows for a "WTA" approach because it is anathema to its historical culture of compromise. Also, empirical evidence has consistently indicated that this approach leads to the orga-

nization becoming more divided and weaker after its elective conferences.

The ANC's historical experience has also shown that the argument made by those propagating a "WTA" approach, that they will be able to heal the wounds and eliminate factions and slates immediately after the elective conference, is a fallacy. Rather, evidence reveals that almost every leader of a "WTA" slate claimed that they would be able to unite all factions after conference including the losing slate. But in reality, no matter their bona fides, they were unable to unite the ANC and bring aboard the leaders and supporters of the losing slate when such leaders were not reflected in the leadership.

Instead what happened is that the ANC experienced breakaway parties, members becoming disillusioned and moving out of activism, continuous infighting and perpetual division - above all, weakened ANC branches, the cornerstone of the ANC.

The ANC should instead accept the current reality of caucuses as an inherent consequence of party democracy in a modern democracy, particularly in the run up to elective conferences. It should rather be working to manage and regulate caucuses in the run up to conferences as these, if managed correctly, do not necessarily have to be the enemy. If correctly managed and regulated, could become a tool for healthy expression of democratic ideas, ethos and party tension, particularly when they are caucuses of ideology.

The 54th Conference of the ANC recognized the dangers of slates and attempted to start the process of ending the "WTA" slate by including the following resolutions:

1. *Nominations processes should make slate nominations impossible, by limiting the number of leaders each branch can nominate for positions in NEC, PEC, REC (for example 20 for NEC out of 60 to avoid block votes or nominations).*
2. *Slate voting should be outlawed and practices that allow for unifying voting should be encouraged. One is separating the vote for each official and announcement of result for each position, before voting for the next one.*
3. *The IEC must ensure that those contesting leadership positions declare their interests, including the amount and sources of money for campaigning, in line with ANC Finance Policies and Code of Ethics. Also deal with conflict of interest issues in candidate selection of public office.*
4. *The election of leadership in all structures must ensure continuity as well as renewal.*

5. *The NEC must agree on a formula to cap the percentage of NEC members deployed in government.*
6. *Nominations and elections should result in better representation for the motive forces and we should consider ways of achieving this.*
7. *Agrees on the Youth League proposal for a quota (25-40%) in all leadership positions to be reserved for youth.*
8. *Consideration should be given to extend the provision for gender equity to the top officials positions in all structures.*

However, whilst this is a good start addressing the issue of the WTA slate, it begs the question whether these resolutions are sufficient to end it. Whilst the NAS-REC resolutions now calls for separate voting of office bearers, there is still a danger that the WTA slates may still emerge. Thus, in addition we need to develop more detailed constitutional and policy mechanisms to augment the resolutions.

There were many good proposals in the past by various provinces, leagues and individuals to neutralise the WTA Slate phenomena. Regrettably, many were in the run up to elective conferences when tensions were high and those presenting such proposals were regarded with circumspection. Resulting in the ANC "throwing the baby out with the bath water".

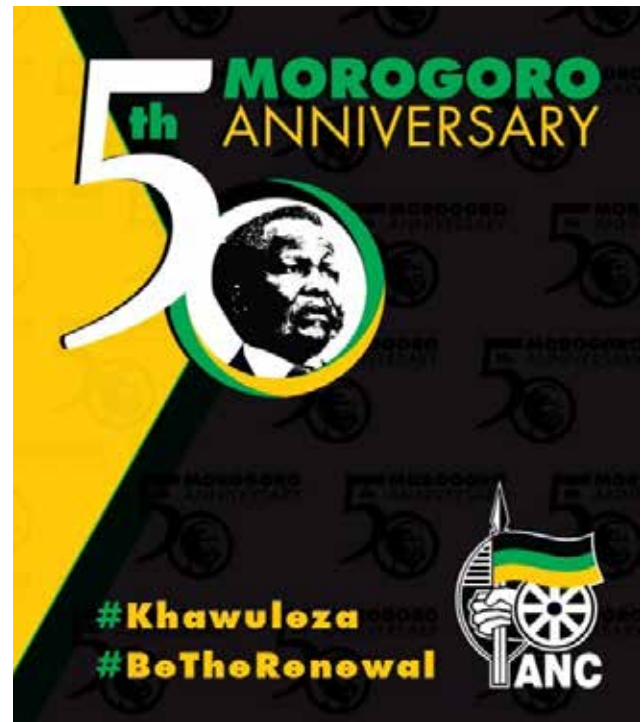
Proposals included increasing the National Office Bearer (NOB) positions from 6 to 9, with 1 additional Deputy President (DP) and 2 Deputy Secretaries Generals (DSG). Flowing from this was that the 1st DP position not be contested but the runner up automatically becomes the 1st DP.

The argument made by some that the approach of not contesting the Deputy positions undermines the democratic process is mischievous. The reality is that the current culture of contesting all NOB positions is in fact only one (1) version and for that matter an extreme version of democratic electoral processes given its consequences.

In reality, it could be better described as "democracy" as opposed to democracy. There is nothing undemocratic about contesting only the positions of President and SG and that the runner ups in these contests automatically become the Deputies. The ANC used similar out of the box options in our approach to ensuring an inclusive government of national and provincial unity in 1994 as the times dictated it to address an immediate threat to the unity, peace and stability of our country. Therefore, there is no reason why the ANC cannot do for itself what it did for the country when it is for own self-preservation, survival and sustainability.

This proposal may not be the panacea for ending all the negative tendencies of factionalism and slates and it too may throw up new unintended consequences. But it is a good point of departure to create an enabling environment for the future unity, cohesion and sustainable survival of the ANC. Perhaps now is the time for the ANC to build on this debate by creating Deputy Chairperson and Deputy Treasurer General positions to ensure that all deputy NOB positions go automatically to the losing/runner up caucuses. Also, where there are more than 2 contestants for an OB position, those that are in 3rd place or lower could be automatically included as additional members of the NEC provided that they meet a minimum threshold of support.

The above-mentioned options are merely recommendations and no doubt there will be many more other recommendations and or variations of the above. What is important when discussing different scenarios is that we always bear in mind that the purpose is to find practical ways of ensuring unity and inclusivity. ■



THE RENEWAL AGENDA

Across The LOCAL GOVERNMENT SPHERE

- *The district based service delivery model for development, which is currently being piloted, will be rolled out across the country with a view to drive all development initiatives through district mapping and implementation...a crucial question is when implemented, what kind of an organisation and leadership are available in communities as enablers? Are ANC branches vibrant and united to handle this form of intergovernmental planning, budgeting and delivery since local leadership of ANC branches is and has to be found directly or indirectly involved with municipal governance?*

By **KHULU MBONGO**

The Local Government Election in 2016 and the National Elections in 2019 have confirmed two important dynamics in South Africa's evolving democracy and conduct of elections. The first dynamic is the entrance of personalities as the face of political parties during campaigns even though party loyalty is still strong. Sentiment is gradually fading away and voters now use power of their vote to reward and punish parties in the elections.

