Brazilians have chosen their new President. Germans are taking to the streets of Berlin in their hundreds of thousands to condemn racism and the surge of neo-Nazism within Germany in the last few years. Yet these phenomena are not isolated. As national politics across the globe, moves from the centre, the ANC in particular has often been criticised for its ‘broad-church’ stance and has to identify the best approach that it must adopt as a party in government.

When it was a liberation movement, and through its history of nearly 107 years, the ANC lived through periods of a surge of nationalism. In the aftermath of the Great Depression, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the ANC, like other political organisations at the time, took on a strong nationalist outlook.

As the nationalist movements were on the rise in Europe and even in some parts of Africa, youths such as Albertina Sisulu, Anton Lembede and Walter Sisulu pursued an ANC Youth League that responded, appropriately at the time, to the calls for nationalist sentiment.

... the ANC has the hindsight and wisdom to find that middle ground.

Heavily influenced by Pixley kaIsaka Seme, Lembede would also later be exposed to Afrikaner nationalism. His studies, as a Cartesian philosopher thus invariably integrating the existential question of the African, together with the exposure to Afrikaner nationalism and Seme, enabled a mosaic of African nationalism to form in the young leader’s mind.

The question of nationalism, whether African or otherwise, ultimately led to sharp disagreements between the Youth League members and the Communist Party of South Africa at the time. The tension between the communists and the ANC continues on page 3.
Renewal and Hope. South Africa is ready for Take-off

At an election fundraising dinner earlier this week, President Cyril Ramaphosa likened this moment in South Africa to that of a plane made ready for take-off. The preparations, he said, are based on the resolutions of the ANC 54th National Conference, which elected an inclusive leadership and adopted resolutions on the journey and destination. The Conference recognized that our government has faced significant challenges of corruption, political will and capacity to drive transformation; and an economy still defined by the triple challenge of unemployment, inequality and poverty.

We are at a turning point that provides opportunities for the ANC to once again lead the process of renewal, unity and consensus-building. Echoing the sentiments of the Special NEC of 3 November 2018, President Ramaphosa emphasised that unity and renewal must start with the ANC, and explained measures by its Officials to unite, serve and lead together, setting an example for ANC members and supporters. This requires the implementation of the task from Conference to restore the integrity of the ANC by decisively tackling corruption.

...the ANC and South Africa must look beyond the National Development Plan towards the next 25 years.

Since the beginning of the year, the efforts to ready the plane have involved building consensus across different sectors. The President spoke about the Jobs Summit – uniting business, labour, government and communities, and agreeing on over seventy initiatives to address youth unemployment. He spoke about the National Health Summit, which brought together all role players to agree on the National Health Insurance and the urgent task of fixing the public health system. He hailed the Gender Based Violence Summit, which brought together over 400 organisations with government to agree on concrete and sustained action to drastically bring down violence against women and children. The President also spoke about the inaugural South Africa Investment Conference, which saw announcements of over R290 billion in new investments. These gatherings help us to build common national purpose and consensus on key issues, supported by other work we have begun, such as the economic stimulus and recovery plan and the Infrastructure Fund; reaching out to domestic investors to ascertain their capital expenditure plans; addressing crime through increasing resources and ensuring leadership stability and integrity in the criminal justice system; and addressing the challenges of the state owned enterprises so they play their role in economic revitalisation and transformation.

President Ramaphosa also addressed the land question, and the national discussion that needs to take place on who the immediate beneficiaries of land reform should be, such as the over 250,000 smallholder black farmers; communities that have been waiting for the conclusion of their restitution claims; the urban poor through the release of land for housing and the provision of title deeds; and working together with established farmers to include and support black entrants (including women) into the agricultural and agro-processing sectors.

The President indicated that he will soon sign the National Minimum Wage Bill, which will immediately raise the incomes of over 6 million workers and is key to addressing the country’s high levels of income inequality.

Last, but not least, the ANC and South Africa must look beyond the National Development Plan towards the next 25 years. Indeed, South Africa is getting ready for take-off. By working together, we will be able to build a better life for all, and enable our young and promising nation to soar.
ANC policy remains the broad church for all South Africans

continued from page 1

“look out” and work with the working class in order to fight poverty

... with the working class class in order to fight poverty and, for example, the challenges of the causes of crime.

... asked itself tough questions about internationalism. As a result, the ANC once prewar and postwar years had given way to the Cold War or a more mixed approach as blocs who confronted each other through ideology had shifted towards either the two sides.

... to break away from the ANC and form the Pan Africanist Congress. Mystery remains whether in 1947, would have remained in the ANC or moved to the Pan Africanist Congress. Mystery remains whether the young Lembede, who died tragically at 33 in 1947, would have remained in the ANC or moved to the PAC.

