



# ANC TODAY

ONLINE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

## LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

### Our Heritage. Our pride.



Every year, the month of September marks an important time in South Africa's calendar. It is our Heritage Month. This is the time when South Africans unite in celebration of all the values, traditions, cultural practices and expressions that make us uniquely and proudly South African.

After the first democratic elections in 1994, our country deliberately sought to move away from all that which divided and created a wedge among common citizens. Instead we set out to celebrate our diversity, firm in our belief that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

That is why even the Supreme Law of the Republic, the Constitution enjoins all of us to heal the divisions of the past at the same time as we establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights.

In particular, the Constitution remains such a source of unity that none dare challenge its guidance, as we together seek to create a national democratic society based on the acceptance that the interests we share as South Africans far outweigh the differences or forces that seek to drive us apart.

At the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference of the African National Congress in December 2007, among other things, we reaffirmed our belief that arts and culture is a cornerstone of any national democratic society and a fundamental pillar in the transformation of our society.

As has been the tradition, Heritage Month therefore presents a unique opportunity to all South Africans to celebrate their rich cultural heritage. The African National Congress is proud and privileged to lead a country that has a rich and diverse, sometimes intangible cultural heritage such as cultural expressions, oral traditions, craftsmanship, social practices, rituals and festive events. No culture is lesser or superior than the other.

In particular this year, South Africa celebrates the rich heritage found in its craft. South Africa's craft industry produces a wide range of craft products across different style and genre, and it holds high prospect for rural development, one of the priority areas for the current administration.

We know that traditional cultural expressions such as the design and production of crafts are handed down from one generation to another either orally or by imitation and is constantly evolving, developing and being recreated within the community. These expressions reflect communities' cultural and social identity and are created for commercial, religious and cultural purposes. Manifestations of traditional cultural expressions include basket weaving, crafts, instrumental music, songs, and pottery.

## WEEK IN REVIEW

Canadian government challenges immigration board ruling | Canada's federal government is seeking a judicial review of the controversial immigration board ruling that granted a refugee status to a white South African man who claimed he was being unfairly persecuted for being white. The ruling of the immigration board angered many South Africans and the government felt insulted by Canada.

### ANC launches a branch in London

| Deputy Secretary-General, Thandi Modise, facilitated the launch of the first ANC branch abroad since the ANC came to power in 1994. The ANC believes the branch will help South Africans to continue to play a big role in nation building and promoting the country.

### Parliament shortlist candidates for the SABC Board

| The parliamentary communications portfolio committee achieved broad consensus on the nominees for the SABC board and approved a shortlist of 31 candidates.

### Ali Ben Bongo declared winner of Gabon presidential poll

| Gabon Interior Ministry declared Ali Ben Bongo the winner of the presidential poll. He will succeed his late father after he won 41,73% of the vote. The leader of Mamboundou's Union for Gabonese People was seriously injured in a clash with the security forces after his party rejected Ali Ben Bongo's victory.

South Africa is home to a unique and diverse crafts industry. Crafters have over the years produced a vibrant crafts legacy by using natural resources and recycled products such as plastic bags, paper, card boxes and wires among others from their communities. Although the crafts industry has gradually moved from being just a mere expression of individuals skills to entrepreneurship, practitioners still lack the protection from exploitation. The industry does not provide for equitable benefits of profits as well as participation in the crafts economy or market. Together we must change that.

In recognition of the value created by this (crafts) segment of our economy, I am certain that those of us in government will do our bit to promote our heritage in line with this year's theme of Celebrating South African Craft, Our Heritage. We must not miss this opportunity to highlight the socio-economic value of the crafts industry and encourage further development and investment in it.

The highlight of this month has to be the National Heritage Day celebrations on 24 September, which will be held at the Ntwampe Sports Ground, in Moroke, Greater Tlhatse Municipality, in the Limpopo Province. The Deputy President of the ANC and of the Republic, Comrade Kgalema Motlanthe will address the nation on the day.

Part of the heritage of living among diverse groups of people, with equally diverse issues and expressions, is the absolute responsibility to respect those who do not necessarily share one's views, culture or beliefs.