Secondly, it confirmed correctness of tried and tested practice of relying on strong organisational base that is rooted in functional ANC branches, a need for organisational renewal and positioning that is responsive to exigencies of dawning electoral era, as well as election machinery that is deeply entrenched in communities for an intensive direct voter contact as a means to deliver key campaign messages.



ANC branches that are vibrant, stronger and rooted in communities must be occupied with their primary vanguard role in community life and lead communities in advancing local development and service delivery as well as contribute to building National Democratic Society based on the values of non-racialism and non-sexism.

The ANC got a reduced majority largely due to self-inflicted weaknesses of disunity, factionalism, confused electoral messages, a limping organisation as well as a disjointed election machinery. This was further complicated by an incoherent plan and strategy to come back from that setback, particularly to attract and win back middle class including disaffected minority groups.

The urgent tasks now are to organise ourselves better. To be seen building a true non-racial movement that is responsive to people's needs and find presence in every community. The lived experiences of the voters in

general is that ANC remains the organisation that is capable and experienced to transform governance and society while also delivering services to our people.

Local government elections in 2021 is our next litmus test of how much progress we have achieved in the unity and renewal efforts and the extent to which people do “trust” us again with electoral power. Recent bi-elections provide a glimmer of hope since the ANC wins bi-elections, including wards that belonged to the opposition. The ANC Government must prioritise local government. It must capacitate and strengthen it to be in a better as well as effective position to drive change to improve the quality of life our people in various communities across South Africa.

Organisational renewal must be linked with a strong organisation building effort and presence that is geared towards providing stronger as well as credible leadership at local level in line with traditional loyalty to parties and emerging role of personalities or leadership in elections.

In the last 25 years, the ANC has produced policies that cut across all spheres of government that have been decrypted into law, regulations and institutions which are designed to serve the needs and aspirations of our people. However, political and governance challenges continues and there seem to be widening crevice between institutions of governance and their ability to meet or deliver on the needs of communities.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, of 1996 in Section 152, details local government objective as: to provide democratic and accountable government of local communities; to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner; to promote social and economic development; to promote a safe and healthy environment; and to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

In support for and of local government sphere, there were several initiatives by government over the last 19 years to make municipalities agencies of transformation and service delivery. These range from the Local Government Strategic Agenda; Integrated Development Planning support programmes; grants; LED strategies and support; Project Consolidate; and donor supported programmes such as the Consolidated Municipal Transformation Programme.

However, despite all these provisions and support programmes, the 2009 overview report of the state of local government in South Africa revealed a disappointing collection of failures which are attributable to

structural, governance and capacity causes. The report grouped service delivery and governance problems as priority areas consistent with government’s developmental challenges.

These failures include the following: service delivery backlogs; poor communication and relationships with communities; problems with political/administrative interface; corruption and fraud; poor financial management; service delivery protests; weak civil society formations; intra- and inter-political party issues affecting governance and delivery; and inadequate municipal capacity due to lack of skills.

The report pointed out that too many of South Africa’s municipalities are in distress and that negative practices and fault lines have become deeply rooted largely in governance. Public dissatisfaction and mass protests in the local government sphere continue and these protests devour public capability and have therefore become wasteful. Local authorities have been reactionary and hardly successful at addressing the core grievances of communities.

Ward and proportional representative councillors are significantly swarmed in resolution processes and offices. Communities argue that their grievances are not attended. They consequently resort to mass protests that are accompanied by violence and destruction as an essential tactic to gain attention from highest authorities. The most concerning development of violent protests is that they usually lack effective and coherent organisation, strategic direction and leadership.

The district based service delivery model for development, which is currently being piloted, will be rolled out across the country with a view to drive all development initiatives through district mapping and implementation. The new model will require that national budgets and programmes are spatially referenced across the 44 districts and eight metros from the 2020/21 budget cycle. Correspondingly, a similar realignment of provincial government budgets and programmes will take place.

The model will allow for more specific service delivery and budget considerations at a district-level to pursue development through single, integrated plans per district. One district, one plan – that will outline the role of each sphere of government as well as the role of communities and civil society sectors in each district.

The objective of this shift in planning is to narrow the distance between citizens and to engender active participation by citizens in development, and enable long-term planning as well as responses to issues. This particular intervention will eliminate historical challenges

that have been unearthed by the 2009 local government review, other previous reports, and latest National Treasury and COGTA reports.

The model will in the main, address challenges of insufficient cash coverage to fund municipal operations. This indicates failure of over 124 municipalities to meet prudent standards, struggles to understand and action the critical concept that budgeting for surpluses is necessary to avoid cash and liquidity problems, overspending of operating budgets and underspending of capital budgets.

Accordingly, a crucial question is when implemented, what kind of an organisation and leadership are available in communities as enablers? Are ANC branches vibrant and united to handle this form of intergovernmental planning, budgeting and delivery since local leadership of ANC branches is and has to be found directly or indirectly involved with municipal governance?

The ANC renewal has to be seen within this context. Renewal effort is not done for its own sake and in a vacuum. It is strategically linked to areas of ANC's existence, operation and influence.

In the unfolding effort of organisational renewal, ANC should collectively reflect on how to produce programmes and cadreship that is politically and technically ready for deployment that will comprehend district based service delivery model of development work. It must place governance in general, and municipalities in particular, on a sustainable as well as service delivery oriented approach that is responsive and comply with its mandate.

Organisational renewal would be necessary firstly to position the ANC to be ready for a new model of service delivery that is introduced. Secondly, it has to respond comprehensively to challenges and criticism highlighted in the previous reports generated about governance. Thirdly, through organisational renewal there'll be need to learn from listening to people during door to door campaigns on shortcomings in service delivery and intra-fights.

To this end, the most appropriate starting point in our reflections and connection between the organisational weaknesses and the present day governance challenges can be extrapolated from the wisdom, experience and the timeless characterisation by former Secretary General of the ANC, Walter Sisulu who stated:

"Every organisation engaged in national liberation constantly has to isolate, analyse and search for solutions crucial both to its continued existence and growth, and to the success of the struggle as a whole."

Stripped to its bare essentials the national liberation struggle reduces itself to a struggle for political power - a struggle born of irreconcilable interests...In a certain sense, the story of our struggle is a story of problems arising and problems being overcome." (Walter Sisulu, **Reflections in Prison**, 1976)

To acquire and sustain state power demands a strong, agile and relevant organisation that is capable of renewing itself to overcome contending objective and subjective problems confronting it at a given period.

It is this understanding that calls for urgent and fundamental action to reverse any germination of seeds that have weakened the ANC and eroded its moral and political authority in governance/state power.