... the organisations were populist and that their support base is country faces and especially given that poverty, inequality and unemployment have a black and African face. That some organisations are populist and that their support base is almost exclusively African and black is also not surprising.

... and wise enough to find that middle ground. As other words, can the ANC find the middle ground between what its left and right?

... that some organisations are populist and that their support base is almost exclusively African and black is also not surprising.

... and the capitalist class simply had to work together, the Party insisted, in order for China to be developed into a modern and relatively prosperous society.

... in vogue. Today it is not. However, one of the key messages in the 1997 Labour campaign was the creation of a pact between the wealthy and middle class with the working class.

... convinced the middle class, which had grown possibly win over the British people was if it convinced the middle class, which had grown substantially under Margaret Thatcher, but which took a knock under John Major, to...
South Africa has a crisis of structurally high youth unemployment. However, this is part and parcel of a wider problem of a persistently high systemic unemployment. According to a Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) report entitled “Employment, Unemployment, Skills and Economic Growth: An Exploration of Household Survey Evidence on Skills Development and Unemployment between 1994 and 2014” (produced in 2016), South Africa’s official unemployment rate which excludes discouraged work seekers increased from 22 per cent in 1994 to 25 per cent twenty years later, that is in 2014, while the expanded unemployment rate which includes discouraged work seekers persistently remained 35 per cent. The latest “Quarterly Labour Force Survey” (QLFS) released by StatsSA (on 30 October 2018) records an official unemployment rate of 27.5 per cent for the third quarter (July-September) of 2018. What this means is that the official unemployment rate has increased by 2.5 per cent since 2014. The survey records an expanded unemployment rate of 37.3 per cent for the third quarter of 2018, meaning that there has been an increase of 2.3 per cent in the expanded unemployment rate since 2014.

It is important to note that the figures are averages. There are provinces that are above the average figures. For example the QLFS records the expanded unemployment rate for the third quarter of 2018 to be 46 per cent in the Eastern Cape, 43.9 per cent in the North West, 41.6 per cent in Free State, 41.3 per cent in Mpumalanga, 41.2 per cent in KwaZulu-Natal, 40.1 per cent in the Northern Cape and 38.1 per cent in Limpopo. Gauteng and the Western Cape are the only provinces with a below average expanded unemployment rate at 34.3 per cent and 23.7 per cent respectively. The average national percentages for both the official and expanded unemployment rates indicate that, in total numerical terms, 6.2 million people are officially unemployed while 9.8 million people are unemployed in terms of the expanded definition of unemployment.

The expanded unemployment rate of the youth in the age category of 15 to 24 years was recorded to be 66.1 per cent, while that of the youth in the age category of 25 to 34 years was recorded to be 43.3 per cent. There is another important dimension of the unemployment crisis that should never be left out. That is the gender dimension. The QLFS records an expanded unemployment rate of 41.2 per cent for women (compared to 37.3 per cent for men) for the third quarter of 2018. It is important to note that the unemployment problem is socially deeper qualitatively than these figures tell us quantitatively.

There are people right in our families and country-wide who remain unemployed beyond the age of 35, in their 40s, and so on. Capital: A critique of Political Economy (Vol. I) by Karl Marx unpacks the phenomenon of unemployment according to its structural drivers (at the time he wrote the book) under capitalist production. Marx brings to our attention three major categories of the phenomenon of the production of the unemployed, the industrial reserve army or the so-called surplus population.

The first is termed the latent. It is produced by increased penetration of mechanisation in agriculture. This leads to declining employment of the agricultural population. It compels those affected to pauperism, or to seeking alternative employment in non-agricultural industries. At the same time, it pressurises those still in employment to accept the minimum of wages. And, of those who seek alternative employment in non-agricultural industries, not everyone becomes successful. There, too, capital accumulation produces conditions that lead to the dismissal of workers affected by restructuring.

The second unemployment category, the floating, is made up of workers who are dismissed from non-agricultural sectors where automation and machinery enter as a factor. This category of workers is sometimes recalled from unemployment to employment but in constantly decreasing proportions.

The third unemployment category, the stagnant, is made up of workers who are affected by moderate to extreme irregular employment. In our modern day society, this category comprises variously peripheralised and semi-peripheralised, casualised, temporarised, labour-brokered and other sections of workers in atypical or precarious employment conditions.

Therefore beyond the narrow definition of unemployment, which is referred to as the official unemployment definition, the broader appreciation of unemployment should lead to the recognition that there are people in South Africa who reach a pension age consistently trapped in the various categories of unemployment respectively at one moment of another.