Recent disturbing events bring this point sharply into focus. This includes the recent violent and unfortunate confrontation between members of the SAPS and members of the SA National Defence Force near a national key point and seat of government, the Union Buildings. Totally unacceptable scenes of violent confrontation also greeted the introduction of the Bus Rapid Transit system in Johannesburg, with several reported cases of human injury and damage to property. This cannot be how we wish to solve problems. This cannot be how we wish to voice our displeasure at anything that government is doing, especially since we emphasise that we want to build an accessible, responsive and interactive government.

It just cannot be that a public transport system aimed at improving the lives of our people has to be guarded because some of our compatriots are unhappy about it and want to take out their anger on commuters.

The ANC government bears the responsibility of protecting all people within its borders as well as state assets and property. Lawlessness and anarchy will not be tolerated from any segment of our society, regardless of the grievances.

In this Heritage Month, we should spend some time to reflect on our heritage and what we want to bequeath to generations to come. It must be a South Africa where all citizens respect one another and fellow beings, and where while celebrating freedom, we all know what is permissible and not in a democratic and free society.

Let us celebrate South African Craft, Our Heritage!

Working together we can do more!

Happy Heritage Month!

Jacob G. Zuma

## CONTINUED

**Complacency creeping to the ANC** | Out of 10 by elections contested in six provinces the ANC retained all the wards it previously held and only lost one ward in Ekurhuleni. It expressed concern at the creeping complacency and recommitted itself to improving service delivery and addressing structural weaknesses.

**1 200 soldiers provisionally dismissed** | Minister of Defence and Military Veterans, Lindiwe Sisulu, gave marching orders to the members of the South African National Defence Union who defied the court order and illegally marched to Union Buildings. The conduct of these soldiers was described as disgraceful and unbecoming, and placed the national security in danger.

**Home Affairs to act against rogue employees** | Home Affairs Minister suspended two officials and vowed to take strong action against anybody implicated to the death of 22-year-old Douglas Skhumbuzo Mhlongo of KwaNqetho who committed suicide after Home Affairs official refused him an ID book.

# Relevance of the Strategy and Tactics in tackling current challenges



In understanding the relevance of the Strategy and Tactics document of the African National Congress, one need not just trace the conception of the strategy and tactics since Morogoro in 1969 up to Polokwane in 2007, but also to trace the evolution of South African society over the past hundreds of thousands of years.

More particularly, one has to understand the historically defining epochs that have shaped our nationhood, such as the migratory behavior of our people, the evolution of various tribes, their confrontation and subjugation by colonial forces, their enslavement and oppression, as well as their struggle for freedom, equality, democracy and prosperity for all. These are some of the highlights that have profoundly defined our nationhood over time.

What is important also to note, is that it is in this early definition of South Africa's society that the battle lines as defined in the Strategy and Tactics were conceived. That is why the Strategy and Tactics traces the origin of South Africa's nationhood back to hundreds of thousands of years, so as to shed light on the reasons for the objectives that our nation continues to strive for.

The Strategy and Tactics aims to give an in-depth ideologically-based analysis of the disjuncture between the historical and current phase of struggle on the one hand, and the ideal of a future South Africa that we seek to build on the other. In bridging this historic disjuncture, the ANC remains at the centre of the National Democratic Revolution, the significance of which amongst others is to unite our people in the long and protracted struggle to make real our common vision as a diverse people. In the latest edition of the Strategy and Tactics adopted in Polokwane in 2007, the principal long-term vision is referred to as the "National Democratic Society".

The Strategy and Tactics also aims to give practical meaning of what needs to be done, and how, in order to usher in the dispensation as envisioned by the Strategy and Tactics itself. For this reason, the Strategy and Tactics is a broad vision of our transformation agenda, citing opportunities and threats, possibilities and limitations, as well as the responsibilities by our movement, our government and the people at large in order to build a South Africa consistent with the ideals of democracy, equality, non-discrimination on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity and class.

Amidst these and related values, the Strategy and Tactics envisions a prosperous society where the wellbeing of our people is enhanced by the collective and individual contributions of all our people without discrimination.