The current context which makes solutions more complex is their link to personal gain and material benefit associated with (state) power derived from being elected/deployment into public office. Hence it becomes important to focus on developing a cadre.

The ANC in the post 1990s has grown in numbers but, it has not converted the quantity of members into quality that have been developed to be cadres that have 'graduated' through political education, ideological training, academic as well as technical skills. Cadres who appreciate complexities of this phase and who can be at the cutting edge of the on-going struggle and fundamental political, social and economic transformation of our country.

It is in this context and spirit that the establishment and rollout of the ANC's comprehensive political school system through OR Tambo School of Leadership is so important at this time in the life of the ANC and its challenges.

The OR Tambo School of Leadership has to assist the ANC with its current challenges. It should develop a coherent as well as specific focus on the recruitment, political and ideological training of students and young intellectuals.

The one singular responsibility we all have is to ensure that the ANC must not only remain a People's movement, but also a People's Choice and Agent for change whose character is supposed to be an embodiment of a "pure" and "uncaptured" organisation.

The Strategy and Tactics document correctly notes that our gains can often be over shadowed by persistent and stubborn socio-economic legacy of colonialism of a special type and Apartheid that expresses itself through the triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequalities.

The pace and depth of socio-economic change driven by the ANC is often determined by three inter-related factors:

- a) the policy environment;
- b) institutional capacity and resources of the democratic state; and
- c) the purposefulness and cohesion of the governing party’.

ANC’s organisational renewal thesis identified three main shortcomings that have persisted in the ANC post-1994.

Firstly, due to pre-occupation with managing internal conflicts, the movement has not been mitigating the seven dangers that any governing party has to cope with when assuming office and the benefits that comes with it:

- a. The danger of social distance and isolation of the party from the masses through gate keeping and branches that have been weakened in their role;
- b. The danger of state bureaucratism and demobilisation of the masses which wittingly and unwittingly renders the role of and interest in matter of governance useless through creation of State to be everything that plays all the roles in society. Even those roles that are supposed to be played by NGOs, private capital/business and other stakeholders;
- c. The danger of corruption and neo-patrimonialism; that has elevated self-enrichment, cronyism, patronage politics and loyalty to leader(s) and not to the ANC, conspicuous consumption and glamour that created exclusivity on social/political circles for ANC which build arrogance in our leaders;
- d. The danger of institutionalized factionalism, ill-discipline and disunity fuelled and inspired by the battles over the control of state power and resources manifested through tenders and other opportunities; that has created internal democratic processes for election of leadership or nomination for MPs, MPL or Councillorship to become a matter of life and death;
- e. The danger of using state institutions to settle inner-party differences; and involve use of state machinery or weakened of organs of state as well as manipulation of governance administration for factional/subjective deployment. Use administrative processes to subject internal opponents to perpetual silence or face being fired from their municipal/government jobs/deployment for just having view(s) different from a dominant faction in power.
- f. The danger of neglecting cadre policy; where the

factional head(s) derived benefit and pleasure from operating within weak leadership collectives and structures in which they become the “reality definer” and appear well rounded and grounded.

- g. The danger of lack of capacity and capability to formulate local policies and plans as well as weak implementation of policies to improve the standard of living of the masses. This manifests itself in the administration, through failure by the ANC leadership itself to deploy or even ignore capable and skilled officials and cadres of the movement.

Secondly, the political life of the organisation revolves around permanent internal strife and factional battles for power. This is a silent retreat from the mass line into palace politics of factionalism and perpetual in-fighting. The internal strife revolves around contestation for power and state resources, rather than political or ideological differences, not even on how to implement the policies of the movement.

This situation has shifted the focus of cadres and members of the movement away from community interests, societal concerns and people’s aspirations. These circumstances have produced a new type of ANC leader and member. These new tendencies instil in new members and breeds a sense or belief that ill-discipline, divisions, factionalism and infighting are normal practices and necessary forms of political survival and self-preservation in the ANC elective office.

Thirdly, as an objective factor, the organisational capabilities is weakened – in the form of structures, systems and processes – which do not match the tasks and demands of the current phase of the revolution.

Two scenarios have emerged in which subjectively seasoned and experienced members and cadres are outmanoeuvred or elbowed out of positions/ elective office by new members and opportunists/ careerists. Or they blatantly just sit back as a spectator of the revolution with a sense of entitlement to positions.

Second scenario is the objective and often dangerous mistaken belief by seasoned and experienced cadres and members who assume that we have achieved our formal political freedom and as such opt for self-demobilisation. As a result of this development in the revolution, they have unwittingly dropped their revolutionary guards and leave the revolution in the hands of newly recruited and inexperienced members who can be easily manipulated.

This fundamental vacuum created in the movement and the ANC in particular, as a consequence of mass migration into other deployments or self-demobilisation get exploited by even careerists. This reality creates desperation for these careerists who now resorts to fac-

tional tendencies that manipulates ANC processes and engage in factionalism.

The weak state of ANC branches results in the organisation incapable of and incapacitated to engage even basic policy or IDP processes, bringing life and vibrancy into the programmes of Ward/ Clinic/ Health Committees/ Hospital Boards/ CPFs and SGBs.

Although ANC has a presence of progressive policies and cadres in virtually all pillars of transformation, we are not deliberately building appropriate capabilities to mobilise, engage and lead the motive and progressive forces in these pillars and structures to draw the linkages between pillar and sectoral processes and the overall national objective.

In consideration of declining electoral support, back to basics is crucial and organisational renewal becomes critical precondition for successfully winning back, not only confidence of the masses of our people to their ANC, but also winning lost municipalities.

The ANC has gone into a long period of organisational stagnation in which branches are only built for the purposes of conferences and the agenda of factions. This period of stagnation and in-fighting continue to be characterised by deep divisions, gate keeping, factional-

ism, weak cadre policy, patronage, rank opportunism and so on.

ANC needs to elect leadership that is diversified to reflect South African society in its diversity. Leadership that is reflective of multi class and fully embrace the broad church character the ANC and inter-generational mix and succession.

These are good basis and starting point going forward that will inspire confidence to ANC members, supporters as well as society in general. Otherwise commitments of the Freedom Charter will ring hollow and be a pipe dream for majority of South Africans. ANC will not to win back minority group and black middle class as well as arrest its decline.

The real possibility of increasing our seats in opposition benches looms large and remains the greatest nightmare of our generation which poses a real danger to the revolution. Therefore, delivery of social justice and economic freedom will be delayed by a generation or even forever.

