



## ONLINE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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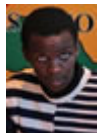
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Don't burn down the house to make a braai



Mandela made nation building and reconciliation one of the corner stones of his five-year term in office. He recognized that for the new nation to move forward on a solid foundation he needed to forge a common nationhood and a shared sense of belonging. He knew that it was not possible to reconcile the past with the present, to forge the shared future without exorcising the gory atrocities of the past. [Readers Forum](#)

Unity is strength



Whatever the size of its membership and however loyal is its support base, no movement can endure the disorganization caused by disunity within its ranks. History is littered with examples of how even the most popular revolutionary movements were crushed and defeated simply on the basis of divisions within their ranks. [100 years of selfless struggle](#)

UMafukuzela onjengezulu!



On 8 January 1912, the South African Native National Congress was formed, and thus began a 100-year journey of selfless struggle. The ANC had the honour of having as its first leader a selfless patriot and pioneer, who was also a teacher, historian, preacher, newspaper editor and owner, publicist, author and a political leader and activist of note.

Dr John Langalibalele Dube's legacy encapsulates African unity, self-reliance, quality education and a tireless fight for equality and freedom. While it was Pixley ka Isaka Seme who suggested the formation of the Congress in 1912, it was Dr Dube, his guardian in America while they were both studying, who was entrusted by history with being the first President of the oldest liberation movement in Africa. He led the ANC with zeal, humility and poise.

This highly regarded leader was born in Inanda, Durban in the then Natal in 1871, to an important elite of the Amaqadi people, ruled by the Ngcobo clan. A deeply religious man who had grown up amongst missionaries, he was ordained as Minister of the Congregational Church, known commonly as the American Board church in 1897.

President Dube viewed religion as an instrument of emancipation, equalisation, success and fulfilment. His presidency of the ANC must be understood in this context. It must also be understood in the context of the strong American influence in his life and thinking, having visited the country a few times for studies and fundraising for his projects.

His mentors, American missionaries Reverend William Cullen Wilcox and his wife Ida Belle Wilcox, who took him to America to further his studies, introduced Dr Dube to America. Having visited America during the period of the civil rights struggle by African Americans, Dr Dube was profoundly influenced by Booker T. Washington, the Afro American educator and politician.

One of Washington's achievements that impressed Dr Dube was the turning of a virtual shack into an industrial college, the Tuskegee Institute University. Dr Dube also identified with Washington's emphasis on the entrepreneurial spirit and industrial education, to improve the lives of African-Americans. It is likely to have been this experience that encouraged him to establish Ohlange School with his wife Nokuthela, in 1901. The school has produced many outstanding leaders and professionals. ??

We are proud as the ANC to be associated with this great man who was a pioneer in the education of the African child, during most difficult conditions in our country. Given his contribution to education, Dr Dube received an honorary Doctorate from the University of South Africa in 1936.

To understand Dr Dube's leadership and contribution, we must look at what was happening during the period in which the ANC was formed. This was the time of the industrialisation of the country with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1866, and gold in Johannesburg in 1872, with its related dehumanisation of black workers. The African people faced the agonizing economic catastrophes of the rinderpest cattle epidemic and also the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902, in which Africans were used as cannon fodder.

Another colonial development that angered people at the time was the 1894 Glen Grey Act. ??It forced the payment of taxes with the intent of forcing African peasant farmers, who were not part of the money market, to find work in order to earn money to pay taxes. Dr Dube witnessed the gradual conversion of the African people from independent freedom fighters and warriors into house girls and garden boys, and from independent peasants into dispossessed rural and urban wage earners. ?

The different measures of discrimination, dispossession and control met with African resistance of various forms. These included amongst others; the Ndzundza Rebellion of 1882 and the Baganwa Rebellion of 1894. Responses also included early attempts at founding an organisation. In 1880 the first African political group, Imbumba yama Nyama (Union of Africans), was formed in the Eastern Cape. It articulated an African identity that transcended tribal identities.

Independent churches were also established and became early vehicles for African political assertion. In 1898 the first African separatist Church, the Church of Africa was established in 1898 by Reverend PJ Mzimba, signalling the beginning of independent churches. Dr Dube, was a close friend of Prophet Isaiah Shembe who founded the AmaNazaretha or Shembe Church, which celebrated its centenary in 2010. He supported the growth of the church fully. The friendship of Dr Dube and Prophet Isaiah Shembe

culminated in Dube writing Shembe's biography.

Inanda is also adjacent to the Phoenix communal Settlement where Mahatma Gandhi was located for many years, leading his passive resistance campaign. Gandhi led two passive resistance campaigns during his years in South Africa, between 1907 and 1909 and 1913 to 1914. Dr Dube became a deep admirer of Gandhi's spirituality and the principle of non-violent resistance. This prompted him to state: "I have studied in depth the struggle fought by the Indians under the leadership of Gandhi. And after being an eyewitness to the struggle, I have acquired a sense of respect for all the Indians," he said.