## Confronting the challenges of oppression

The conceptualisation and adoption of the Strategy and Tactics in 1969 was a culmination of an array of efforts, organisationally and theoretically, to confront the challenges of oppression in South Africa. Many strides had been made in organisationally positioning the ANC to be at the centre of popular mass mobilisation against apartheid. The Defiance Campaign, the adoption of the Freedom Charter and the adoption of the armed struggle are amongst things that could be counted in this regard.

But the movement had as yet to clarify on what was to be done, and how, in order to unite our diverse people in achieving the broad vision that the Freedom Charter speaks to. The adoption of the Strategy and Tactics was preceded by a crisis that had emerged in the ANC. Chris Hani and a group of other fellow combatants felt that there was no strategy or tactics to cross over Zimbabwe into South Africa before the Wankie and Spolile Campaigns, leading to casualties of many MK combatants.

## EVENTS IN HISTORY

**4 September 1991;** ANC rejected National Party proposal for a new constitution on the grounds that - it entrenched minority privileges, it was unclear on the 'bill of rights', ANC was adamant that the TBVC states should be re-incorporated into SA and its proposal on the appointment of Cabinet Ministers went against the spirit of democratic process.

**5 September 1984;** South Africa's Prime Minister since 1978, PW Botha was unanimously elected by eighty-eight members of the Electoral College to the office of first executive president.

**6 September 1966;** Dimitri Tsafendas stabbed HF Verwoed to death. Verwoed was sitting at his desk in the House of Assembly when Tsafendas attacked him with a knife. He escaped the death sentence after being declared insane by state psychiatrists and was sentenced to solitary confinement at the Pretoria Central Prison, where he died at the age of 81.

**8 September 1991;** thirteen people were killed and eighteen others injured in an attack on Mofolo residents in Soweto after an IFP rally at Jabulani Stadium. The police had been informed of the IFP's decision to hold a rally in Jabulani Stadium as well as fears of residents but they failed to direct that the marchers should travel on one route. Instead they allowed them to move freely, carrying arms along several routes.

**9 September 1986;** members of Umkhonto we Sizwe were executed for the death of Benjamin Langa whom they were led to believe was a police informer by Joel Martins and that orders had been given for Langa to be assassinated. It was unheard of for MK members to be ordered to assassinate civilians and ANC President, Oliver Tambo, personally apologised to Langa's family for the killing of Benjamin

**10 September 1992;** ANC President, Nelson Mandela accepted an invitation for urgent talks with State President FW de Klerk on political violence. ANC preconditions for talks were the surveillance of migrant worker hostels; a ban on the public display of dangerous traditional weapons and the release of political prisoners.

As a result, Chris Hani wrote a memo complaining to the ANC leadership about the lack of decisive leadership in the aftermath of the Wankie and Spoilie campaigns, and this precipitated criticism by some in the ANC leadership, saying this was tantamount to mutiny by the MK combatants. However, it was consequently resolved that there must be a Consultative Conference to deal with the issues raised by the MK combatants and the difficult road to the historic Morogoro National Conference begun

Therefore the Morogoro National Conference in general and the Strategy and Tactics in particular, were a reflection of an organisation wrestling with primarily internal political matters of tactics, in order to further the strategic objectives of the struggle as a whole. Amongst the leading architects of the Strategy and Tactics were Joe Mathews, Joe Slovo and Duma Nokwe. The Morogoro Conference resulted amongst others in the creation of the Revolutionary Council, headed by the ANC President Oliver Tambo, and included Yusof Dadoo, Reggie September and Joe Slovo. The significance of the Revolutionary Council is that it did not only help define the ANC-led alliance, but also entrenched our non-racial character in the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

What we are continuously seized with as a ruling party and as society at large, is to further engage on what need to be done, and how, in order to further the aims and objectives as highlighted in the Strategy and Tactics document.