ANC needs to put in place measures and take urgent steps to address our weaknesses and continue to draw lessons from our history. It must be bold enough to imagine new solutions and new ideas that will endure and survive future storms. ■

THE IDEOLOGICAL BASE

behind the

RENEWAL AGENDA

■ *This ideological incoherence within the movement is resulting in the polarisation of society and the splintering of forces that were part of the democratic movement. The values and principles of the movement are being compromised, and no longer form the bedrock foundation of decisions. This ideological incoherence has had profound negative consequences on the NDR project of building a democratic state and transforming the economy. What is required is a strategic reassertion of the ANC's ideological base at this juncture.*

By **LITHA KHWALO**

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Organisational renewal is not only structural; its roots reside in ideology. Ideology informs the strategic objective of the organisation and the tactical approaches that are required. In the past ten years, we have witnessed the rise of new dangerous tendencies that need reversing. These tendencies could emerge because we have deviated from our ideological base.

The one is a tendency of anti-intellectualism. The other, a related tendency, is that of populism. These two tendencies have redefined the objectives of the South African revolution by misrepresenting our rich theoretical and historical positions, as demonstrated by recent pronouncements that the enemy of the revolution is white monopoly capital and that a “new class” of black bourgeoisie built around government tenders is a motive force.

In its extreme articulation, this view attacks constitutional institutions like the judiciary and institutions vital to our democracy like the media. These institutions are viewed as anti-transformational and serving the interests of white monopoly capital. On the other extreme we have a third ideological misnomer; that of

being neo-liberal, anti-transformation, and denialist of the ANC's historic mission to liberate the black working class, and Africans in particular, hiding behind the “broad church” thesis.

Poorly theorised and populist iterations are extremely dangerous at our current conjuncture. Those advancing the “anti-white monopoly capital” agenda feed a racist interpretation of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). Those denying the impact of Apartheid and colonialism of a special type on our economy denounce the importance of deliberate interventions to diversify, expand and deracialise our economy. The different positions articulated by the leadership of the movement on the role of the Reserve Bank and on the phenomenon of state capture reveal these ideological contradictions. Both tendencies undermine capital accumulation and industrialisation, thereby impacting negatively on job creation and state revenue generation, and consequently on the ANC's capacity to deliver a better life for all.

This ideological incoherence within the movement is resulting in the polarisation of society and the splintering of forces that were part of the democratic move-

ment. The values and principles of the movement are being compromised, and no longer form the bedrock foundation of decisions. This ideological incoherence has had profound negative consequences on the NDR project of building a democratic state and transforming the economy. What is required is a strategic reassertion of the ANC's ideological base at this juncture.

Ideological and policy positions of the ANC are not static and should not be treated as some religious dogma. They remain subject to intense debate and theorisation, always consistent with the values and principles of the movement. These ideological and policy positions are determined at constitutionally assigned conferences. Policy conferences of the ANC usually take place at particular moments in history, and respond to particular ideological issues and organisational challenges. Recently, however, these conferences have become pre-occupied with factional leadership contestation, rather than policy. And even where policy is discussed, it often mirrors factional divisions, with very weak theorisation and real ideological contestation. It becomes important that we draw on lessons from Morogoro.

Recalling Morogoro's ideological base

The Morogoro Conference provided an ideological framework for understanding the national and class question in South Africa. One of the key conferences that paid serious attention to the ideological questions confronting the South African revolution was the Morogoro Conference. We focus on this conference, not to minimise the contributions of other conferences such as Lobashe, Kabwe and those held inside the country. But rather to reflect on the emerging ideological incoherence that is currently prevalent in the movement.

The conference of the ANC that took place in Morogoro in 1969 was a watershed that provided a clear ideological framework the National Democratic Revolution could be conceptualised and executed. It closed a heated ideological battle that started with the Freedom Charter assertion that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

The Strategy and Tactics document concluded that South Africa is best characterised by Colonialism of a Special Type and not the classical form of colonialism where the coloniser is linked practically to the host colonial country. It is special in that the coloniser and colonised reside in the same space but with unequal access to political and economic power. Morogoro resolved that ours is fore-mostly a national democratic revolution and not a direct socialist revolution due to the primacy of the national question. The creation of a non-racial and democratic society remains the core objective of the current phase of our revolution.

The Strategy and Tactics document provided an ideological framework for understanding the relationship between the class and national question in the South African context. It asserted the centrality of the African working class in the leadership of the revolution based on the realisation that the Apartheid system was sustained through cheap migrant labor. The Strategy and Tactics adopted in Morogoro recognised in its analysis of the national and class question that the African majority is the most oppressed, but not a homogeneous class.

Africans, while largely constituted by the poor and working class, is also comprised of an aspirant bourgeoisie in the form of small traders and middle class. Africans and Blacks in general had an immediate common challenge of being excluded from the political and economic system of the country.

The primary objective of the national democratic revolution at the time was the creation of a non-racial and democratic society. It was only through the achievement of this objective that the foundation could be laid for dealing with class contradictions in society. This task was that of the South African Communist Party as the political home of the working class. This implied that an Alliance led by the ANC was required for the objectives of the national democratic revolution to be achieved, with the immediate objective being the creation of a non-racial and democratic society.

The articulation of the NDR implied that the membership of the ANC had to be opened to all races and non-racialism became a principle for mobilisation and participation in the struggle. The adoption of non-racialism as a principle meant also that the various congresses that existed prior to its banning had to be liquidated. This included the Indian Congress, Colored People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats (which used to cater for white activists).

It is important to set out clearly the implications of the Strategy and Tactics as adopted by the Morogoro conference. The ANC placed the interests and material conditions of the African masses and blacks in general as the centerpieces of our organisational and campaigning strategy. At the same time, the ANC resolved to mobilise along non-racial lines to forge a broad coalition of forces to isolate and overthrow the apartheid state.

In this sense, the NDR represents a minimum programme around which the forces of national liberation could be mobilised on non-racial lines. It meant the resources and emphasis had to be placed on mobilisation and organisation of the African working class and blacks in general to swell the ranks of the ANC.

Strengthening the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and other sectoral organisations such as student, youth and religious organisations were prioritised as part of the broader strategy of executing the NDR.

Ideological coherence of the ANC: challenges and implications

We revisit the Morogoro Strategy and Tactics document because of the challenges facing the ANC today. And to show the disjuncture between current tendencies in the movement and our historic principles and values. We have witnessed, especially since the 2007 Polokwane conference, a significant decline in ideological coherence of the ANC. This deterioration is manifesting itself in the political articulation and responses to a number of developments taking place in our country. Three features stand out.

1. Non-racialism is increasingly being de-emphasised as a core component of our strategy. The ANC is losing its hegemony and appeal to various sections of society along non-racial lines. Addressing the material conditions faced by the African majority does not imply the alienation of the non-racial character of our struggle. The task of the ANC in mobilising society along non-racial lines changes the material conditions of the oppressed black majority on a sustainable basis.
2. The African working class as a motive force is increasingly being de-emphasised, with the interests of a new parasitic bourgeoisie gaining prominence especially over the past decade. This class – in essence non-productive and non-innovative – accumulates capital through access to state power and resources, and in a very direct sense competes with the working class as state resources are redirected away from social wage spending.
3. The capacity of the ANC to play the vanguard role of the NDR has increasingly diminished as political patronage tied to the new parasitic bourgeoisie drives factionalism and division in the movement. Closely associated with these networks of political patronage is the emergence of provincial and regional leaders, who wield increased influence at ANC conferences. ANC conferences at all levels have become more about factional contestation than about defining strategy and tactics to execute the NDR. This has been reinforced by recent tendencies of anti-intellectualism and populism within the movement.