To this day the small Inanda settlement boasts having been home to these three great men - Dr Dube, Gandhi and Prophet Isaiah Shembe.

An active press also arose at this time. Dr Dube founded the *Ilanga lase Natali* newspaper, which went to print for the first time on 10 April 1903. The newspaper is still in existence even today. Dr Dube was following in the footsteps of John Tengo Jabavu who had started *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Voice of Black People) in 1884. Mahatma Gandhi also opened his own newspaper, the *Indian Opinion* on 4 June 1903, making this period a very progressive one for independent media.

Dr Dube and his contemporaries therefore taught us the power and importance of owning and running media products that will tell the stories of our people accurately and respectfully, reflecting the indigenous perspective.

The early 1900s were also a period of profound political thought. For example, Pixley ka Isaka published his seminal essay entitled "The Regeneration of Africa", in the journal *the African Abroad* on 5 April 1906. He declared "I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against a hostile public opinion". The timeless piece is an uplifting celebration of the continent, its people and future. Another critical and heroic milestone of the year 1906 was the Bhambatha Rebellion, when Bhambatha kaMancinza, the inkosi of the Zondi clan led a rebellion against poll taxes.

Dr Dube campaigned in *Ilanga* newspaper against the arrest and trial of Zulu King Dinizulu ka-Cetshwayo who was held in connection with the rebellion. He raised funds for the defence of the King, as he viewed the arrest as the continuation of the humiliation of the African people at large. In September 1906, Dr Dube was already calling for a meeting of the Transvaal, Cape and Natal congresses, saying there were; "welcoming signs that tribal antagonisms are dying down as indications of progress". The mood towards unity in action was growing.

At the same time, colonial repression continued. In May 1910, the colonial British Government established the Union of South Africa. The impact of the formation of the whites-only Union of South Africa in 1910, made up of the British and the Boer Republics to the exclusion of the majority black people, was so severe and was to be irreversible for the next 80 years or so until 1994. In 1909 and 1910 non-racial delegations comprising representatives of African, Coloured and Indians went to London to plead the case of the country's black population. Nothing was achieved.

Later on, in 1911, the Mines and Works Act and the Native Labour Regulation Act came into being. It privileged White and Coloured workers by reserving jobs on the mines and railways for them. The ongoing repression in the country encouraged Pixley ka Isaka Seme in 1911 to call on Africans to forget the differences of the past and unite together in one national organisation. The following year, as a consequence and response to conquest, land dispossession, taxation and pass laws, including systematic racial segregation, various African associations, professionals, intellectuals, churchmen, and members of the traditional aristocracy gathered in Bloemfontein and founded the South African Native National Congress.

Seme stated the purpose eloquently at the founding conference:

"Chiefs of royal blood and gentlemen of our race, we have gathered here to consider and discuss a scheme which my colleagues and I have decided to place before you.

"We have discovered that in the land of their birth, Africans are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The white people of this country have formed what is known as the Union of South Africa - a union in which we have no voice in the making of laws and no part in their administration.

"We have called you, therefore, to this conference, so that we can together devise ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges."

ANC President-General Chief Albert Luthuli recalled that plea and response:

He said; "Our reply... a very mild one indeed, to begin with - was the formation of the South African Native National Congress (African National Congress). This body came into existence as the direct outcome of our exclusion from our own country, and of the white entente to ensure this exclusion."

Indeed, unity is the rock upon which the ANC was founded, as President Nelson Mandela reminded the ANC's Kabwe national conference in Zambia in 1985. As you are aware, the SANNK was renamed the African National Congress in 1923. John Langalibalele Dube was elected President in absentia and he officially accepted on 2 February 1912. Two other capable leaders had been in the running for the presidency at the time - Edward Tsewu and Sefako Makgatho.

Records show that the nomination of Dr Dube was based on the understanding of his abilities and experience as an educationist, preacher, an African nationalist and a respected politician. Dr Dube's entry into national politics was not an easy one. He had two big projects which he had started; Ohlange as well as *Ilanga*. Both needed his time and most importantly, resources. Ensuring the success of Ohlange and *Ilanga* were big political battles. He succeeded because of his determination and leadership skills.

His presidency faced its first major onslaught with the enactment of the vicious Natives Land Act of 1913. The law allowed black ownership rights in only 12 per cent of South Africa and forced Africans into overcrowded reserves. Dr Dube was angered by this sheer callousness.