These three major categories of unemployment exist within and outside the periods of the inherent capitalist system crisis. They become acute during the cyclical periods of the systemic crisis. In many ways this is where South Africa finds itself at the moment both domestically and with regard to the surrounding global realities of capitalist production and wealth accumulation – in terms of which a handful of individuals, the capitalists, are very rich while the immense majority, the working-class, is generally poor and comprises an increasing number of the unemployed.

While Marx points to restructuring in production, in particular the increased application of science and technology, including machinery, automation and, in addition – in our era – robotisation of production, he carefully noted that the problem was not necessary with technology but the purpose for, and manner in which the change is employed under capitalist production. The fundamental problem is the private accumulation of wealth on a capitalist basis. In production this is driven by the logic of producing more output with fewer workers than at every moment – as a profit maximising strategy. In other words, production capitalism is not meant to meet the needs of the people, it is not meant for the good of society but for the private enrichment of the capitalists.

It is clear that the Youth Employment...
Good Times Ahead as South Africa rides On The Crest of a Wave

The ANC has risen to its feet and our country is once again competing on the global economic stage. The ANC is rebuilding and renewing itself to reclaim its historical role as a leader of society. With the adoption of clear, implementable resolutions and the election of credible leadership at our national conference, the mood has undoubtedly changed as we see our people having new hope.

Generally, our country is experiencing a new dawn and there is renewed confidence in the ability of the ANC to lead us in our continued march to a better life for all. This mood is not only confined within our country’s borders but it also permeates international markets given the growing investor appetite - something to not only savour but also sustain.

The ANC has risen to its feet and our country is once again competing on the global economic stage. We are holding our heads high as we woo investors to play a part in growing our country’s economy.

We will be doing this awake to the global economic realities that currently obtain. This will however not deter us as we are confident that the path we have embarked on is a correct one and will act to position our country as an attractive investment destination.

As the ANC we will make government at all levels work to not only deliver services but also create an enabling environment to grow our country’s economy. This will contribute in no small measure to our continuing efforts to meet the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality. We therefore invite other sectors of our society to lend a hand in the spirit of Thuma mina!
Africa’s investors

Gauteng Still Destination of Choice for Africa’s investors.

Undoubtedly, the Africa Investment Forum is widely regarded as a “ Davos of Africa”- a premier investment market place of our beautiful mother continent, led by Africans for Africans. The Investment Forum had been characterised by collective resolve to emerge from Africa’s Gateway - Johannesburg - with concrete results – real transactions and real deals that are signed and sealed. Africa is tired of forums that are talk-shops. In all discussions we were reminded and inspired by the words of the great son of the people of Guinea-Bissau's, Amilcar Cabral that: “Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for things in anyone’s head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee a better future for their children”. The Africa Investment Forum was precisely about winning concrete results that guarantee a better future for the children of Africa; for the women and youth of our continent. President Adesina correctly says that people do not eat potential. We have been re-writing Africa’s investment story from potential to real bankable projects and deals throughout the Africa Investment Forum. Africa is making a transition from aid to investment and from poverty to prosperity here and now.

By hosting this historic Forum, South Africa placed itself at the service of this great cause of our continent, as the catalyst for investment. President Cyril Ramaphosa has placed investment, inclusive economic growth and jobs at the centre of his Presidency. Two weeks ago, the President convened the Inaugural South Africa Investment Conference which raised $20 billion at one go. This is a powerful statement of confidence by the private sector. I am confident that the target set by the President for raising $100 billion in five years is achievable. South Africa is blessed to be led by a leader who understands how both businessespeople and workers think; someone who understands how investment decisions are made; someone absolutely committed to create policy certainty, improve the ease of doing business and enhance the performance of our public institutions and tackle corruption in the private and public sector. Gauteng is at the cutting edge of Africa’s industrialization efforts. Our province is also one of the principal contributors to Africa’s economic integration and intra-Africa trade. This province I have the honour to lead is the financial nerve centre and manufacturing workshop of Sub-Saharan Africa.

We contribute 35% to South Africa’s economy. We have 14.7 million people – one out of every four people in South Africa lives in Gauteng. We are the seventh largest economy in Africa. We are host to many African migrants and entrepreneurs who have chosen Gauteng as their home, instead going to Europe or America. Gauteng businesses have 200 active investment projects in the different parts of Africa, contributing more than $30 billion to intra-Africa trade. Our businessespeople believe in Africa. Gauteng exports 31% of goods and services to different regions of our continent. Transport and capital equipment; food and beverages as well as professional services are the key drivers of Gauteng’s investment into the continent.