As the struggle for liberation intensified, the ANC developed capacity and sophisticated its revolutionary

tools of analysis to differentiate between an ideological tendency and a coherent revolutionary framework. Today the ANC is losing this strength that was premised on its vanguard role and superior ideological logic. Tendencies are becoming embedded and entrenched in the movement and society.

There are two principal tendencies that must be characterised as such instead of presenting them as genuine ideological perspectives. The first tendency that the movement must deal with has a fundamentally flawed understanding of the both the national and class question. It seems to assume that the behavior of the capitalist class can be differentiated according to race. Black capitalists are supposed to be inherently progressive and not profit maximising. Whereas white capitalists are supposed to be reactionary and greedy. All capitalists irrespective of race want to maximise profits at the expense of the welfare of workers.

This tendency further confuses issues by arguing that there is something known as white monopoly capital. Capital in South Africa is dominated by white males and therefore needs to be diversified to include blacks and Africans in particular. Even when it is diversified to include blacks and Africans it (capital) will seek to exploit workers and make super profits.

Monopoly behavior has no race. Monopoly behavior refers to a behavior where 1 or 2 firms create barriers to entry using market power and pricing tactics to collapse small firms. This behavior has no colour and is a logical development of capitalism where prices can be set at artificially low levels to ensure that new firms become unviable and collapse. Once the new firms have collapsed, they revert back to the normal market prices. They are able to exercise this power because of their market power and control of the full value chain.

The second tendency presents itself as the moral superiors and custodians of a clean governance. This tendency rides on the recent past where corruption was starting to be endemic in government and in some sections of the private sector. Genuine concerns about corruption were packaged to bolster this tendency. The core mobilising strategy of this tendency is its preoccupation with personality cults where some leaders of the movement are isolated and pitted against others on the basis of moral bankruptcy and superiority.

Fundamentally this tendency seeks to protect backward and feudal rent-seeking behavior of some sections of capital who refuse to engage genuine productive activity in the economy. Typically, they would like to make super-profits through rent seeking behavior with minimal investment in the economy. Another key trait associated with this tendency is being fundamentally op-

posed to the transformation of the economy and the diversification of its ownership.

This dangerous tendency does not recognise that colonialism over centuries produced a socio-economy outcome of a massive and unsustainable under-class. The under-class in this context refers to the millions of unemployed youth, the lumpen proletariat and semi-peasantry. Failure to deal with the under-class through their participation in the labour market and the economy in general poses a real danger of South Africa becoming a failed state. The under-class will target the State and its organs as part of its revolt. The ANC must defeat this tendency by developing a coherence strategy of affirming the under-class in the economy through a coherent macroeconomic framework.

Conclusion

Populism and anti-intellectualism are uncharacteristic of the policy thrust of the ANC as particularly defined at Morogoro and reaffirmed at consequent national conferences. It provides a racist interpretation of the NDR

and it justifies the creation of a parasitic, compradorial bourgeoisie that does not contribute to expanding the productive capacity of the country's economy. Likewise, the candid superiority of those who deem themselves champions of clean governance while wishing to retain historical structural capitalist patterns cannot be tolerated.

If the organisation and its leadership does not intervene, and root out these tendencies they have the potential of further polarising the organisation and society more generally. The consequence of this polarisation pose a risk of our country becoming a failed state as the tendencies harden and find root in the various organs of state and society. It is imperative that the organisational renewal process includes a restoration of our ideological base. Now more than ever, South Africa needs a united ANC that espouses integrity and is capable of championing its historic mission of advancing the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, united democratic South Africa in which the African working class is its key motive force. ■

50TH Anniversary of the African National Congress Morogoro Consultative Conference

ANC members and supporters have a role to play in the renewal process by undertaking various organisational and political tasks. We are suggesting that every member should, at least, focus on 6 key tasks:

- 1) Make sure your membership is up to date
- 2) Attend your monthly branch meetings
- 3) Attend a political education session or complete an online course
- 4) Recruit one new member a month
- 5) Share ANC tweets and Facebook posts with friends
- 6) Be involved in community and development issues



#Khawuleza
#BeTheRenewal



Issues of Renewal

50 YEARS

POST-MOROGORO

- *Perhaps the issue of the stages of membership should be considered, linked to long term induction and political education of members - not just passage of time. When this is done, serious care will have to be taken to prevent gate keeping. The digitalisation of membership should be a straightforward and an urgent initiative. One of the areas to look at is whether there should not be different categories of members.*

By **ADVOCATE SONWABILE MANCOTYWA**

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2019 marks 50 years since the watershed Morogoro Consultative Conference. A gathering that was not a full conference, held in conditions of illegality and intense differences on perspectives. And even shortly after a mutiny.

It was immensely optimistic, intensely forward thinking and life-changing.



The Importance of Ubuntu

For renewal to result in the turning of a new page, I believe it must draw on the African value system of Ubuntu. A lot of sources of our country and world's political systems were based on the premise of conflict over resources or outlooks. And behaved as if the solution is just about who will get victory over whom.

Half a century later, considering the intensity and complexity of issues that have come to light in South Africa, is the right time to accelerate a search for renewal and re-building. Morogoro took place in a context of intense and dramatic challenges facing the organization and global changes that impacted the country and the organisation. The responses that emerged from the collective wisdom of leaders, members and allies in those complex objective circumstances resulted in an organisation that was “new again.” In one word – renewed - mostly.

Ubuntu moves from a premise that we are all our neighbour's keepers - we are because the next person is. That our collective survival and prosperity is measured by how much we enable the same for the next person. This would mean a new view of what victory means. A new view of what success means - of what are the strategies and tactics that must be activated to achieve such a situation.

Such an effort would require an Ubuntu oriented leadership. While theorists must define in more detail what

this should be. It definitely includes:

- Leaders who look out for their people before themselves;
- Leaders who do not harvest where they did not plant;
- Leaders who are as concerned with the next election as with the next generations;
- Leaders who have a sense of shame, of honour of compassion;
- Leaders who have a sense of service, humility and empathy (*uvelwano*);
- Leaders who put people's interests before deal-making;
- Leaders who are proud of their African heritage and committed to an inclusive future that has redress and equity.

The importance of 4IR

Also, this renewal will need to take into account that the fourth industrial revolution (4IR) is not a festival of equals. It's a continuation of the unbalanced global binge, where Africa and Africa's resources were on the menu. What do we then do to be more competitive, to be more human, to be more empathetic, to be more kind, to be more helpful? The equations, artificial intelligence and machinery do not know the language of humane-ness, of kindness.