He stated; "Most Europeans would not know and will never know the bitterness of being driven from one's birthplace". Dr Dube joined the ANC delegation that went to London to petition the British parliament, between 1913 and 1917. The visit did not bear any fruit due to the intransigence of the colonial power.

In June 1917, Dr Dube was replaced by Sefako Mapogo Makgatho as president of the ANC. He remained a member of the Natal Congress, and continued working to improve the lot of the underprivileged. As the founding President of our movement, Dr Dube laid an impressive foundation of selflessness and sacrifice that has stood strong to this day. Without the valiant actions of Dr Dube and his contemporaries, we would not be standing here today celebrating our freedom and marking 100 years of selfless service of the ANC.

He was not perfect. No human being is. But he did the best he could under the circumstances to take the struggle forward and keep the ANC together. He had certain strengths which enabled him to succeed. Among these, was his ability to speak to different members of society equally- chiefs, commoners, workers and the educated.

He was a man of peace. The emphasis on peaceful means came from American civil rights movement experiences. But it also emanated from the pioneering work of Dr Dube and his contemporaries who shifted the struggle from primary resistance, resistance through war to secondary resistance, resistance through the pen and ideas.

His detractors who found him too tolerant and accommodative seriously misunderstood this. Even though most mission-educated Africans were constantly disappointed by the attitude of the missionaries and the white government, Dr Dube remained convinced of the need to establish racial harmony. After leaving the presidency he continued trying to foster better relations between the different race groups in South Africa.

What can also be learned from Dr Dube's solid commitment to advancing humanity is his deep rootedness in the community he served, including his own people at Inanda, before and even when he was no longer a leader of the movement after 1917. He continued serving in advisory bodies for example, in 1918 he was elected to the first Natives Representative Council, an advisory body to the government. He took part in activities such as the Smuts Conferences and many other missionary conferences.

In 1935, Dr Dube became a member of the All-African Convention and represented Natal on the Natives' Representative Council. He served this council from 1936 until his death on 11 February 1946, when Chief Albert Luthuli replaced him on the Council. Mafukuzela wore many hats, each with different roles, and yet as diverse as the roles were, he managed to perform them effectively and efficiently without fail. In so doing, he demonstrated an impeccable amount of diligence, humanity and discipline.

It is impressive that despite his hectic political life, he still found time to write books and essays. His works include *The Zulu's appeal for light, and England's duty* (1909), *Isitha somuntu nguye uQobo lwakhe*, *U-Jeqe insila KaShaka* (1931), *Ushembe* (1936) and *Ukuziphatha kahle*.

In honour of this great leader, President Mandela, cast his vote on 27 April 1994 at Ohlange high school. He reported to the founding President of the ANC that what he had fought for had been achieved. The democratic government on the 26th April 2005 awarded President Dube the Order of Luthuli in Gold, for his selfless contribution to the struggle for liberation. In addition, last year, the Wilcox couple who were his mentors received the Order of the Grand Companions of O.R Tambo, for their contribution to education in KwaZulu-Natal and the fight against colonialism.

President Dube longed for freedom, democracy and prosperity for his country. Today South Africa is free, education is compulsory and access improves annually. We have to further expand access to education in line with his wishes. We are working to fulfil his dream of economic prosperity and development. Not far from his home in Inanda, Dr Dube's legacy lives in the form of the Dube Trade Port at King Shaka International Airport in La Mercy.

This 21st century project incorporates King Shaka International Airport, a state of the art cargo terminal, a trade zone, an agrizone and associated property developments. We are scheduled to launch the Dube Trade Port in March this year. Kings House residence in Durban, which is used by the President and Deputy President of the Republic, will be renamed Dr John Dube House. We believe the two modest measures would be fitting tributes to this great man who did so much for our country and its people.

The late journalist, poet, and cultural activist Herbert Dhlomo, wrote in *Ilanga laseNatali* on 23 February 1946, after the passing on of Dr Dube, that there are three ways to judge greatness. These are the verdict of the wise and learned, the common and spontaneous approval of the masses, and time. According to all three standards. President Dube was exceedingly great!

We are therefore proud to have had him as the founding president of the African National Congress.

Long Live President John Langalibalele Mafukuzela Dube Long Live!

[>> This is an edited extract of Celebrating 100 Years of Selfless Struggle Lecture on the founding General President of the ANC, Dr John Langalibalele Dube, by the ANC President, Jacob Zuma](#)

**Viewpoint** | by Vusi Mavimbela

## Don't burn down the house to make a braai



I am always astounded by the persistent references in the Zimbabwe's *The Herald* newspaper together with its sister publications to former president Nelson Mandela as simply nothing more than what the African Americans call Uncle Tom or house nigger.