In 1994, we began a process to become the world’s next great manufacturing centre and in the coming years, we will be a major source of food for the world as 60% of the world’s unused arable land is on our continent. Over the past two decades, our continent has also made tremendous progress in improving economic and social conditions of its population. For instance, real per-capita incomes have risen 50% on average. In some African countries, real per-capita incomes have doubled. At the same time, infant mortality rates fell dramatically from 108 to 55 per 1000 live births. We are encouraged that despite weaker economic growth, in 2017 Foreign Direct Investment into our continent rose by 6% from its 2016 levels, with a total of 718 FDI projects were recorded. Also encouraging is that investment into our continent is now evenly spread across regions. Investors are also shifting focus to infrastructure, manufacturing and renewables other than focusing only on extractive industries. This, we believe, augurs well for the long-term prospects of our economies.

To attract more investments there is a need for African governments to think deeply about impediments to investments. This includes insisting on good governance and ethical leadership as well as ensuring an investor friendly regulatory framework. To attract more investments there is a need for African governments to think deeply about impediments to investments. This includes insisting on good governance and ethical leadership as well as ensuring an investor friendly regulatory framework. More often, people make a mistake of thinking that Africa’s greatest wealth is its minerals. Our shared view is that Africa’s greatest wealth and its real potential lies in its youthful population; its entrepreneurial and resilient women; its vast army of informal sector businesses. To unlock this potential, we need better infrastructure, better education, better healthcare and better government through strong and sound institutions.

In other words, the work of building the Africa we want is the responsibility that must be shared between governments, the private sector and civil society have a key role to play. This is exactly what we are doing in Gauteng. We are putting our full weight behind the efforts of our President to attract investment and create jobs, including in the townships, where the majority of our population lives.

Access to Data is a basic right

Dear Mr President,

The expensive data price limits the poor’s ability to access the Internet, which is needed to keep in touch with loved ones (Facebooks, YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp Google map, navigation, email etc.)

Engagements which could transform and modernise our society.

We understand that this matter can be resolved promptly and we hope that sanity prevails and our people are able to gift their less fortunate a gift of a transfer of data over Christmas.

Perhaps the most daring effort in lowering the data prices is the modernisation of the assignment of spectrum, which is the lifeblood of the telecommunications sector. This modernisation is rooted in the ANC resolutions of the 53rd Conference which called for an overarching ICT policy. The National Integrated ICT Policy White Paper calls for the introduction of a Wireless Open Access Network (WOAN) which will provide access to spectrum on a wholesale basis to many players.

We understand that government is implementing this policy in consultation with the stakeholders. This should minimise misunderstanding and facilitate a faster implementation of the policy.

Interested persons had until Thursday (08 November) to provide written inputs on the proposed policy and policy direction to ICASA on licensing of unassigned high demand spectrum.

We welcome that the policy and policy direction seek to have the WOAN having participants which includes the marginalised such as women, youth and people with disabilities. It will also seek to license spectrum to the industry, it is only when we have companies competing on services where data prices will go down significantly.

The first few months of 2019 are going to be crucial in this modernisation project of the ICT sector. We expect that the ICASA processes would be finalised and that spectrum will be released.

We also understand that the Electronic Communications Amendment Bill is in Parliament. This Bill aims to give effect to the White Paper. We shall take interest in all the public consultations to finalise the policy direction, which is expected to be by the end of this month (Nov 2018) and the ICASA public processes which will follow soon thereafter. We shall also participate in Parliamentary consultations to finalise the Bill.

Mr President, I am encouraged by the kind of stamina and willingness you have been displaying to make South Africa even much better and that under your watch the high cost of data doesn’t have a future.

Comradely Yours

Pule Mabe
ANC National Spokesperson
twitter: @pulemabe
Renewal Requires a strong Integrity Commission

The uncertainty pertaining the powers of the integrity commission stirs disquiet both inside and outside the ANC. This is comprehensible as the integrity commission is viewed as a bulwark in the struggle to restore and defend the ANC’s integrity. The recent pronouncement by the Gauteng Integrity Commission on comrades Mahlagha and Hlongwa; and the subsequent NEC decision to partially accept those outcomes did not help matters, but generated confusion and tentativeness regarding the powers of the integrity commission.

With unabated inquisitiveness ANC members are waiting to see how the NEC will handle the National Integrity Commission’s decisions on the VBS saga. The National Integrity Commission resolved that all individuals implicated by the VBS report must resign from all their positions both in the organisation and government. The establishment of the integrity commission is not a majestic grandeur meant for political grandstanding, but a tangible action to extirpate the widespread organisational degeneration due to moral indiscretion by some ANC members. Hence, the 54th National Conference resolution that our strategic priority for this current conjuncture is to enhance the integrity commission’s decisions on the VBS saga the integrity commission opted to make “recommendations” to the NEC and not make judgments. The option to recommend has a full potential to water-down the work of the integrity commission, as it unwittingly subjects its work to the vagaries of political tussles in the NEC.