Therefore, the renewal process must engage vigilantly with the 4IR. The direction of engagement must be favourable to Africa and aligned to its realities. It must be committed to a truly humane Africa and world. 4IR is not only about machinery and thinking. It is also about how society will continue to feel and be more caring.

The present and the future we are building demands superlative skills. Slates may have been of use to get into lists and into deployments. However, 4IR and the future that we are building does not allow for under-skilled cadres and leaders – whether political, administrative or technical. If slates continue, they will have to draw on the best skills – people's skills, technical skills, administrative skills and ideological skills.

The State

One of the major discussions of any renewal agenda, is the character of the state. At the time of the Morogoro discussion, the global discussion about the state was:

- Socialist vs Capitalist State
- Colonised or Coloniser
- The centre vs the periphery
- The Native Republic Thesis.

Morogoro articulated the notion of a National Democratic State to the South African context. It found that

none of the state systems that existed elsewhere would be transplanted. Instead aspects would be adapted to a new type of state that is aligned to the vision of a united, non-racial, and non-sexist democracy.

Imperatives put across as the character of the national democratic struggle are even more relevant as they were before. They also ask about the kind of state needed to deal with an increasingly globalised world with an increasingly complex global economy. A world with a complex relationship between state owned enterprises, private business and the state.

Sins of Incumbency

The other issue of renewal is preventing and curing many diseases that affect liberation movements, especially after assuming power. Joel Netshitenzhe refers to this as the "*sins of incumbency*". Ndebele and Niefert-agordien quote Joe Slovo's observation that the organisation in the 1960s was suffering from this disease of exile.

Backward political postures (including tribalism) and alien ideas had come into the life of the party because of the absence of organized contacts. Behaviours in conflict with behaviour that the party has always insisted on and expected to uphold.

This could easily be a description of the ANC when, 50 years ago, calls for renewal came loud from different quarters. I can safely say the disease taking over the ANC is, what a number of leading thinkers have been calling the sins of incumbency.

This demands that something be done to renew and re-orient the organisation if it is to sustain its historic mission. They go on to say:

"a number of critical issues arose within the ANC and between the Congress movement allies. Matters that dominated the Morogoro conference had been festering within the ANC since it was banned: integration of diverse ethnic groups into the organisation; coordination of the political and military elements of the struggle; and building a new leadership echelon, not only to replace those who had been imprisoned, but also to deal with the internationalization of the struggle."

The disease of government-ness/incumbency offers a serious test of how power affects a person's and group's access to power. Especially considering the kinds of people it attracted when there was not a proper vetting measures

Perhaps the issue of the stages of membership should be considered, linked to long term induction and political education of members – not just passage of time.

When this is done, serious care will have to be taken to prevent gate keeping. The digitalisation of membership should be a straightforward and an urgent initiative. One of the areas to look at is whether there should not be different categories of members (i.e. supporters and active members).

Today festering issues may have grown since unbanning and escalated with ANC move into government as ruling party. It may mean building a new leadership echelon and not just replace those who had gone to government or were aging.

Conclusion

One of the important outcomes of the Morogoro Conference was the systematic rebuilding of the organisational political machinery. There is no doubt that the present period demands rebuilding the organizational political machinery. It's not just about getting more people to join branches, but also to ensure these are functional and that majority of members are ideologically grounded and oriented.

Even though there's easily available technology to masify ideological awareness and deepen analysis, poverty of ideology is multiplied in the current period. The rich and diverse heritage of solidarity, struggle, analysis and ideologically informed action is not available to the organisation as it should be.

50 years after Morogoro, the areas of renewal that we can benefit from include:

- Building political consciousness – nationally and ideological consciousness for members and cadres;
- Building and capacitating the organisation and its units;
- Greater Integration/Better definition of political work, administrative work and government work;
- Remembering that politics leads;
- Faithful to non-racialism, faithful to anti-tribalism, to gender situation.
- More effective structures and institutional arrangements;
- A pipeline of cadreship development, including a functional pioneers and youth structures;
- Addressing of ethical lapses, corruption, theft, abuse of power;
- Strong alliance partners are in the interest of the ANC and its mission;

- As a country we now face a drastically changed world political economy, in a similar way that when Morogoro took place, two major powers were at logger-heads, even now two powers are at logger-heads;
- More and more discussions are happening about issues like:
 - o what should be the role of the state;
 - o how the state should work;
 - o what should be the character of the state;
 - o what philosophy should underpin it;
 - o what should be the role of the party in a multi-party democracy;
 - o what should be the role of civil society, trade union movement and business;
 - o What is character of the movement;
 - o Dealing with globalisation;
 - o Dealing with the economic challenge;
 - o Relating to society, social structures;
 - o The future of the family and community;
 - o How people can become more safe and less afraid of crime.
- The character of the state is changing and expectations on the state are changing. There are contesting views of how much role should the state play in present and future circumstances;
- The character of the ANC, as not only one of the parties that contest elections, but also as a leading agent for change in society – places demands on it to be in tune with and ahead of the times.
- The duty to build non-racialism, such that all communities and individuals want to and feel they belong to the ANC and to the country,
- One of the intense discussions in the run-up to the Morogoro Conference was the warm and intense keen-ness to join and participate under the banner of the ANC – what needs to be done to restore the ANC to that level of popularity among the leading thinkers and activities of all neighbourhoods, language groups and professional sectors?

We owe it to Morogoro 50 years later, to renew our organisation and renew our society. We owe it to future generations to use the lessons of Morogoro in building the present and the future that they deserve. To create an accountable organisation, an agile organisation, a strategic forward looking organization.

Let us build the future that is deserved by future generations. The next 25 years must see a different life for our people and our movement. ■

Headline Youth In The ANC RENEWAL DISCOURSE

- *We should appreciate that the ANCYL has been at the centre of development and renewal of the ANC and the country. It was in fact the ANCYL that shaped the ANC under the most difficult period of the struggle. The question may arise, where exactly should renewal begin – in the ANC or ANCYL? Historical perspective has proven beyond reasonable doubt that the younger generation are better placed to lead the renewal process towards realisation of the kind of movement that they want to inherit.*

By **KUTLOANO RAKOSA**

30

To suggest that the debate on organizational renewal within the ranks of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) should unfold independently from broader political discussions in the ANC would be an obfuscation of the truth. The thinking behind such a discussion should be informed by various strands of political thought and resolutions adopted in successive conferences.

Such an approach would cast light into the kind of qualities required to build an organization that responds practically to some of the pressing challenges related to political decay in the ANCYL. This article seeks to shed light on the prospects of organizational renewal within the ANCYL. It asks - what kind of principles must the ANCYL adopt to rally the youth behind the vision of a united and prosperous South Africa?