A recent example of this is contained in the article in *The Herald*, 11 January 2012, under the heading "Kill the Boer Indeed!" The article boldly proclaims, "But the question is why Westerners embark on this charade of celebrating Mandela as if they believed in his cause? ... The answer is simple Madiba, after taking the baton from the other nine ANC presidents before him, did not upset the apple cart. He was content to have the crown without the crown jewels, and in so doing became the typical good African who does not pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to US foreign policy unlike his counterpart north of the Limpopo".

A similar sentiment was expressed the following day, 12 January 2012, in the same newspaper about the ANC political leadership under the title 'The day after the ANC centennial party'. The article says, "South Africa's infantile disorder as it takes the young adult's step into the real world of increasingly competitive globalised economy, is that it appears it has chosen to comfort itself with the child's soothing medicine of economic justice. There is no economic justice in world economy".

Given the limited print space I have, I can only sketch out a few considerations that I suggest must be born in mind in any assessment of the South African liberation project. It is my hope that this sketch might help to temper, if not remove, the gross denigration of the liberation credentials of Mandela post his release from prison and the liberation project he so selflessly and heroically championed.

The UN described apartheid as the crime against humanity. The world body recognized it as one of the most inhumane forms of oppression and discrimination the modern world has ever seen. It created a society that was not only divided against itself and physically and psychologically torn apart but also sought to create a multitude of black Africans that were less than human. This is the society Mandela inherited in 1994.

In recognition of this reality Mandela made nation building and reconciliation one of the corner stones of his five-year term in office. He recognized that for the new nation to move forward on a solid foundation he needed to forge a common nationhood and a shared sense of belonging. It is under Mandela's stewardship that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was constituted. He knew that it was not possible to reconcile the past with the present, to forge the shared future without exorcising the gory atrocities of the past.

His nation-building and reconciliation crusade helped to neutralize the extreme Afrikaner rightwing that had earlier on crashed and bulldozed the World Trade Center, the venue for negotiations, with military armored cars. His approach had disarmed those extreme rightwing Afrikaners who were exploding bombs and wantonly massacring black people in trains, townships and in the villages. The negotiations had been salvaged from the precipice of possible racial conflagration because he operated as a crafty reconciler.

Mandela is a Sigmund Freud who compelled us to recount the atrocities of the past, both as liberators and as erstwhile oppressors. He knew that the gory atrocities and sins of the past have the stubborn way always to come back to haunt the present. Today the South African experience of the TRC draws people from many post-conflict countries around the world to come and learn from its historic richness.

The other traumatic reality that Mandela inherited in 1994 was the all-pervasive legacy of Bantu Education. It was introduced by Verwoerd in 1953 to manufacture an army of black people for the unskilled labour market. The ascension into power of the National Party in 1948 had already damaged education of black Africans. The Act however helped to codify this reality into law.

It was a coldly calculated mental genocide, a racial cleansing of all faculties of the mind. It systematically and deliberately excluded a number of key subjects like mathematics, engineering, physical sciences, actuarial sciences, architecture and others from the majority of black public learning institutions. Even in those subjects they were allowed to offer there was a categorization: an 'A' grade reserved for whites and an inferior 'B' grade reserved for blacks.

The consequence of this reality is that even the commitment of the black democratic govern that came into office in 1994 to introduce these subjects on a massive scale was severely hampered by the extreme scarcity of the teaching fraternity that could offer these subjects. The limited number that could was itself grossly under-qualified. So if we consider that to produce an adequately qualified teacher or lecturer to offer these subjects requires on average a good seventeen years, it means the inferior system kept on reproducing itself over many years after 1994.

To overhaul the entire Bantu Education system needed drastic measures, yet there can't be any shortcut to that mission. Every educationist will attest that to produce a solid learner, teacher and lecture, requires solid formative primary school years in literacy and numeracy. That is where the entire project to overhaul the system had to begin.

One of the few measures that the democratic government took to ameliorate the situation was to import a great number of foreign teachers and lecturers without driving those that Bantu Education had produced into massive unemployment. That explains why a great number of the teachers and lectures in these subjects in South Africa even today come from other African countries like Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and beyond. The other measure was to retrain those that Bantu Education had produced. But if we consider that we need an average of seventeen years to produce the best, that in itself, could only be an inadequate stopgap measure.

South Africa is today in its seventeenth year of political liberation but we are still dealing with the vestiges of that genocide and racial cleansing of the black mind. The desired speedy transformation of the economy suffered the similar fate. In the early years of the democratic order it became extremely difficult to find enough skilled and qualified South African black people to take over the commanding levers of the machinery of the South African sophisticated economy.

There was an extremely limited number of chartered accountants, engineers, etc. because it needs solid mathematics and physical sciences to produce them. It partly explains why even some of the most successful black empowerment companies were for years chaired by South African black owners but employed white people as CEOs or CFOs.