### **Motive forces for change**

In our analysis of the strategy and tactics, we speak of the motive forces for change. With equal vigour, we also speak of the forces that stand opposed to change because they believe exclusive privileges of access to wealth and related amenities guarantee their own wellbeing going into the future. We need not take lightly this ideological antagonism between the motive forces for change on the one hand, and the intransigent forces that seek to preserve the status quo, on the other, because this is where we must start when dealing with the relevance of the Strategy and Tactics.

In this regard, the 1969 Strategy and Tactics document succinctly gives expression to the definition of the motive forces for change: "In essence, a revolutionary policy is one which holds the quickest and most fundamental transformation and transfer of power from one class to another. In real life such radical changes are brought about not by imaginary forces but by those whose outlook and readiness to act is very much influenced by historically determined factors"

This ideological antagonism explains why certain political forces seek to put brakes on our transformation agenda at various levels throughout the country. In most cases, these forces disguise their objection to change by pretending to be advocates of the same values we seek to enact such as freedom, democracy, pluralism, security etc, when in fact in the real sense of application they seek to ensure exclusivity. This is the main difference between the movement of our people, led by the African National Congress, and other political parties. While we seek to ensure that all our people have access to the same rights and what historically has been the privileges of the few, others seek to enact the same values only to a select few, often defined by race, gender, geographical location and class.

### **A better life for all**

Therefore, the challenges facing the ANC are the massification of qualitative development, so that it covers everyone in South Africa. That is why in our development policies, on issues such as education, health care, security, justice, economy, youth and women empowerment, rural development; we seek to cover all our people without exception. Again, even on such issues, the ideological antagonisms show, because the same issues are emphasized by the political opposition, but without reference to how each and every person can have access to such developmental issues.

As a result, in Polokwane we resolved on ensuring that education up to junior degree level is made free. This would not just help us to have more skilled personnel for economic growth, but would also help us break the vicious cycle of poverty occasioned by apartheid.

## **LATEST STATEMENTS**

ANC concerned about creeping complacency, 3 September 2009  
<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/pr/2009/pr0903.html>

ANC statement on the granting by Canada of a refugee status to a white South African, 1 September 2009  
<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/pr/2009/pr0901.html>

ANC NWC statement, 31 August 2009  
<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/pr/2009/pr0831a.html>

ANC statement on the death of Beauty Langa, 31 August 2009  
<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/pr/2009/pr0831.html>

ANC statement on the granting of parole to Butana Nofemele, 28 August 2009  
<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/pr/2009/pr0828.html>

On issues of health, in Polokwane we resolved on the implementation of a National Health Insurance scheme (NHI). Again this will not just help us to have a healthier nation, but would also help resolve the question of the people for so long put on the fringes of death by a health system that encouraged better health care for the rich and poor health care for the poor masses.

On issues of security, we resolved that communities must work closely with police stations through the platforms of Community Safety Forums, replacing the Community Policing Forums, as a way of comprehensively dealing with the various issues of safety facing our people.

On issues of women empowerment, we have taken cognisance of the urban migratory behavior of our people, resulting amongst others, to helpless women in rural areas with the burden to take care of children alone. That is why rural development featured highly in our Manifesto. In addition, the creation of the Ministry responsible amongst others of women as vulnerable groups also aims to resolve the issues of gender disparities. This would complement the work already done by the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE). Representation in political and government spheres was amplified in Polokwane through the adoption of the principle of 50% representation by women in all our structures. The battle is on to make this also a reality in government and there are some resistances because some idealise an all-male Cabinet in the government spheres where they win political power.

On issues of justice, we continue to work hard to ensure the building of courts closer to the people. We have designated certain magistrates courts as Equality Courts, because we believe that equality, or the lack of it, is one of the main defining lines of where we are as contrasted to where the Strategy and Tactics document envisions us to be.

On the issues of the economy, we have implemented various legislative frameworks aimed at ensuring parity across race and gender, in the employment of our people across all levels of employment. Even today, Affirmative Action in the work place and Black Economic Empowerment in general are still swearing words amongst some in the political opposition.

We could go on and on, citing examples of the things we have done and that we continue to do to ensure that the values enshrined in the constitution, and elaborated in the Strategy and Tactics, find practical meaning in our development programmes. We can also cite the antagonisms synonymous with the implementation of these same objectives because of the vested political interest by those who seek to preserve the status quo.