The defects of the ANC led to a more radical and militant characterization of the ANCYL. The latter drafted a Programme of Action (POA) to counter these inabilities of the ANC. It established that the structure of the mother body was inefficient and ineffective for the



struggle (at the time) against white minority rule. Urgently, the ANCYL fought long and hard for the mother body to stretch its reach and to become a mass movement in order for the masses of our people to be part of the struggle.

This was to become an important moment where the masses of our people would join the movement and shape the nature of the struggle. Support from the masses grew and the ANC was at the fore front with ANCYL leaders at the centre. In the late 1940's boycotts, protest and civil disobedience were key features of the POA.

Extension of the reach of the ANCYL was crucial if it was to realise its vision. This roll-out would shape what was to be the form of ANCYL. It led to establishment of students' organizations, sporting formations and others, ensuring young people across the length and breadth of society play an active part in the struggle. The foresight of that generation of the ANCYL is something that we should all look at as reference. This must be done not to chastise other generations, but to learn and emulate for the successful implementation of

the NDR. In its very first Constitution, this was the vision of the ANCYL:

- *“To arouse and encourage national consciousness and unity among African Youth.*
- *To assist, support and re-inforce the African National Congress in its struggle for National Liberation of the African people.*
- *To study political, economic and social problems of Africa and the world.*
- *To strive and work for educational, moral and cultural advancement of African Youth.”*

The understanding that stands out is that we will never achieve freedom unless we work together as a united African people. Even if at the time there was wrestling about acceptance of Nationalism as the basic ideology and there was an active participation of communist in the ANC.

The Early Years

Interestingly, debates about building the ANCYL has been raised throughout the development and emergence of the organization. Such debates were part of efforts to build a stronger movement.

After its launch some felt the organization was largely unknown and not making real impact in both its content and form. Some went further to argue that most of its leaders were working and leading in the mother body and therefore preoccupied.

The ANCYL didn't have branches and operated as small units within branches of the ANC. Lack of resource to organize and mobilise became a hindrance. Duma Nokwe explains that *“at times the ANCYL would have its meetings at the sidelines of the mother body's annual conferences, though discussions would be mainly about the party line to be taken.”*

The ANCYL 1944 founding Constitution stated that, (Giffard C, 1984:35): *“membership was open to Africans between the ages of 12-40 years of age, and that members older than 17 years of age will automatically be members of Congress.”*

Later the draft ANCYL Constitution read *“membership of the League is open to all South African between the ages of 14 and 30 who support the policy and guidelines.”*

Even at its establishment the age debate was an issue. What then should be the approach today? The African Union Youth Charter and United Nations Charter respectively have a different definition on the matter. Interestingly this debate is only in the progressive youth

movement and not broader youth sector.

In fact, some within the 35 to 40 years of age regard themselves as youth. This is a mechanical debate which in truth is about a battle of control of the ANCYL. In the light of the renewal of the youth movement, a careful thought should be applied to deal with this matter and the extent to which it will have impact on the National Youth Policy. Where do we place those we will exclude as a result? Should we not, like the founding members, extend the age of youth to 40?

Basic tenets of renewal

We should appreciate that the ANCYL has been at the centre of development and renewal of the ANC and the country. It was in fact the ANCYL that shaped the ANC under the most difficult period of the struggle. The question may arise, where exactly should renewal begin – in the ANC or ANCYL? Historical perspective has proven beyond reasonable doubt that the younger generation are better placed to lead the renewal process towards realisation of the kind of movement that they want to inherit.

The ANCYL has unfortunately disappeared in so far as struggles of the youth is concerned. The youth have been far ahead in youth struggles and the ANCYL is battling to catch up. ANCYL must debate its organizational design and if it is non-racial by book but not by outlook. With this we will be in a position to not only reach out, but to assume our rightful space in the discourse as a leader of all young people.

The role of the ANCYL in this current conjuncture is to clearly define for the ordinary masses and the youth that the vision is no longer to attain democracy since we are living in it. The ANC fought for democracy and cannot be opposed on something it successfully struggled for. Instead, because of this success, young people are obliged to support and vote for ANC.

Flowing from this must be an honest debate about the wide gap between the youth and the ANCYL – do young people still believe that ANCYL can champion their interests? The point can be made that part of the reason young people refuse to join and support ANCYL is that the organization have been coopted and behave like gatekeepers whilst not providing alternative views or representation ideals of the youth. An example is the extent validation by ANC leaders is sought instead of the youth.

In essence the ANCYL does not heed the call of ANC President Xuma who in the 1944 Conference said: *“You have been summoned to assemble in this hall, to discuss an important question, the question of the formation*

of an organization to solve the problem of African people, a problem of a future South Africa... You have been called upon to discuss the formation of a Youth League under the African National Congress. The proposal of the formation of this organization was passed in Bloemfontein in 1942, also confirmed in 1943, by the Conference of the African National Congress."

Significantly, President A.B. Xuma said "... to solve a problem of African people, a problem of a future South Africa".

After the establishment of the ANCYL and the realization of a mass movement, leaders understood that political work cannot be carried out unless ANCYL swell the ranks and establish progressive movements/forums. For example many leaders at tertiary institutions join student movements and play a leading role in

advancing the vision and mission of the youth movement. To an extent even going as far as participating in debating societies, church (youth structures), sports, arts and culture forums to galvanise young people and shaping the direction how each sector participate in the struggle.

Majority of these structures were led by leaders of the youth movement, and as a result very few, if any structures opposed the ANC.

Should ANCYL not be re-established, revived and participate in all progressive movements it runs the risk of being extinct. It must be strengthened to respond to present day challenges and be reminded that to be a leader of the youth is earned and not transferred or hereditary because the ANC is a leader of society. ■

FOR A LOOK BEYOND THE HEADLINES

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Extract Neoliberal Indinations *through* Revolutionary Morality and Consciousness

- *In its curriculum for a revolutionary political consciousness, sensibility, and moral imagination, the O.R. Tambo School of Leadership should focus its unflinching gaze on the neoliberal capitalist democracy we live in, and guide the ANC to comprehend its full meaning. Drawing on ample evidence around the world, it should explore the inherent violence of capitalism and globalization, and should poise itself to set a new agenda for our thinking about public service as a function of revolutionary morality.*

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By **PROFESSOR MUKE NKONDO**

A COUNTRY'S POLITICAL and economic system influences its public service. In turn its public service thrives on public opinion. This leads one to conclude that only truly democratic societies offer an environment that is conducive for practicing efficient and effective public services.

Evidence suggests that in societies whose political system do not value public opinion, public service is not responsive and tends to be one-way and propagandistic in nature. What complicates analysis is that democracy comes in many forms as is evident in the fact that almost each of the parties in parliament (and different



factions) claim to be a democracy. These parties (and the factions) are able to make this claim because they have their own definition of what democracy is or should be (MacIntyre, 1967).