One of the initiatives the government took was to deliberately second black individuals to understudy white executive personnel mainly in state institutions and to compel the corporate sector to comply with empowerment scorecards even at executive levels. That partly explains why Mandela could not really "kill the boer indeed" in his five years in

office.

The additional measure the government took was to put in place immigration laws that encourage the importation of scarce skills. It explains why government has recruited so many Cuban medical doctors into rural hospitals. There is hardly any higher academic institution of note in South Africa that does not employ at least one Nigerian academic. There is hardly any big corporate finance institution that does not employ at least one Zimbabwean financial literate. A black Zimbabwean fund manager in South Africa quizzed me the other day; "A lot of us indigenous Zimbabweans have become black African Jews building other nation's economies in the Diaspora".

The liberation struggle led by the ANC was primarily premised on political mass mobilisation of the people to force the regime to accede to a national democratic convention to decide on the nature of the South African society we desire. The element of armed struggle, important as it was, was largely limited to armed propaganda meant to bolster the mass political struggle.

There are several reasons why the ANC adopted this political strategy. The ANC military struggle was pitted against the most advanced and sophisticated military machine in the whole continent. By 1979 South Africa already had highly enriched uranium for the production of nuclear weapon systems. Because of reprisals from the regime, the support from friendly forces sharing the border with the South Africa was always conditional and mainly limited to political solidarity and refugee settlements.

This level of mass mobilization and politicization of South Africa that the ANC achieved was unprecedented in the entire history and experience of liberation movements in the African continent. The reason for that achievement is not simply that the ANC was the oldest liberation movement in the continent. Nor simply that mass mobilisation was the ANC's primary strategy. It was also that South Africa was the most developed and most industrialized economy in the continent. This meant that it also had the most industrialized and most unionized workforce in Africa.

The consequence of all this is that Mandela in 1994 inherited highly mobilised and highly politicized mass formations that, whilst they were all anti-Apartheid, but were different formations with different expectations of what liberation meant for them. Democracy exercised at this level is very expensive because it has other consequences we need to appreciate. The most important of those is that there is a constant imperative to navigate, negotiate and balance many competing sectarian interests, thus slowing down the pace of decision-making and implementation.

There is very little room for short-circuiting and shortchanging people's democracy and commandeering policy decisions. For example, since 1994, many economic policies and implementation methods of the ANC have been contested and at times thrown back by the very Trade Unions and other civil society formations that have always and continue to vote for the ANC.

The ANC political leadership is the first one to admit that some mistakes have been made in the first seventeen years of political liberation. Indeed to admit that the pace of transformation of the economy and empowering of the black majority needs to be accelerated. It will also certainly admit that "there is no economic justice in world economy". However it will argue that we should all strive for economic justice in our own national economies. It is my understanding that the land and the indigenization policies in Zimbabwe are premised on the quest to achieve economic justice for all the people of Zimbabwe, black and white.

Similarly, the South African policies on land redistribution and broad-based economic empowerment are an attempt to achieve economic justice for all the people of South Africa, black and white. Economic justice includes redressing economic injustices of the past. How we all get there is dictated by our own different historical and material conditions as well as experiences. Mistakes will inevitably be made on the way.

In South Africa we also recognize that there are many sectors of our economy that are technically world class and have produced many world-beating innovations. The country created the lowly but ubiquitous swimming pool-cleaning creepy crawler, it is world leader in producing radioactive isotopes critical in medical diagnoses and treatment, leads the world in many engineering technologies including deep-level mining, designs world class defense missile systems, etc.

The challenge is how to transform these advanced service and smart industries without destroying their global competitive urge and catapult our economy backwards for decades. Like a Zimbabwean friend of mine put it to me recently, "You don't have to burn down the house to make a braai". The fact is that whilst we continue to empower the people, we at the same time have to continue with the task of eradicating the negative legacies that Mandela inherited in order to build on a more solid foundation for posterity.

[>> Vusi Mavimbela is our South African Ambassador in the Republic of Zimbabwe](#)

## Readers Forum

### Unity is strength



At the point of its first electoral victory in 1994 the ANC lead government inherited a state not of its creation but one whose form was racial discrimination and the advancement of the white minority at the expense of the majority whose actual content was sustenance of capitalist production. Some coined it racial capitalism.

Post-1994 democratic breakthrough our movement has done tremendous work in changing the racial character of the state including attempts to deracialize ownership patterns in the economy. However, the post-94 state remains decidedly capitalist and as a result continues to pose a great threat to the liberation movement: co-opting and transforming its leader rather than the other way round.

It seems we have not heeded the lesson handed down by the Paris commune pointed out by Marx: "One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes'". The effects of the capitalist nature of the post-1994 state are beginning to eat away at the very core of our movement.