In line with the 53rd conference resolution the NEC established an integrity commission in 2014. The lack of clear Terms of Reference (ToR) created enormous confusion, that rendered the commission stillborn as it was subjected to an avalanche of political blackmail. The collapse of the integrity commission played itself out at the 5th NGC. There were two diametrically opposed views on the status of the decisions of the integrity commission. The two views were located at the extreme ends of the spectrum, one for a strong commission with unfettered powers and the other for an advisory body to make recommendations to the NEC.

The matter was also dealt with by the 2017 National Policy Conference. Unfortunately, that policy conference could not resolve the debate, but proposed scenarios to be considered by the 54th National Conference. The 54th National Conference was characterized by robust debates on the different scenarios. Ultimately, the conference resolved to make the integrity commission a constitutional creature, this resulted in the inclusion of Rule 24 in the constitution.

However, the national conference failed to conclude the debate on the powers of the integrity commission and referred the matter to the NEC for finalisation. In this regard, the conference resolved that in deciding on the status of the decisions of the integrity commission the NEC must consider “…whether the decision of the integrity commission should be binding or whether they should make recommendations to the NEC, thus advisory”. The national conference also resolved that the integrity commission must report to the NEC on its work.

After robust discussions, the September 2018 NEC meeting adopted the ToR for the integrity commission. The lingering question on the status of the decisions of the integrity commission was finally settled. The ToR covers many areas, of interest here is Paragraph 3.7 that confers prescriptive powers to the integrity commission. This paragraph states that the integrity commission reports its judgment to the NEC only for “noting”.

This means that the integrity commission has powers to make judgments on any matter that has a potential to damage the ANC’s integrity. Disconcertingly, in the VBS saga the integrity commission opted to make “recommendations” to the NEC and not make judgments. The option to recommend has a full potential to water-down the work of the integrity commission, as it unwittingly subjects its work to the vagaries of political tussles in the NEC.

In balancing the prescriptive powers of the integrity commission, the ToR makes provision for appeal by affected members. The implications thereof are that the ethical judgment of integrity commission can only be changed by elected structures in instances where an appeal has been successfully lodged.

The decision to have an integrity commission with prescriptive powers and not an advisory one was not taken lightly by the NEC. This demonstrates the NEC’s commitment to organisational renewal. Central to the intractable task for renewal is a strong and proactive integrity commission, which does not prevaricate in its task to instill revolutionary morality to restore the ANC’s integrity.

The option to recommend has a full potential to water-down the work of the integrity commission...

ANC’s integrity.
The increased focus on the ANC’s integrity calls for a sober engagement on the powers of the integrity commission. To properly undertake this task, it will be helpful to briefly reflect on the archeology of the integrity commission in the ANC body politic.

The 53rd National Conference in 2012 asserted that the ANC could “…no longer allow prolonged processes that damage its integrity and therefore needed firmly to deal with public officials, leaders and members who face damaging allegations of improper conduct”. These “prolonged processes” are the internal disciplinary and court processes.

To ensure swift response to damaging allegations the 53rd National Conference resolved to establish an integrity commission to mitigate the impact of the “prolonged processes”. Hence, the integrity commission is an intermediate measure that enables the ANC to act swiftly and restore public confidence when there are damaging allegations. Plainly, the function of the integrity commission is not to establish guilt or innocence but just to look at the preliminary facts of the alleged misconduct, determine the implications thereof on the ANC’s integrity and make an ethical judgment or recommendations.

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The option to recommend has a full potential to water-down the work of the integrity commission...
On 27 October 2018, the world commemorated the birthday of one of the most celebrated sons of Africa, President Oliver Reginald Tambo, who would have turned 101 years old if he was still alive. In remembering this giant of our revolution, it is important that we not only salute his legacy, but we also take positive lessons from the leader of the calibre of President Tambo.

A few weeks after his release from prison in 1990, President Nelson Mandela visited President Tambo in England, who had suffered a stroke, and was recuperating in a clinic in Sweden. Addressing an attentive audience at Wembley Stadium in England, a visibly emotional President Mandela said, “There is no man, there is no man in this country [South Africa] and anywhere else in the world who could have performed as magnificently as he has done over the last 30 years. He kept our organisation united and strong under the most difficult conditions and we say therefore that our prayers are that he should be able to recover sufficiently to take his position of leadership of this organisation.”