Even within the ANC-led Alliance, there are sharp differences in the conceptualisation of the "ideal South Africa". This is more so because the ANC is a broad organisation encapsulating communists, workers, capitalists, the middle class, the youth, women, and people living with disabilities, those leaving in rural areas and those living in urban areas. Often the case, these streams of social and political orientation would argue to galvanize what sectorally serves them, while some would seek an overarching perspective on how we, as a nation, must move forward amidst the various challenges that we continue to face.

But once adopted, as it has been since 1969, the Strategy and Tactics becomes the rallying point of our collective political work as the ANC. The vibrancy that often characterises any discussion of the Strategy and Tactics does not only reflect our entrenched democratic culture within the movement, but also the ideological differences consistent with the diversity of our people.

From the point of view of the ANC, there is acknowledgement of the deep challenges with regards to capacity in ensuring that implementation of the programmes that would ensure that the objectives of the Strategy and Tactics are done urgently, efficiently and effectively. That is why as government we have started a process in earnest of streamlining development across all three spheres of government as well as across all departments, in providing leadership on development both within government and outside government. Very much worrying is the capacity of local municipalities in spearheading development. Our people do not differentiate between the three spheres of government when they speak of lack of delivery; hence co-operation instead of silos is imperative.

That is why we resolved on the need to ensure planning; monitoring and evaluation are integral aspects of our implementation process in order to offset any bottlenecks early in the implementation of our policies and programmes.

Let us re-iterate the following broad points:

Firstly, the Strategy and Tactics (document) remains relevant, and that successive ANC National Conferences have sought to adapt it to changing local and international conditions. What is important is that what we fight for are ideals, and they would not come about on their own because the laws of nature do not guarantee their automatic realisation. Therefore the Strategy and Tactics represent our battle lines going into the future.

The Strategy and Tactics is as relevant as our ideological architecture in the same way as it is for the practical resolution of the various problems we continue to confront as government, business and communities at large. Due to changing local and international conditions, it is inevitable that the Strategy and Tactics must be continuously refined to align its general and specific thrust to attend to reality as it unfolds.

Accordingly, the Strategy and Tactics adopted in 1969 in Morogoro states that: "The defeat of the Bambata Rebellion in 1906 marked the end of this first phase... The fifty years which followed was not a period of resignation or of acceptance. It was a period of development and of regrouping under new conditions". There is therefore no illusion about the fact that new conditions require regrouping, both organisationally and with regards to strategies and tactics. At stake is the unity of the oppressed people over time to ensure that the National Democratic Revolution does indeed result in the National Democratic Society.

Secondly, while noting the gains we have made since 1994, the ANC is first to acknowledge that a lot still needs to be done, hence the need to strengthen our capacity to deliver. The institutionalisation of the Ministries of Planning as well as Monitoring and Evaluation, shows the ANC commitment in that regard.

The movement has to continuously deal with the impatience of our people in implementing our transformation agenda, by ensuring more urgent, effective and efficient methods of spearheading development, while at the same time ensuring that the organisation is one with the people at all times. We can achieve this through continuous political and ideological consciousness, as well as strengthening our organisation to be at the centre of our struggle for change at all levels. While as government we seek to take the lead in all spheres of development, we are not creating a central command State, and therefore the genius of all our people is also encouraged to play its respective roles in order to achieve our overall goals as reflected in the Strategy and Tactics.

Since 1969, the Strategy and Tactics has served to analytically pinpoint the appropriateness of various postures under different circumstances, informed by the balance of power between the motive forces for change and those opposed to it for whatever reason.

Its aim is to ensure that victory is certain, and avoid suicidal endeavors in what the 1969 Strategy and Tactics refers to as "meaningless clichés". Against the backdrops of recent violent protest actions, the Strategy and Tactics adopted in 1969 cautions against violence under certain circumstances being counterrevolutionary. It also gives account of the difficult and painful decision to adopt the armed struggle, as a consequence of increasingly repressive actions by the apartheid government. What the Strategy and Tactics says today is, that every major action must be a calculated one, lest we achieve the opposite of our good intentions.