Having survived the crippling effects of illegality, mutiny, murder and torture of its members and those associated with it during the dark days of apartheid, our movement is battling with a much bigger crisis than it has ever met. This crisis is not occasioned, by concerted efforts, in broad day light, by its enemy to shut down the movement through arresting and murdering its members nor planting spies in its ranks or winning some of its members through inducement and cohesion, but is occasioned by a sharp decay in organizational culture.

The past 7 years towards our centenary bear testimony to this: anarchy in meetings, booing of speakers, insults hurled towards comrades, pursuit of office with brazen impunity, dictatorial tendencies from those in the saddle resulting in sections of the movement pulling to different directions all claiming to pursue the National Democratic Revolution and through all other sorts of nefarious activity. The major cause for this is the co-option of the ANC's members into upper echelons of capitalist society who have accumulated or seek to accumulate so much wealth such that they view the very strength of the movement as a threat to their accumulation agendas.

The rise of these classes and strata within the movement emboldened ideological trends that were weak in the movement and had no influence on the direction of policy, such as anti-communist groupings and Stalinist reformists or more precisely pseudo-communists. For years the ideological contest within the ANC has always been between progressive nationalism and genuine communism.

These contest although strategic has never been acrimonious. The reason for this is that both ideological trends have since the Morogoro Conference accepted the strategic and leading role of the working class in the National Democratic Revolution, and have long understood the strategic and tactical tasks of the movement. On this front there has not been a contest for some years hence the ANC has ideologically enjoyed more peace than would be expected of a multi-class movement.

The rupture began when ascension to state power brought with it the possibility of accumulation. The yearning to accumulate attracted the attention of progressive nationalists some of who as soon as they began to accumulate began to realize the dangers posed by revolutionary Marxists to their dependence on capitalist production, and thus developed anti-communist tendencies, reverting back to the arguments of the Gang of 8 and the PAC before it, borrowing from them the well-known phrase: the "African child".

On the other hand, Marxists too lost some within their ranks who abandoned the struggle for socialism in order to accumulate. Some Marxists did not jump into business activity but sought to accumulate through upward mobility in the state, presenting themselves as communists while they no longer are, they actually are pseudo-communists. They refuse to recognize the post-1994 state as bourgeois democratic but call it a hermaphrodite: neither capitalist nor socialist. They often exaggerate the real threat of the New Tendency in order to deflect attention from their uncritical approach to a bourgeois democratic state however progressive.

This has never been an easy task, however, as soon as these two trends, the anti-communists and the pseudo-communists, began to develop sufficient hegemony, either in

working class organizations or in the constituent parts of the ANC, our movement has not enjoyed peace. Barely a day goes by without one of these tendencies going beyond the borders of organizational discipline to deliver a blow to one another, or towards any ideological trend in the movement that stands in the way of their accumulation agendas. This is because the loyalty of both anti-communists and pseudo-communists lies not to the ANC and its struggle but to themselves. This is what sets them apart from everybody else.

This justifies why the ANC, rather than articulate its views in the public discourse, has been forced to consistently clarify itself in relation to nefarious comments by one of its members on this or that issue. This explains why struggles that have to do with uplifting the great majority of our people from poverty and unemployment have been opposed with unimaginable zeal by those who would have ordinarily been expected to advocate them. What we are losing is loyalty to the struggle and accumulating loyalty to oneself. Loyalty to oneself leads to divisive tendencies and weakens the strength of the movement.

In their pursuit of their accumulation agenda, they the rich are willing to use every trick in the book to weaken the strength of the movement including abusing genuine concerns of our people about poverty and unemployment. They then pose as the true representatives of the poor whose every nonsensical act must be accepted not just by the movement but also by society as part of their struggle to advance the struggle against poverty. When the movement seeks to discipline them for obvious transgressions of the code of conduct, they discredit this as nothing else but an attempt to "silence" them and their ideas, ideas which by the way are accepted and advanced by masses within the ANC but they are not sanctioned.

The greatest danger posed by such Gucci revolutionaries is that as they claim to advance the interest of the poor, they are able to attract the attention of the majority of our people who sincerely seek to see the eradication of poverty and unemployment through the weakening of monopoly capital in South Africa through strengthening the role of the state in the economy. Buoyed by this apparent show of support, they proceed not only to advance radical reforms but divide the movement through insulting its leaders and on occasion disrupting meetings of its structures and when reigned in for this, suggest that this is directed against their political program.

However amorphous an organization might be, in order to succeed, any revolutionary movement not only necessitates untold loyalty from its constituents but most importantly requires unity of strategic purpose from within its ranks. Divisions not only lead to disorganization within the movement but would lead to its defeat and possibly the annihilation of such a revolutionary movement and the resultant suffering of those whose movement it was is unimaginable.