In what ways is our Bill of Rights linked to the level of public service development? How does our democracy regulate and enforce public discipline and integrity among its elected representatives and officials? Any loopholes? An important question

this, because the tone and temper of public service are influenced by the political and economic environment, and they are a means to building relationships between government and citizens. Also between government

and organizations as well as citizens. A political system, socioeconomic development and public service are closely interrelated. And they have direct influence on the extent of activism because only democratic societies tolerate activism of any sort (Altschull, 1984; Zizek, 2009; Zuern, 2011; Hofstede, 2001).

I. Beyond Neoliberal Capitalism: Challenges of Systemic Violence

Neoliberal capitalism is at the heart of systemic violence in South Africa and around the world. Revolutionary morality - Batho Pele - should be at the heart of the renewal process. How is it that neoliberal capitalism, one of the major value systems of Western civilization, has so often through the ages - even until today - been a motivation for one of the most oppressive of political, social, and economic systems?

It is because of the very nature of neoliberal capitalism: individual rights, competition, and personal gain are explanations of the ultimate meaning of politics and economics, of power. It attempts to provide a comprehensive explanation of the entirety of human relations. Consequently, neoliberal capitalism pretends to be absolute, unlimited. However, in the last hundred and so years, we South Africans have become increasingly aware of the limits of its claims. We need to continue to be in dialogue with others of different ethical persuasions to learn from each other. Then our understanding of the ultimate meaning of political, social, and economic relations will expand and deepen, and hence also will be our ability for solidarity, social cohesion, nation building, and regional integration.

Thus, in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, with science and technology as its handmaidens, revolutionary morality needs to become more and more part of the solution. To this end, the OR Tambo School of Leadership should foster dialogue and collaborative decision processes. First in the 'broad church' and then in all the publics within and beyond political borders, in all the ethical systems and ideologies of the world. Precisely because of the trans territorial nature of the struggle. In its epistemology and pedagogy, the OR Tambo School of Leadership should foster teaching, learning, writing, reading, speaking, and listening as acts of mutual recognition, articulations of the desire for mutual understanding, fellow feeling, and belonging (Gasché, 1998).

In its curriculum for a revolutionary political consciousness, sensibility, and moral imagination, the OR Tambo School of Leadership should focus its unflinching gaze on the neoliberal capitalist democracy we live in, and guide the ANC to comprehend its full meaning. Drawing on ample evidence around the world, it should explore the inherent violence of capitalism and globalization, and should poise itself to set a new agenda for

our thinking about public service as a function of revolutionary morality (Zizek, 2009; Merleau-Ponty, 1969).

Revolutionary morality succinctly brings its claims to issues - political, social, economic - at the heart of fundamental change: a clash with neoliberal capitalism that is in many ways emblematic of the larger historic struggles between Western and ubuntu traditions across the continent (Luthuli, 1962; Mandela, 10 May 1994; Biko, 1978; Nabudere, 2011; Mudimbe, 1988).

Organizational renewal, grounded in revolutionary morality, is crucial. It has been the point since the establishment of the ANC in 1912. Eurocentric political, social, and economic forms and practices we face now mostly grew out of the global flow and penetration of Eurocentric desire and interests - reducing Africa into a career for Westerners which developed quite consciously about the time of the Enlightenment in Britain and Europe. Modified by a very clear and articulated recognition that Africans in time would be hard to suppress by force (Mudimbe, 1988). So they had to try to control our thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs or direct us somehow (Young, 2001).

2. The Feminist Turn

Many of the major modes of political thought over the colonial and postcolonial years as a whole are structured - indeed, fractured - by a chronic if not endemic crisis of patriarchal definition. It is argued that an understanding of revolutionary morality will be not merely incomplete, but damaged in its central substance to the degree that it does not incorporate a critical analysis of feminism; and we must assume that the appropriate place for that critical analysis is from the relatively decentred perspective of gender justice (Spivak, 1998; Butler, 2004; Sedgwick, 2018; Carpenter, 2017; Qunta, 2016).

Over the years, the political struggle has spread and deepened the long crisis of patriarchal gender definition dramatically and often violently. The internal incoherence and the contradiction of the institutional perspective on the subject inherited from the architects of neoliberal capitalism. Both the power relations between the genders and the relations of nationalism, post colonialism and liberation have been in highly visible crisis. An assumption underlying this perspective is that gender relations have the potential of revealing the tension at the core of politics in South Africa.

In our policy and strategy deliberations, we must refuse to identify the political, social, and economic experience with the male experience. As feminist scholarship shows, feminist social scientists in South Africa challenge several areas of patriarchal ideology and epistemology on the grounds that they fail to take seriously women's interests, identities, and issues. They don't

recognise women's ways of being, thinking and doing as valuable as those of men. Because feminist intellectuals such as Spivak, Butler and Sedgwick reject all forms of ontological definition, they stress the ways in which individuals interpenetrate each other, in which the mind, body, and spirit constitute each other.

Because neoliberal capitalism associates rationality with '*masculinity*' and '*emotionality*' with '*femininity*', neoliberal epistemologists have often concluded that women are less human than men. For this reason, feminist scholars argue that reason and emotion are symbiotically related, coequal sources of knowledge. They also argue, and rightly so, that Cartesian knowledge, for all its certainty and clarity, is very limited. Women, just like men, want to know more than that they exist. Than that they just found themselves here; they want to know what other women – and men – are thinking and feeling (Meyiwa 2018, 2015, 2013, 2011; Sithole, 2016, 2013, 2006).

As part of the political education and resocialization program, the OR Tambo School of Leadership should focus on the political institutions and social practices that perpetuate women's subordination and abuse. Revolutionary morality must explain why women continue to be violated and suppressed, twenty-five years since the democratic transition, in ways that men are not and suggest morally desirable and politically feasible ways to give women the same justice and freedom that men have (Weeks, 1980). But gender relations, particularly in the intersection between the private and the public domains, can be tricky.

Conclusion

The revolutionary renewal task, organizational and personal, is to go beyond the horizon drawn by neoliberal categorical imperatives – '*one of us*', '*not one of us*', true, false, European and others, knowledge, ignorance, developed, underdeveloped, centre, periphery, far, near, wealthy, poor, male, female, straight, gay and lesbian, albino, civilized, citizen, etcetera.

The return of the '*people*' to revolutionary ethical space can be seen as a major contribution to the expansion of political, social, and economic horizons, because it helps to present neoliberal categories for what they are: contingent and particular forms of constructing antagonistic differences as an ultimate core from which the nature of power and hegemony can be explained. Revolutionary morality's widening of horizons is a precondition for thinking the forms of our revolutionary engagement in the era of globalized capitalism. It is necessary to reconceptualise the rationale and justification for *people's* demands, the political economic logic of their articulation and desire, and the nature of the equivalences among the struggles on the ground. This effort – which is necessarily collaborative and deliberative – is the urgent task ahead. For this, we need to cultivate a revolutionary sensibility, imagination, and political will. ■

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