The Strategy and Tactics is proof of the impact of Marxist theory on the character of our struggle, and this is evident in its employ of dialectical and historical materialism as scientific approach to political and ideological analysis. While capital remains globally dominant, our posture is informed by the articulation of the laws of motion, in this case that being the unity and struggle of opposites between capital and the working class.

We must harness the resources of State power to ensure a Developmental State that decisively intervenes in favour of our strategic objectives as elaborated by the Strategy and Tactics.

*>> Jeff Radebe is an ANC NEC member and Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development*

# The national question and nation-building



The issues of nation-formation and nation-building will remain in our society for a while given the fact that racism was and still is, rooted in all institutions of society.

However, the resolution of the national question cannot remain a permanent feature of our society. If this were to be the case, the historic mission and mandate of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) would be defeated, mainly because it is about attaining a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

The 2007 Strategy and Tactics document of the ANC says:

“The main content of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is the liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general from political and socio-economic bondage.” It goes further to declare that this, “...means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female.”

It is important to emphasise that the target for the NDR is the poor because the objective of our struggle is to unite all the oppressed in our country for the formation of one nation.

The 1969 ANC Morogoro Conference succinctly confirmed the need for the unity of the oppressed and their drive towards defeating Apartheid in the following lines:

“The African...is not the only oppressed national group in South Africa. The two million strong Coloured community and three-quarter million Indians suffer varying forms of national humiliation, discrimination and oppression. They are part of the non-white base upon which rests white privilege. As such they constitute an integral part of the social forces ranged against white supremacy. Despite deceptive and, often, meaningless concessions they share a common fate with their African brothers and their own liberation is inextricably bound up with the liberation of the African people.”

The objective linked to this is not only the defeat of white supremacy, but also that if we were to advance nation building and nation formation - we also have the task of “...liberating the white community from the false ideology of racial superiority and the insecurity attached to oppressing others”. It is important to note that this is not merely a tactical consideration but a strategic objective to liberate the most oppressed of all “in the league of the oppressed” whilst in the process “liberating the oppressor”.

“But none of this detracts from the basically national context of our liberation drive. In the last resort it is only the success of the national democratic revolution which - by destroying the existing social and economic relationships - will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices perpetrated against the indigenous majority and thus lay the basis for a new - and deeper internationalist - approach.” (Morogoro: 1969)

Therefore, the attainment of a national democratic society can only lie in the destruction of Apartheid’s social and economic relations and the continued existence of such relations. There are clear signs that the form and content of our national democratic revolution is still facing a long path towards attainment.

Historically, the twin threats to this strategic objective in our society and our movement have been “white racism” on the one hand; and narrow African chauvinism on the other hand. These twin threats have always manifested themselves in the super-structural institutions of our society. It would be suicidal to deny the continued presence of racism in our society, but even more dangerous for the attainment of national unity and nation-formation is the denial of narrow African chauvinism.

## LATEST SPEECHES

Address by His Excellency President Jacob Zuma during the Electricity Switch-on Ceremony at Mushiyanane, Greater Giyane Municipality, 30 August 2009

<http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/show.asp?include=president/sp/2009/sp08301330.htm&ID=1992&type=sp>

Address by HE Jacob Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa, at the South African Jewish Board of Deputies National Conference opening ceremony; 29 August 2009

<http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/show.asp?include=president/sp/2009/sp08291020.htm&ID=1991&type=sp>

Address by President Jacob Zuma to the Harare Agricultural Society Show, 28 August 2009

<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/history/zuma/2009/jz0828.html>

These twin threats are not on an equal pedestal. The dominant contradiction that faces our society is national contradiction, whilst the fundamental one is class contradiction. Emphasis should also be made that the reason why we need to deal with both in almost equal terms is that the narrow African chauvinism is not an effective tool of defeating racism, but can also act to reinforce racial tensions as people may withdraw into their racial cocoons.

In essence, the task of "liberation of Africans in particular and blacks in general" lies in the success of the movement in using the platform of building a non-racial society. The two, meaning, the task and the platform, are mutually inclusive and interconnected and failure to maintain this interconnection exposes the inability to overcome white racism, on the one hand, and black chauvinism, on the other.