Whatever the size of its membership and however loyal is its support base, no movement can endure the disorganization caused by disunity within its ranks, thus it is absolutely necessary that the ANC ought to ensure that it maintains strategic unity within its own ranks if it wishes to reach its second centenary as has been stated on various occasions. History is littered with examples of how even the most popular revolutionary movements were crushed and defeated simply on the basis of divisions within their ranks.

The lessons handed down by experiences of liberation movements in Africa particularly Southern Africa ARE too fresh in our minds to ignore. The fact that the African National Congress and its alliance partners during the difficult struggle to defeat institutionalized racism constantly emphasized the need for strategic unity is proof of this fact. And indeed, had it not been for the presence of strategic unity within its ranks, our movement would have never survived the sustained attacks directed at it by the apartheid regime from banishment to infiltration.

A call for unity is not synonymous to that for uniformity. Unity and uniformity are not the same things. Thus a call for strategic unity is not at all mobilization for uniformity. Uniformity would suffocate creativity within the movement thereby weakening the strategic capacity of the movement to adapt to changing conditions. Rigidity and dogmatism has led to the defeat of many movements. Strategic unity is not comprised of the smiles, handshakes or the hugs between comrades in the full glare of cameras.

This does not also mean comrades should not disagree with one another on specific matters, negotiations - a heated public debate in 1992 between comrades Pallo Jordan, Joe Slovo, Harry Gwala, Jeremy Cronin, Blade Nzimande, Raymond Suttner and others - or nationalization, without resulting in the bona fides of comrades being questioned as happened recently when the ANCYL called Jeremy Cronin a "white messiah" rather than disagree with his views nationalization.

Why is it that our movement has degenerated to such extent? Some will often argue that it is the absence of political education. Although lack of political education has contributed greatly to this, however, one of the major contributors to organizational decay is the yearning by our members to accumulate and the presence of conditions which aid this, such as access to state power.

The sooner our movement deals with this, the better. Our movement must continue to act decisively against ill-discipline, as its beginning to do, this should include immoral business activity by ANC members which exploits the plight of the society for narrow accumulation running against the yearning of the ANC to build a caring society.

This of course does not mean the movement must throw the rulebook at every organizational problem, but it must act decisively against those acts which are carried out with impunity to the extent that comrades use such loose talk as the "declaration of war", as we have seen from some quarters.

Our movement should seek, as it has always done, to unite its constituents behind its vision, as it has always done, not behind this or that leader. Most importantly, true to its nature, the ANC must root itself at the center of the struggles of our people as it has always done. Maybe, just maybe, we will achieve strategic unity and we will not bleed as we do.

[>> Lazola Ndamase is a member of the ANC Ntlangano branch in Eastern Cape](#)

## **WEEK IN REVIEW**

### **Limpopo faces R2bn shortfall**

Limpopo faces a potential shortfall of R2-billion at the end of the financial year, the Ministry of Finance said. The province has large, accumulated unauthorised expenditure which has grown from R1.5-billion in 2009 to R2.7-billion 2011. The Cabinet put the province under administration after it emerged that Limpopo was bankrupt and could not pay civil servants, such as teachers and nurses. The team found that, in the health department the province owed suppliers R138-million, but only half these payments, R67-million, could be verified and approved for payment by December 23; R427-million in assets had no supporting documents; and there was R400-million in irregular expenditure of goods and services, mostly medical equipment.

### **SARB leaves repo rate unchanged**

The SA Reserve Bank has left the repo rate unchanged at 5.5 percent, the prime rate would stay at nine percent. "The MPC [Monetary Policy Committee] maintains a preference for a stable interest rate environment given the conflicting pressures on monetary policy at this stage," SA Reserve Bank Governor, Gill Marcus said. The MPC would continue to monitor domestic and global economic and financial developments and the risks to the outlook, she said. Holding the repo rate at 5.5 percent was in line with market expectations and it was the seventh consecutive meeting where the repo rate remained unchanged after it was reduced by 650 basis points between mid-2008 and December 2010. It keeps the rate at its lowest level in over 30 years.

### **Zimbabweans documentation almost done**

The process of documenting more than 250,000 Zimbabweans living in South Africa has almost been completed, senior Home Affairs official said. Director General Mkuseli Apleni said 255,282 Zimbabweans had been granted permits to make their stay legal. Another 20,480 applications had to be finalised. He hoped that the process would be completed by the end of March. A total of 275,762 applications for permits were received, according to South Africa's home affairs department. Apleni rejected claims reportedly made last month by Zimbabwe's Home Affairs Co-Minister Kembo Mohadi that a second phase to document Zimbabweans was in the pipeline. Apleni said there were plans afoot for the regularisation of other nationals from Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, but this did not involve Zimbabwe.