From the legacy of President OR we must draw from his unfettered sense of sacrifice. It is this sense of sacrifice which inspired him to dedicate his entire life to the ANC, and to the service of the people of South Africa. In this regard, he also sacrificed the precious time he could have enjoyed with his family, in service of our revolution.

Rather than take up a job in apartheid South Africa’s regime as a mathematics and science teacher or lecturer, President OR chose to dedicate his life to the struggle for liberation, flying the ANC flag high in foreign lands, having been forced to leave the land of his forefathers to advance the struggle.

Cde OR’s legacy remains a lodestar for generations to come. His most distinguished leadership trait was his ability to rise above partisan politics and unite the ANC behind a common vision. Throughout his Presidency of the ANC over 30 years, he remained the glue that held together the broad church with contending political dispositions, a role he executed with distinction. President Tambo led the ANC during the most difficult period of the liberation struggle, with apartheid forces infiltrating the ranks of the movement and sowing distrust among comrades. This era was characterized by cross-border raids to Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia and bombings as far afield as the UK, Sweden and Belgium, orchestrated by the apartheid state. His visionary leadership was a key factor that ensured the survival of the ANC, not by any small measure.

The current phase of the national democratic revolution requires of us to take a leaf from President Tambo’s legacy and rise above partisan politics and work hard to unite the ANC. We have a collective duty to unite the ANC, the revolutionary Alliance, as well as the people of South Africa, to rally the nation behind the vision of a free, democratic, non-sexist, non-racial and prosperous South Africa.

In paying homage to President OR, we must sound a clarion call to all our people across the racial, religious, ethnic or ideological divide to draw lessons from the rich legacy of this astute giant of our revolution. This we must do in order to realise our collective goal of building a better South Africa, where all shall enjoy a better life.

Like an old Baobab tree, whose roots have been buried into the soil for centuries, which refuses to be taken down by blistering winds, President OR remained unmoved by the brutality of the apartheid regime. To this day, we continue to draw inspiration from his leadership and motivated by his vision of a society where all are equal citizens in a free and just society. To us, President OR will never die. He is a tree than shall never fall.

O.R. Tambo, A Tree that refused to be moved by blistering winds

Sam Mashinini is the ANC Free State Provincial Chairperson and MEC for Police, Roads & Transport

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info@anc1912.org.za
Arts and Culture Industries, their moment is nigh

Reabetsoe Msimango and Refilwe Molatlhegi

That it is 31 years since the formation of the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) is no mean feat for an organisation that from the outset and against all odds fully aligned itself with the Congress traditions of the roaring 1950’s. Formed in 1987 during a period of great turmoil inside the country, COSAW was established by progressive comrades, who also happened to be writers. It was an organisation whose aim was, according to one of its founder members, Cde Mongane Wally Serote, to become part and parcel of the struggle for liberation, an organisation to defend the principle of non-racialism and democracy.

The COSAW slogan of “Decolonise your mind” found resonance with workers, students, and community organisations. COSAW also introduced the concept of ‘unlearning’ into the liberation vocabulary of the time. Poignantly, the #FeesMustFall movement has borrowed heavily from COSAW, most probably unknown to them.

COSAW and indeed other similar organisations are of particular importance for nation-building, social cohesion and moral regeneration. We are inclined to relegate the cultural and creative industries as a sector that is seemingly limited to these abstract roles. Culture and the creative industries play a significant role in our economy. We just do not recognise their contribution, and all efforts must be made to realise their economic value.

There is growing recognition that culture, both historic and contemporary, is a growing commercial force. According to the South African Cultural Observatory’s mapping of the cultural industry, “South Africa’s creative economy contributed over R90.5bn to the national economy, or 2.9% of the GDP in 2013 to 2014, exceeding, for instance, the contribution of agriculture to the GDP (2.2%).”

It is reported that in 2017, the arts and culture economic activity contributed 4% to the GDP of the USA, surpassing transportation, mining and agriculture. According to the Motion Picture Association of America, “The industry contributed $134 billion [R1.8 trillion] in sales to the overall economy in 2016.”

We may be guilty of being victims of apartheid and not valuing our own self-worth and cultural products. We should unlearn the western philosophical view that support for the arts and culture is one of philanthropy, welfare and tax breaks. On the contrary, it is unique economic activity that produces niche products, be they music, art, performance art, sculpture, dance, and so much more.

In 2015, the American broadcaster’s online publication, CNN Travel, acknowledged South Africa’s leading role in house music and said, “It may have started in “The Warehouse” club, Chicago, but the center of the house music world has relocated. But not to Ibiza, Miami? Not even close. Today the biggest house market per capita anywhere in the world is South Africa.”