Let us look at both threats each in turn. In our society there still exists white racism that we should confront, expose and deal with. The figures released by Commission on Employment Equity (CEE) shows that white people occupy 74% of senior positions in the private sector. This is a serious indictment on white capital's commitment to honour their role in nation-building and nation-formation.

Fraught race relations will remain for some time in a nation where everything, from division of labour, composition of national sporting teams, political preferences, cultural preferences and every social facet of our life was historically determined on the basis of race. We need to intensify progressive nationalism and ensure that it triumphs against this.

This means affirming blacks in the economy, changing the division of labour at both junior and senior level in both the public and private sector; transforming social relations in education, access to health, shelter and also ensuring that we begin to confront problems of equality and wealth distribution by breaking the back of racism and racial exclusion.

Narrow African chauvinism is a tendency and dangerous phenomenon of seeking to redefine the objective of the movement at different periods as installation of African majoritarianism. The National Liberation Movement has always been able to transcend beyond this narrow perception and strategic objective of the NDR as it recognised that ours is Colonialism of a Special Type.

Those who held this "elitist" view always combined their narrow objective with an anti-communist agenda that sought to isolate and distinguish between "white revolutionaries and white reactionaries". This elitist tendency has always hid its narrow objective under the veil of seeking to represent the interests of the black majority. The tendency emerged with the breakaway of the PAC from the ANC by Leballo; the expulsion of the Group of Eight immediately after the Morogoro Conference; and now recently, the breakaway by Shikota. (For more on this, see Mavimbela's article titled "The Shikota Phenomenon - A Counter-Revolutionary Tendency").

Thus, the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC from Morogoro declared that:

"Those belonging to the other oppressed groups and those few white revolutionaries who show themselves ready to make common cause with our aspirations, must be fully integrated on the basis of individual equality. Approached in the right spirit these two propositions do not stand in conflict but reinforce one another. Equality of participation in our national front does not mean a mechanical parity between the various national groups."

It further went on to declare that the "Coloured and Indian people have often in the past, by their actions, shown that they form part of the broad sweep towards liberation."

Morogoro further declared the elitist nature of those who opposed the main content of the NDR by declaring that "our nationalism must not be confused with chauvinism or narrow nationalism of a previous epoch. It must not be confused with the classical drive by an elitist group among the oppressed people to gain ascendancy so that they can replace the oppressor in the exploitation of the mass."

This tendency can only lead to, and may even strike concessions for, either modernised forms of black or white Bantustans. They may not see the need to break the barriers, economic or political that is entrenched in many localities in our country. They may even seek to promote some of these tendencies. The main reason why it would seek to do so would be to lazily assume elitist leadership of society by wishing away whites in order to easily attain a "nation".

Equally, this tendency stems from the narrow definition of nation as being defined through language, race and culture whilst undermining progressive elements and the realistic challenges of the national formation in our society. Because of its backward nature, like its twin of white racism, it may pretend and sugarcoat some of its more conservative demands with legitimate demands for nation building.

But this tendency is even more dangerous for us as the youth as we face the challenge of nation building for a future South Africa. Our role as youth formations is to lead all young people, irrespective of their culture, without patronising them into constituting quotas or seeking to attain parity. The Progressive Youth Alliance has, for instance, the task of winning the coloured and white population in the Western Cape over to the objectives of the NDR instead of seeking to outgrow them by importing young black South Africans from the Eastern Cape.

It is a challenge also for us to win over, and not to hate, young white South Africans in our universities to appreciate our objectives of a national democratic society as a way of "liberating [them] from white supremacist ideology". We also have the task of winning over the Indian youth in KwaZulu Natal on the same objective. We need to accept them into our fold without question their credentials or scaring them off with limited, narrow and elitist "black paranoia".

The progressive and epochal Morogoro (1969) document states that:

"Until then [the attainment of liberation], the national sense of grievance is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed."

And what will easily constitute the national sense of grievance remains the class question. This, of course, is the debate for another time.

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