### **MPs to engage South Africans on Info Bill**

Parliament's Ad Hoc Committee looking into the Protection of State Information Bill has adopted a public hearing drive aimed at getting maximum input from as many South Africans as possible. The Bill, which has drawn much interest and debate from across the country, was approved by a majority vote in the National Assembly late last year. It has now been passed to the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) for further scrutiny before it is sent to President Jacob Zuma for his signature into law. Committee Chair Raseriti Tau was positive about the public hearings, said they would take on board the views of as many people as possible. Two programmes have been drawn up by the committee, one for public meetings to be held at Parliament and another for public meetings to be held in all nine provinces, with a focus on both rural and urban settings.

### **South Africa to help Sudan**

The South African government has agreed to use its influence to ensure Sudan's government allow international humanitarian relief agencies into Southern Sudanese war zone to avert a threatened famine. This comes as a result of Khartoum's government plans to block UN agencies such as the World Food Programme from entering the two provinces of South Kordofan and Blue Nile where rebels and the central government in Khartoum have been fighting since last year. The regional Famine Early Warning System Network forecast that by March this year up to 500 000 people affected by the fighting in South Kordofan and Blue Nile will be facing an emergency condition bordering on famine. SA's special envoy to Sudan, Charles Nqakula cited that SA would be getting involved in efforts to get humanitarian assistance into the two provinces.

### **Deputy Economic Development Minister resigns**

Deputy Economic Development Minister Enoch Godongwana resigned with effect from Monday. Godongwana notified President Jacob Zuma in December of his decision to pursue personal interests and was asked to remain on board until mid-January, the Presidency said in a statement. Godongwana, who was also a former Deputy Public Enterprises Minister, would remain a member of the ANC's Economic Transformation Committee. President Zuma said the resignation was a "huge loss" given Godongwana's expertise, skills and experience, adding that he believed his work experience and expertise would not be entirely lost to the public service but would be used elsewhere in the

pursuit of meaningful economic transformation.

### **THIS WEEK IN HISTORY**

**20 January 1987:** The Margo Commission set up by the apartheid government to probe the mysterious death of Mozambican President Samora Machel started its first hearing.

**21 January 1987:** Several men armed with AK47 assault rifles killed 13 people, including 7 children, in a house in kwaMakhuta. The attack had been aimed at Victor Ntuli, the 21-year-old founder, treasurer and area organiser of the kwaMakhuta Youth League. He was not home at the time.

**22 January 1999:** Former Vaal policeman, Sergeant Gerhardus "Pedro" Peens admitted that he was in the Boipatong when several people were killed and others injured in what became known as the Boipatong Massacre. Peens's admission exposed police denials that none of their members were present during the Boipatong massacre as false.

**23 January 1989:** Patrick Dakuse was shot dead by Lieutenant des Segal and Sergeant Etsebeth, members of the Murder and Robbery Unit. He allegedly tried to prime a hand grenade from an arms cache that he had taken the police to see. No photographs were presented to the inquest hearing of the position of the hand grenade at the scene. A photograph of the explosive in a plastic bag in an office environment was presented instead.

**24 January 1964:** Britain's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Butler announced that Glasgow University efforts to obtain permission from the apartheid government for ANC President, Chief Albert Luthuli to leave Natal to be installed as Rector of Glasgow University failed.

**25 January 1965:** Bram Fischer jumped bail and failed to arrive in court to face charges of membership of the illegal Communist Party, which was unlawful under the Suppression of Communism Act.

**26 January 1887:** The Ethiopian army defeated the invading Italian forces. Ethiopians had the most well equipped standing army on the African continent whilst the Italians by contrast had only recently emerged as a unified country and, even though they showed spirit in fighting, they were not prepared in terms of manpower, equipment, intelligence and experience. The Ethiopian army stunningly and totally routed the invading Italians.

Source: South African History Online

### **STATEMENTS**

[ANC consolidates its gains in bi-elections](#), 17 January 2012

[Statement of the ANC National Officials](#), 17 January 2012

[ANC press statement on the tragic death of its deployees in council](#), 16 January 2012

### **speeches**

[Celebrating 100 years of selfless struggle lecture on the founding General President of the ANC, General President John Langalibalele Dube, by the ANC President, President Jacob Zuma](#), 17 January 2012

### **SUBMIT AN ARTICLE OF COMMENT**

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Contact Information

Address: Umrabulo, PO Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107, South Africa

Telephone: 086 717 7077

Fax: 086 633 1437

e-mail: [umrabulo@anc.org.za](mailto:umrabulo@anc.org.za)



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