The blockbuster movie Black Panther, had a significant South African influence, with veteran actor John Kani, playing a major role in ensuring the official language of the mythical Wakanda was isiXhosa. A number of South African actors featured in the movie alongside Dr. John Kani included his son Atandawa Kani and Connie Chiumble. The Black Panther soundtrack included works of South African artists Sjava and Babes Wodumo, placing afro pop and gqom music on the world stage. These artists follow on the heels of other South Africans who have wowed Hollywood and placed South African talent on the international stage. These include Charlize Theron, Trevor Noah, Pearl Thusi, Arnold Vosloo, Tony Kgoroge, Terry Pheto and many more.

The African National Congress built the largest global peoples’ movement, which stretched from North to South, East and West. It was supported and recognised in countries that were historical enemies, like the erstwhile Soviet Union and the United States of America. It is through this movement that many people around the world learnt about South African culture and arts. Our plays, books and poetry have been translated into the languages of the world, and our music and art have been showcased globally.

In many ways, because of the influence of the global anti-apartheid movement, South African culture already has a head start and we should exploit our comparative advantage.

Let us dance and sing our way to shared economic prosperity!

There is a great need to embrace and support our local culture by supporting our local artists. There is a great need to embrace and support our local culture by supporting our local artists. Even though we are heavily influenced by western culture, it has allowed us to create a unique culture which is vast and versatile. South African talent has captured the imagination of the world.

We call this new generation, the Woke Popular Culture - a generation of innovators and ground breakers. We need to support and take interest in the Woke culture. These are the people who constantly inspire young people to follow their dreams.
THE CRISIS OF GLOBAL YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT.


The 2019 Economist World in a Pocket edition gave South Africa the distinction of topping for the first time the list of highest youth unemployment rate for youth (15 to 24 years). South Africa has also been consistently on the International Labour Organisation (ILO) top five of highest youth unemployment rate in the world. Not surprising, at the Presidential Jobs Summit held in October 2018 under the auspices of NEDLAC, it was agreed that youth unemployment is one of the biggest problems facing the country and its labour markets.

The Crisis of Global Youth Unemployment is a welcome collection, with some pointers of what we need to do as a country.

A Global Crisis

Across the world there are 65 million young people unemployed and a further 145 million young workers making up the working poor. Although there are variations across regions, it is truly a universal problem. It is a global crisis, because in today’s world 15-24-year-old’s account for 20% of the world’s population and “the overwhelming majority (90%) in the developing world.” With 1 billion young people expected to enter the labour markets in the coming decade, the world has to create 600 million jobs, just to keep the current unemployment rate the same.

The introduction chapter highlights some of the regional variations; although India’s current youth bulge means nearly two-thirds of its population are below the age of 35, its unemployment rate for young men is 10.3%. Spain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, South Africa and Macedonia all have youth unemployment rates of above 50%.

The gender component of youth unemployment is also highlighted: Young women with higher levels of education in Turkey are three times more likely to be unemployed than young men, and in Saudi Arabia, this figure is eight times more likely for educated young women. “In South Asia, on the other hand, educated young women tend to be relegated to “volunteer” work while paid labor is reserved for men.”

A Global Precariat

The Editors examine the reasons for this global catastrophe, “In Capital, Karl Marx (1976) posits that capitalism demands more youthful workers and fewer adult workers. The contemporary era of neoliberal capitalism seems to belie this assessment. The number of jobs available to young people has shrunk at an alarming rate since 2007. While young people constitute about 17% of the world’s population, they represent 40% of its unemployed, including those who are looking for work, those who are not in school, and those who are not actively in search of work.” (Kindle Locations 484-487)

They thus argue that young workers in the youth labour markets, instead of being part of the classical “proletariat”, in fact constitutes a global “precariat”: characterized by unemployment, underemployment, insecurity, poverty wages and little benefits, overall in very precarious situation.

The situation of young people who are part of this precariat breaks the social compact which society has with millions of its youth, that after school and upon reaching maturity, they will be able to determine their own destiny as young adults and contribute to their families, communities and societies. The flipside of this mass joblessness is the link drawn to increased political instability, crime, mental health problems, violence and exclusion.

The Editors examine three trends/concepts which contribute towards the creation of this “precariat”:

• Precarity: a global capitalist economy, “in which social lives are unraveled by a breakdown in the welfare state, restricting access to good jobs and wages together with other necessities for the survival of individuals and social groups.” This economy is premised on exclusion, inequality and uncertainty for the majority, with the race to the bottom and de-unionization, joblessness, growth, and demography is set.

• Flexibility: this refers not only to outsourcing, labour broking, but to the very nature of work. A number of chapters in the book examine the phenomenon of waste pickers in different countries; ‘work’ that exists outside of traditional waste management by government, and in a context of mass waste as a result of mass consumption. This concept also refers to the rise of ‘volunteer work’ – where functions (in health, water, housing, sanitation, education, etc.) previously performed by the state now rely on young volunteers (and women) who get paid a pittance and with very little job security. This concept also refers to internships, where young people can move from one internship to the other, with little prospects of getting employed. And finally, women’s unpaid labour (childrearing and minding, looking after the sick, disabled and elderly) is also included in this concept.

• Migration: this refers to migration by young people in-countries, within regions and international migration, in the search for a better life. All forms of migration are difficult, you are moving to a place or places that are often unknown, without any social support – whether moving from rural to urban areas, to a neighbouring country or to a different continent. Across the board, migrants face discrimination. They are moving into a precarious existence, and yet it affects millions of young men and women in all parts of the world.

The analysis of The Global Crisis of Youth Unemployment is sobering, pointing at a global structural crisis, that cannot simply be addressed by piecemeal policies. FPG
Quote

I’m rather sad and taken aback and almost handicapped by what has happened just now. …The project of building a non-racial society is a historical task. It is not a task we can move away from. South Africa characterizes itself as a non-racial democracy. There should never be a time and opportunity where we see each other as black, white… and insult each other. We are South Africans and it defines us.” South Africa had overcome a “horrible past” of apartheid and created a way forward. We cannot go back to that horrible past we have had and however painful it may be…. We cannot revert to raw racism and separation…. We are one people and we are forged as one nation with one future.”

President Ramaphosa at the end of the Q&A Session in Parliament

Verbatim

ANC SG Ace
Magashule Address to the Western Cape Cadres Forum in Quotes:

“We are confident that we shall return the Province of the Western Cape back into the hands of the people during the coming national general elections. We need to bring power back to the working class, to the farm workers, to the domestic workers, to the black middle class and therefore the overwhelming majority of our people”

“We make a call to all the young people of our country to register for the coming national general elections. Our young people have a critical role to play in shaping the future of our country”

“Therefore, it is important that we encourage all of them to register so that they can be eligible voters. Let’s ensure that we mobilize our people for a landslide victory of the ANC in this province in the coming elections”

ANC Today

Word Bank
Wage Subsidy, School, Precariat, Migration, Trade Unions, Apprenticeships, Retirement, Proletariat, Crisis, Entrepreneurship

Crossword

Across
4. System in Germany which contributes to better inclusion of youth in labour markets
7. The process of moving from where you were born or grew up to search for better opportunities
8. Organisations set up to fight for better conditions for workers
9. An incentive scheme to business to create more jobs for youth
10. Early … by older workers is seen as one possible solution to youth unemployment

Down
1. The problem of youth unemployment is regarded as a global catastrophe (synonym)
2. New term used to describe the social position of young unemployed and under employed
3. Starting their own business is seen as another option
5. Synonym for working class as used by Marx
6. In most countries young people have difficulties with the … to work transition

Scheme – enforced from within government (against formations of the Progressive Youth Alliance) by the National Treasury – has failed to resolve the problem of youth unemployment. This failure highlights the structural nature of the high rate of youth unemployment as an integral part of the broader capitalist system economic crisis of the high rate of persisting unemployment. Structurally, the youth is bound to constitute an increasing majority of those who seek entry into the labour market, which is why it has a high unemployment rate as a function of the incapacity of the labour market to absorb new entrants.

However, looked at dialectically from the point of view of the formerly presented unemployment categories, the labour market is shedding jobs through its contribution to the production of unemployment by means of restructuring, retrenchments, casualisation and perpetual temporarisation. What South Africa needs are measures that tackle not only the symptoms but also the root causes of the problem in its systemic nature and structural character. In this regard, a joint, reconfigured Alliance, theoretical articulation and practical elaboration through adequate policy responses, of the content and strategic tasks of the second radical phase of national democratic revolution has a crucial role to play.

A reconfigured Alliance requires, and should push, a radical reconfiguration of our national political-economic policy. It is inconceivable that the unemployment crisis that the youth, women and the unemployed people in general are faced with will be resolved by means of the same economic policy model that has not only created but continues to reproduce it, with the same structure of production and international trade, and with low levels of production.

The government, labour and business recently convened a jobs summit through the National Economic and Labour Council. The job summit was followed by an investment summit. South Africans can only hope that the outcomes of the two processes will contribute in providing the much needed relief among the ranks of the unemployed while a reconfigured Alliance – that is, a truly governing National Democratic Revolutionary Alliance considers measures to go to the root of the problem in order to resolve it radically on a sustainable basis and in a well-calculated strategic and programmatic manner.